DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 448 597 FL 026 519

AUTHOR	Nickisch, Craig W., Ed.
TITLE	Selecta: Journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, 1992-1998.
INSTITUTION	Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages.
ISSN	ISSN-0277-0598
PUB DATE	1998-00-00
NOTE	587p.; The name of the sponsoring organization was changed from the "Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages" to the "Pacific Northwest Council on Languages" in 1996.
AVAILABLE FROM	Ray Verzasconi, Executive Director, PNCFL, P.O. Box 4649, Portland, OR 97208-4649. Web site: http://www.usd.edu/selecta/.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
LANGUAGE	English, German, French, Spanish
JOURNAL CIT	Selecta: Journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Languages; v13-19 1992-1998.
EDRS PRICE	MF03/PC24 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Applied Linguistics; English (Second Language); French; German; Italian; Japanese; Language Research; Latin American Literature; Linguistics; *Literature; Portuguese; *Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; Sociolinguistics; Spanish

ABSTRACT

This journal publishes scholarly articles on all aspects of language pedagogy, linguistics, foreign cultures and languages, and comparative, classical, and foreign (Asian, French, German, Italian, Luso-Brazilian, Scandinavian, Slavic, Spanish, and Spanish American) literatures. It is published annually, based exclusively on a representative number of papers given at the annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest Council on Languages. (KFT)

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SELECTA: Journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages, 1992-1998.

Volumes 13-19

Craig W. Nickisch, Editor

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SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 13, 1992

Journal of the

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

Editorial Consultants

Beginning with Volume 13, *SELECTA* has modified its editorial process so as to take advantage of the expertise of a wide spectrum of colleagues. This volume has thus benefitted from the commitment of a number of editorial consultants, and the Editor of *SELECTA* extends his sincere appreciation to the following colleagues, among others, who have been of significant assistance in the preparation of this volume:

Frans Amelinckx

Jean-Pierre Barricelli

Ralph W. Buechler

A. David Barry

Ernst Behler

Arthur Dolsen

Karen Eberle-McCarthy

María Yolanda Forero-Villegas

Basil Guy

Edwin Hamblett

Reinhard Hennig

Cory Hofman

Daniel P. Hunt

Warren Motte

Cora Lee Nollendorfs

Pamela Park

Robert Peckham

Petra Perry

Claus Reschke

Alvin F. Sherman

George A. Shipley

Peter N. Thomas

William Thompson

Ulrich Wesche

Joan M. West

A special word of appreciation is due Linda Bricker for much of the word processing attendant to this volume of *SELECTA*.

SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 13, 1992

Edited by
Craig W. Nickisch
Idaho State University

Journal of the
NCFL

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

The Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages is a non-profit organization of language professionals dedicated to improving opportunities for learning foreign languages at all levels in the United States and Canada. Founded in 1950, through its annual conference, the *PNCFL Newsletter*, *HANDS ON Languages* and *Selecta*, the PNCFL provides a forum for the dissemination and promulgation of information on the teaching and acquisition of foreign languages, cultures and literatures. The PNCFL has been active in prompting unity and cooperation between many language associations.

Editorial Policy

All inquiries regarding publication of articles should be made to Prof. Craig W. Nickisch, *SELECTA* Editor, Idaho State University, Pocatello, ID 83209-8331.

SELECTA is an official journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages. *SELECTA* publishes scholarly articles on all aspects of language pedagogy, linguistics, foreign cultures and languages, and comparative, classical, and foreign (Asian, French, German, Italian, Luso-Brazilian, Scandinavian, Slavic, Spanish, and Spanish-American) literatures. *SELECTA* is published yearly, based exclusively on a representative number of papers given at the annual meeting of the PNCFL.

Authors submit abstracts to the PNCFL program chairperson by November 1st. Final copies of accepted papers are due in January. Papers must conform to the *MLA Handbook* and should not be longer than 10 pages, typed double-spaced, exclusive of endnotes. No paper may be given *in absentia*.

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ISSN 0277-0598

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Michel Tournier's Intertextual Initiations

Christopher Anderson
University of Montana

One of France's best known living writers, Michel Tournier has received some of the most prestigious French literary prizes, including the *Grand Prix du Roman* of the French Academy in 1967 for *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique*, and the *Prix Goncourt* in 1970 for *Le Roi des aulnes*. Despite the high literary quality of his fiction, Tournier is a popular writer. All of his novels have made the best-seller lists and one of his children's books, *Vendredi ou la vie sauvage*, a revision the novel that won the *Grand Prix du Roman*, is required reading in French schools. Since 1980 Tournier has concentrated his energies on making his fiction accessible to children, and has made strong claims for children as his ideal readers (Bouloumié 22; *Le Monde*. 8-9 oct. 1978) Childhood reading, he asserts, forms the foundation of a reader's individual sensibility and personal mythology (*Le Vent Paraclet* 56). Of Tournier's 31 titles of fiction, essays and introductions to art, literature and photography currently in print, fully a third (all fictional texts) is marketed in formats for children. Yet Tournier's fiction for children is hardly known outside of France (Petit 87).

Tournier views himself as a traditional *conteur* whose main role is to renew myths. He defines myth as simultaneously a story for children, a story that everyone already knows, as well as a theory of knowledge (*VP* 188-89). Tournier stresses the orality of his fiction and affective, as opposed to rational, response to it (*Nouvel Obs.*). A continuance of a storytelling tradition that relies on myths for the transmission of knowledge, the *conte* provides instruction at a number of differing levels of abstraction and contains messages for the audience that respond to the knowledge each listener or reader brings to the tale. Such a structure favors repeated consumption of the same tale, which will gain coherence as the reader gains experience. Ideally, one should have the sense of rereading Tournier's stories at their first reading (*VP*,189). Thus, meaning in Tournier's fiction depends to a large extent on intertextuality, that is, the semiotic activity involving the transposition of one or more systems of signs into another (Kristeva 15). For Robert Scholes, the common principle of intertextuality in the divergent semiotic theories of Barthes, Genette, Kristeva and Riffaterre "is that just as signs refer to other signs rather than directly to things, texts refer to other texts. The artist writes or paints, not from nature, but from his or her predecessors' ways of textualizing nature. Thus, an intertext is a text lurking inside another, shaping meanings, whether the author is conscious of this or not" (145). Such intertexts shape many of Tournier's works for children; Tournier has placed references to well known French tales within his stories in an order that encourages his young readers to associate intertext with an initiatic paradigm that provides a link to his adult fiction.

On several occasions, Tournier has argued that the educational system does not serve the emotional needs of children because it overemphasizes the transmission of information to the detriment of initiatory ceremony (*VP* 61; *Le Monde*. 20 déc. 1974). One cannot overestimate initiation as the dominant structuring device of Tournier's narratives. All of Tournier's novels and novellas involve the initiatory quest of a marginal protagonist and are structured according to the three stages of initiation described by Simone Vièrnes: separation from society, a symbolic confrontation with death in which essential information is learned for future use, and rebirth as a transformed being (9-11). Tournier's heroes, however, are reborn into a cosmic, as opposed to social, harmony.

Over the years, Tournier has given increasing credit to the sophistication of child readers. This is evident in the evolution in his children's works of adult themes such as sexuality and race identity. In Tournier's first work for children, *Vendredi ou la vie sauvage* (1971), references to sex are markedly absent in comparison with his adult version of the story, and the author avoids the treatment of any racial question despite protagonists of different races and cultures (Robinson Crusoe and Friday). In *Les Rois mages* (1983), Tournier describes heterosexual desire and places racism within a larger context of psychological inadequacy. However, here Tournier refrains from depicting the homosexual activities that define the Sodomites of the story by making his principal character, Taor, prepubescently naïve; sexual innuendo, stated in the childish terms, *"faire doudou"* (148) falls on uncomprehending ears. A later work, *La Goutte d'or* (1985), targeted to an audience of children and adults, includes descriptions of homosexual activity, the fake eroticism of a peep show, and the representation of race as an essential, if often misinterpreted, element of identity. Indeed, this work expands a child's awareness of adult themes, and prepares the child for reception into the realm of the adult world.

Moreover, stylistic changes reinforce the view of a sophisticated child reader. In the cycle of fiction for adults which ended in 1980 with the publication of *Gaspard, Melchior et Balthazar*, Tournier emphasized the relation between text and the subtexts informing it by using endnotes to point to the historical and literary works that have versed his fiction. All of his novels and novella for adults contain such historical and bibliographical notes. As might be expected, in Tournier's first work for children, the relationship between text and subtext is much less apparent. In keeping with the simplified vocabulary and syntax, and chapter length rarely exceeding five pages, there is only one note in *Vendredi ou la vie sauvage*; this is but an authorial aside. However, in *Les Rois mages*, written twelve years later, Tournier uses footnotes (rather than endnotes) in a rather striking way. Evenly spaced throughout the book, which has only three chapter breaks, the footnotes, with one glaring exception, define terms or expand the information given in the fictional narrative. Most of the information in the footnotes is superfluous, and this emphasizes that footnotes can have other functions in addition to providing information. First, the notes act as pauses from the action of the tale and give the reader a rest similar to that of a chapter break. Secondly, the language and content serve to contrast fictional and non-fictional discourse, and by implication the realities that each discourse represents. Tournier bases ideal reception of fiction on the reader's identification with the characters and the subsequent recognition that the various sentiments internalized during the reading process are fictional (*VV* 17). This contrast of affective discourse with informational discourse may indeed be intended to help young readers make conscious that recognition of the fictional.

One footnote in this novel refers to a tale, "Barbedor", found in *Gaspard, Melchior et Balthazar*, which is not included in the children's version, *Les Rois mages*. This story was published separately for children in *Sept Contes*. The footnote is the first explicit suggestion in Tournier's works for children that reading might be completed in another work. Although it is common practice at Gallimard to use a footnote referring the reader to other in-house publications wherever the author makes allusion to previously published texts, it is clear by the placement of "Barbador" in *Sept Contes* that the reference is a willful reflection of Tournier's plan. "Barbedor" is the last of three tales clustered at the exact center of *Sept Contes*. All three tales combine intertext and initiation.

"Barbedor", along with the two preceding tales, "La fugue du petit Poucet" and "La fin de Robinson Crusoé" suggest by their titles alone a relationship with other texts that French children are sure to know. Charles Perrault's tales, "La Barbe bleue" (Bluebeard) and "Le Petit Poucet" (Tom Thumb) are as much a part of French culture as *Winnie the Pooh* is British and American. The Robinson myth is so pervasive in western society that children who have not read Defoe's tale will know of the myth through television or comic books. Moreover, the titles also show kinship—in an ethnographic sense—to other works and passages by Tournier that may be unfamiliar to the reader, but which may be read at some later date. These three tales are meant, I believe, to plant the seeds of a mnemonic base that will lead those young readers who continue to read Tournier's works to a particular kind of intertextual reading that informs all of Tournier's fiction.

Three tales, two by Tournier, "Barbedor" and "Barberousse" (inserted into the text of *La Goutte d'or*), and one by Perrault, "Barbebleue" form an initial triad of stories linked by beards of primary colors. Facial hair acts as a leitmotif in Tournier's fiction to announce changes in identity (Merllié 29). In the story "Tupik" (in *Le Coq de bruyère*) a young boy's rejection of his father is manifest in the boy's refusal of everything associated with facial hair. In "La Mère Noël" a school mistress and unwed mother dons a false beard to assume a paternal identity. However, the tales grouped by beard color reveal a progression of adaptability that repeats the three stages of initiation.

The blue beard in Perrault's tale is a physical indication of his main character's moral corruption. His refusal to accept his wife's natural curiosity by submitting her to an unfair test shows that the character is without redemption, and he is killed at the end of the tale by his brothers-in-law. "Barbedor", on the other hand, is a curious tale of renewal through separation and stasis. As Barbedor—a king without progeny—ages, a magical bird plucks out the white hairs in his beard during his daily naps. When his beard is gone he transforms into the child that is his own successor. This story is a tribute to regeneration through passivity and to a perfect, that is not requiring any effort, adaptation. In it's original context in *Gaspard, Melchior et Balthazar*, the tale is offered as a successful solution to a life and death gamble: the storyteller would have been killed if King Herod, himself old and childless, had not found it amusing. This context, however, is not available to the child reader who may instead find its coherence in mnemonic associations with "La Barbe blue" and "Barberousse". The third tale of this intertextual triad is based on the life of a sixteenth-century Barbary pirate, Kher-ed-Din, who gained renown at the French court. In Muslim society Barbarousse's red beard and hair are the physical signs of parental transgression of social taboos (copulation and conception during his mother's menses). The onus the child, and later the man must bear is the source of the pirate's fierce brigandage. However, neither conquest nor acquisition of power can redress that shame. Barbarousse eventually learns to accept himself through art when he is presented a tapestry in which his portrait is effected through a *trompe-l'oeil* of European hunting scenes in Fall colors. Self acceptance leads to Barbarousse giving up piracy and moving to Europe. In this tale, the solution to the problem of social adaptation insists upon seeking out an ideal environment or subculture fitting one's peculiarities, even if that quest leads to expatriation.

My ordering of the three works into a schema of progressive adaptability, admittedly is a convenient way to link the texts meaningfully, and there can be no guarantee that if children read all three works that they will be perceived in that order or will read them for any progressive message. However, the way in which color orients depth perception helps the reader to mentally reorder the works in precisely the one described: in painting darker tones such as blue form the background for light hues, and red, especially, leaps to the foreground.

Both "La fin de Robinson Crusoé" and "La fugue du petit Poucet" involve a more elaborate scheme that combines intertextual kinship with initiation. "La fin de Robinson Crusoé", although just six pages long, shares a number of details with Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* that are in opposition to either of Tournier's two novels in which Robinson Crusoe is the protagonist. First the island is in the Caribbean, whereas in Tournier's novels the island is in the Pacific. Both Robinson and Vendredi have returned to England (in Tournier's novels they never leave the island). Robinson, as in Defoe's novel, makes a second trip to his island. However, in Tournier's story there is a difference: Robinson never finds his island and as a result returns once again to England obsessed by the knowledge of it's location on his map and that he wasn't able to find it. His obsession leads to drink. At the end of the story, the patrons of a bar where Robinson has a reputation as a fool ridicule him for not having realized that the island's vegetation had changed during his absence of twenty-five years and therefore could not conform to his mental image of it. The sadness that the realization of aging brings to an already broken man stops all the patrons' laughter. By itself there is little in this story that's appealing; it's a cliff-hanger and it is negative. However, the story becomes meaningful, indeed necessary, in terms of sensitizing readers to associate intertextual reading with initiatic paradigm. "La fin de Robinson Crusoé" functions as the stage of ritual death, in which Robinson learns essential information (don't leave the island if you wish to remain young) that permits the transformed Robinson in Tournier's novels to adapt to the island's environment and defeat the aging process.

"La fugue du petit Poucet", occupies not the transitional stage of initiation, but is the transformed tale. This story is, just as *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique* is to Defoe's novel, a mirror image of Perrault's "Le petit Poucet". In nearly every particular, Tournier mirrors and transforms the details of Perrault's tale. The names of the characters indicating a type in Perrault's tale "Poucet", "l'Ogre" etc become patronymics in Tournier's story. Poucet's father is an urban lumberjack charged with the chopping down of trees in Paris; Logre is a vegetarian, marijuana-smoking, tree-loving, house husband opposed to violence of any kind. And unlike Perrault's tale, an initiatory quest par excellence, in which Poucet's adventures initiate him into the adult world and turn him into the family bread winner, Tournier's tale is a quest in which the child learns ways to use his imagination in order to remain childlike and resist his father's imposition of a modern life style.

The initiatory stage of ritual death in this transformation is found in *Gilles et Jeanne* (1983). Because of its simplified style and language, this novella is certainly accessible to adolescents, however, its subject matter makes it unlikely childhood reading, and therefore, if read at all it would be consumed perhaps years after "Le petit Poucet" and "La fugue du petit Poucet". A long passage in *Gilles et Jeanne* (53-55) repeats the events of Perrault's tale up to the point Poucet and his brothers find the ogre's house, in this case Gilles de Rais' castle in the Vendée. Although the details of the descriptions of Poucet's family are realistic rather than the idealized descriptions of fairy tale, there is a suggestion of magic at the end of the passage. This is the end of the chapter, and in the following, the children's deaths are suggested by smoke rising from the castle chimney. Oddly, there is no lesson learned in Poucet's confrontation with death. The shock of killing off a classic character of French children's literature may be just the mnemonic jolt necessary for conjuring up Tournier's other Poucet tale and for ordering it along with Perrault's tale according to an initiatory paradigm. That's the effect the scene had on me.

The stories in *Sept Contes* and *Les Rois mages* may appear simple, yet they are a rich interface of themes and structures common to Tournier's most complex works. Clustered together, "La fin de Robinson Crusoé", "La fugue du petit Poucet" and "Barbedor" initiate young readers into complex forms of reading that gain in resonance through experience with Tournier's other fiction. Importantly, the intertextual allusions in Tournier's work are never only self-referential, but instead encourage the reader to situate Tournier's fiction within the larger context of an established literary continuum.

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NOTES

[1] Subsequent references to this work will be abbreviated as *VP*. *Le Vol du vampire* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1981) is abbreviated throughout as VV.

Des Évolutions récentes de l'image de l'Allemagne dans l'opinion publique en France

Klaus Engelhardt and Sharon Cohen
Lewis and Clark College

Le 3 octobre 1990, l'ancienne République démocratique allemande fut incorporée en la République fédérale allemande, augmentant ainsi la population de cette dernière d'environ 16 millions d'habitants. L'Allemagne fédérale, qui avait déjà été, auparavant, le membre le plus dynamique, la «locomotive», selon certains, de la Communauté européenne, sera dorénavant la nation la plus peuplée et la plus puissante au centre de l'Europe et au sein de la Communauté.

En même temps que l'R.d.a. s'écroula, dans l'espace de quelques mois, les anciens pays satellites de l'ancienne U.r.r.s. se libérèrent du joug socialiste et commencèrent à convertir leurs économies, à grands coups d'investissements de provenance occidentale, en des économies à tendance capitaliste, sujettes aux seules lois du marché libre.

Or, l'Allemagne unifiée occupe une place privilégiée pour répondre à leurs besoins. Grâce à sa proximité géographique et à ses liens historiques de longue date, elle est certaine de tirer, sur le plan économique et politique, un profit énorme de ces évolutions d'aujourd'hui et de demain. L'actuelle capitale allemande «provisoire» de Bonn cède son rang à Berlin, symbolisant un changement historique de taille: «L'épine dorsale de l'Europe était aux marches de la francophonie. Elle passait par une ligne Bruxelles-Luxembourg-Strasbourg. Demain, elle sera germanique et passera par une ligne Berlin-Vienne-Trieste» (Vauzelle 36).

Que cela signifie-t-il pour les autres habitants de la maison européenne? Que deviendra l'amitié franco-allemande, si fréquemment invoquée comme clef de voûte de la reconstruction de l'Europe après le cataclysme de 1945? Que pensent, pour être plus précis, les Français face à ce gain de pouvoir et d'indépendance de leur voisine d'outre-Rhin? Que signifie cette «normalisation» du statut politique de l'Allemagne qui donne lieu à de nouvelles inquiétudes? Voilà quelques questions auxquelles cet exposé se propose de répondre. A l'occasion des diverses commémorations du Traité sur la Coopération Franco-allemande du 22 janvier 1963, notamment aux quinzième et vingt-cinquième anniversaires en 1978 et 1988, les observateurs de la scène franco-allemande ne cessaient d'affirmer que les anciennes hantises de l'inimitié «héréditaire» entre les deux nations seraient enfin conjurées, et qu'une nouvelle entente mutuelle informerait dorénavant les rapports franco-allemands (Engelhardt).

Ce traité était, évidemment, l'expression d'une réalité politique, à savoir que les deux gouvernements trouvaient leur compte dans cette coopération bilatérale (l'«axe Paris-Bonn»). En fait, elle a constitué, par moments, l'élément le plus stable dans l'édifice fragile de l'Europe dont l'agrandissement de six à douze membres n'a pas été sans atermoiements, sans à-coups.

Il est à espérer que ce traité d'amitié franco-allemande et son application ne perdent rien de leur dynamisme. Il ne fait aucun doute, cependant, que cette réalité politique n'est plus la même, du moment que l'Allemagne réoriente ses sources économiques d'abord vers la reconstruction économique et sociale de son ancienne souer socialiste - y engageant, pendant au moins une dizaine d'années, d'énormes ressources - et, à moyen terme, vers le développement des nouveaux marchés de l'Europe centrale.

En dehors des programmes radiophoniques et télévisés qui ne font pas l'objet de cette étude,[1] il existe une abondance de textes écrits, plus ou moins parti pris, qui dépeignent, du point de vue français, soit «l'Allemagne», soit «les Allemands». L'évolution de ces images successives en elle-même est largement documentée (Leiner; Uthmann), ce qui permet d'identifier certaines constantes qui s'accusent périodiquement au rythme des événements politiques ponctuant l'histoire récente des deux nations.

Les témoignages français sur les peuples et les régimes qui se sont succédé sur la rive droite du Rhin remontent bien plus loin que la publication, en 1814, de l'ouvrage célèbre de Germaine de Staël. Mais l'impact de ce dernier n'a jamais été égalé, et il continue à se faire sentir dans les témoignages contemporains.

Comparable à Tacite dont le *De Germania* servait un but semblable auprès de la société «dégénérée» de la Rome du IIe siècle, Madame de Staël s'efforce d'ériger l'image d'une Allemagne idéaliste pour s'en servir ensuite comme instrument de critique de la société napoléonienne. L'image déjà quelque peu passéiste qu'elle brosse de l'Allemagne est donc motivée et conditionnée par un but polémique, comme le suggère Wolfgang Leiner (86-95).[2] Cette image essentiellement pro-allemande a néanmoins dominé le débat français sur l'Allemagne pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle, jusqu'à la victoire de l'armée prussienne sur l'Autriche à Sadowa (Königgrätz), en 1866.

La guerre franco-prussienne de 1870/71 et ses conséquences, notamment la perte, pour la France, de l'Alsace-Lorraine, ont fini par apporter une correction majeure à cette image idéalisante: A côté de l'Allemand rêveur, idéaliste, et oublieux de sa condition sociale souvent peu brillante, parut l'Allemand militariste, l'agresseur brutal, toujours prêt à sacrifier la paix et la justice à sa volonté d'élargir sa sphère d'influence et son pouvoir. Elme-Marie Caro fut le premier à formuler ce qui est devenu la théorie des deux Allemagnes, en 1872, en s'appuyant sur des idées qu'il a pu trouver chez Alfred Michiels et Edgar Quinet.[3] Cette théorie n'a cessé de structurer la discussion sur l'Allemagne en France depuis.

L'hypothèse de la double nature des Allemands implique que, selon les circonstances politiques et sociales, ou bien le «bon» Allemand peut paraître, celui qui permet un dialogue raisonné et civilisé, ou bien le «mauvais» Allemand peut surgir soudainement et semer la zizanie: celui qui a valu aux Français la défaite de 1871, la perte des provinces de l'est qui s'ensuivit, la Première Guerre Mondiale, et la percée du national-socialisme, en 1933, avec toutes ses conséquences néfastes.

Quelles sont ces circonstances, les causes qui risquent de provoquer une nouvelle crise chez les Allemands? C'est là que se situent ce que les Français, depuis le livre de Pierre Viénot, intitulé ainsi, appellent les «incertitudes allemandes». Rongés de méfiance, et malgré quatre décennies de rapprochement indéniable depuis les années 50, les observateurs français enregistrent le moindre soupçon d'une radicalisation de la vie sociale en Allemagne. La moindre poussée neutraliste est interprétée immédiatement comme une «dérive de l'Allemagne vers l'est», et une manifestation, quelque faible qu'elle soit, du racisme ne laisse pas d'évoquer le souvenir de l'antisémitisme nazi. Peu importe que ces sursauts de la Droite réactionnaire renaissent malheureusement des deux côtés du Rhin face aux nouveaux défis de l'immigration de demandeurs d'emploi ou d'asile politique et économique.

Cette critique pointilleuse peut atteindre, à l'occasion, des formes d'expression assez violentes. En 1977, la coïncidence de trois événements déclencha une vague d'antigermanisme dans les média français: (1) l'évasion d'une prison italienne de l'ancien chef SS Kappler et sa fuite vers l'Allemagne où le droit d'asile le protégeait, (2) l'extradition par la justice française de Klaus Croissant qui était accusé d'avoir conspiré avec les terroristes emprisonnés de l'R.a.f. (Rote Armee Fraktion) qu'il était censé défendre en justice, et (3) le triple suicide, dans la prison de Stammheim, de ces mêmes terroristes après le détournement échoué d'un avion Lufthansa par leurs conspirateurs en liberté.

Le plus violent témoignage, celui de Jean Genet, ouvrit le débat en accusant la répression systématique ouest-allemande, favorisée par le capital international, et surtout américain, d'avoir provoqué la violence des contestataires: «C'est la brutalité même de la société allemande qui a rendu nécessaire la violence de la R.a.f.» Et le général Binoche d'y ajouter la perspective peu rassurante d'une résurgence possible du nazisme et de qualifier le phénomène hitler comme quelque chose d'inhérent à la psyché allemande: «Fini le romantisme d'un Hitler féroce au-delà de l'humain, personnage qui aurait pu naître chinois, russe, américain ou … français, Non! Hitler était bien, et seulement, un Allemand!»

Cependant, ce même débat élicita aussi des voix plus conciliatrices, comme celle de Joseph Rovan, lui-même survivant d'un camp de concentration, et celle d'Alfred Grosser, deux écrivains qui ont voué leur oeuvre entière au dialogue de reconciliation et de compréhension mutuelle des deux pays. En faisant allusion au passé collaborationniste de la majorité des Français, Grosser accuse ses adversaires de «mémoire sélective», alors que le Gaulliste Rovan reproche aux critiques de la Gauche leur attitude inflexible de parti pris pro-communiste («cécité voulue») (61).

Des inquiétudes plus subtiles et élusives sont formulées à l'égard du mouvement écopacifiste. Son organisation politique, le parti des Verts, est maintenant représentée dans plusieurs parlements provinciaux (Landtage) et, depuis mars 1983, aussi dans la parlement fédéral (Bundestag). En plus, les Verts regroupent un nombre important de sympathisants de toute couleur. Beaucoup de leurs positions politiques ont fini par être incluses dans les programmes des grands partis établis, surtout le parti social-démocrate, et certaines de leurs idées, notamment le pacifisme et le tiers-mondisme, trouvent un echo favorable au sein même des deux grandes églises.

A force de s'intégrer dans la vie politique de tous les jours, et grâce à leurs pérennes disputes internes entre «fundis» (aile intégriste) et «réalos» (aile plus réaliste) les Verts ont perdu l'aura révolutionnaire de leurs débuts. Mais leurs tendances neutralistes et pacifistes, et leur intégrisme remettent en question les assises même de l'intégration économique et militaire de l'Europe, et chacun de leurs actes est scruté d'un Oeil alarmé par de nombreux critiques français.

De son essai sur l'Allemagne, Brigitte Sauzay consacre un quart à l'étude des Verts et au mouvement de la paix (chapitres IX et X). Tout en reconnaissant que les Verts «ont identifié les véritables problèmes du XXIe siècle» (253), elle se demande quand-même si «l'Allemagne [peut] à nouveau bouleverser les équilibres internationaux», et affirme que «l'Allemagne des années 80 évoque irrésistiblement celle des années 20» (254): même fermentation d'idées, même recherche d'un «Sonderweg» allemand. Hantés par leurs angoisses métaphysiques - et cela depuis Luther - les amateurs modernes de la nature s'inscrivent, en quelque sorte, dans la tradition des mouvements de la jeunesse du début du siècle (Wandervögel - Oiseaux migrateurs), et Sauzay n'oublie pas de rappeler que «les chefs de la HJ (Jeunesse hitlérienne) surent ensuite tirer habilement parti de ce goût pour la communion avec la nature» (193).

Selon Jérôme Dumoulin, de l'Express, ce sentiment rousseauiste se prête aisément à une interprétation anti-civilisatrice, anti-occidentale. Il voit dans les Verts le «symbole d'une contestation où la passion légitime pour l'environnement se mêle à des rêveries anti-modernistes et neutralistes» (40).

Loin de condamner sommairement ces nouveaux mouvements sociaux, Sauzay y voit, au contraire, une contribution à la vie des idées d'envergure historique:

> Repenser le rôle des média dans la démocratie, dépasser le capitalisme industriel, repenser la guerre et la paix, trouver une solution à l'inexorable pression qu'exerce le tiers monde sur les pays riches: voilà les défis du XXIe siècle que les Verts ne cessent d'énoncer. (254)

Mais les inquiétudes suivent de près: «... dépourvu de tout sens de compromis, ils se précipitent dans une fuite en avant qui mènerait au chaos» (254).

Bien que le camp de l'écopacifisme allemand soit, jusqu'à présent, trop divisé, et même chaotique, pour attirer une masse critique d'électeurs, Sauzay n'est pas la seule à s'en inquiéter. Dans l'impossibilité de l'interpréter de façon rationale, nous aimerions citer un témoignage récent de Bernard-Henri Lévy:

> Aujourd'hui je reconnais en Allemagne une religion pacifiste, renforcée par une religion communautaire. Cette religion est - permettez-moi de le dire - en train de réveiller des idées et des souvenirs allemands qui avaient été reléguées au subconscient. Voilà qui me fait peur. ... Je vois revenir, dans le pacifisme, les vieux démons du passé allemand. (216)

Voilà une prise de position plutôt cryptique, mais qui confirme que les Allemands, malgré leurs meilleures intentions, ont vite fait de mettre mal à l'aise, de «déranger», comme dirait Sauzay, les grands pontes de l'opinion publique en France.

L'événement qui relança le débat sur la question allemande tout récemment était évidemment la réunification des deux Allemagnes du 3 octobre 1990. La position officielle de l'Élysée favorisa la fusion des deux pays. Elle avait peu de choix, à la vérité, car cet événement est programmé dans la Loi fondamentale, la constitution allemande, depuis que la République fédérale existe. L'opinion publique, par contre, ne craignit pas d'articuler de sérieuses réserves. Elle évoqua à satiété les plus douloureuses épisodes de l'histoire franco-allemande, car, selon certains historiens, la consolidation politique de l'Allemagne se serait toujours effectuée au dépens de la France. L'éveil du nationalisme allemand du début du XIXe siècle aurait entraîné l'échec de Napoléon Ir, de même que l'unification de l'Allemagne sous l'hégémonie prussienne a amené le conflit armé de 1870/71, la chute de Napoléon III, et la formation éventuelle de la IIIe République. Autant dire que l'Allemagne unie s'est toujours définie «contre» la France qui, elle, avait trouvé sa forme politique et territoriale bien avant qu'un État-nation allemand ne fût conçu. La fin de la IIIe République aussi fut le résultat d'une défaite militaire infligée par une armée allemande. La France victorieuse, ainsi que les autres pouvoirs alliés, est, par contre, signataire de tous les accords ayant trait à la formation de l'R.f.a.

Rien de plus normal, donc, que l'opinion publique française s'inquiète face à un agrandissement d'un quart environ de la République Fédérale. Georg Lechner, du Goethe-Institut de Paris, affirme que plus rien n'est resté des 27 années de l'amitié franco-allemande (158). D'autres, comme Josette Alia, constatent qu'en France «tout le monde a peur» (5), ou même que «c'est le moment ou jamais de ne pas avoir peur et de vérifier l'état de nos forces» (12).

Helmut Kohl se voit comparé, par la Gauche, au «Chancelier de fer» du IIe Reich. Sa politique de la réunification à pas de charge ne permettrait aucune révision de la Loi fondamentale, pas plus que la «révolution d'en haut» bismarckienne n'a permis la réalisation du projet démocratique et réformiste concu par le Parlement de la Paulskirche et inspiré par la Révolution de 1848.

Dans un long essai sur la nouvelle identité allemande, Jacques Le Rider ressuscite la théorie des deux Allemagnes sous une nouvelle forme: Tant que l'Allemagne souscrit à l'idéal volontariste du demos, c'est à dire d'une nation qui se définit par un acte politique, comme la Révolution de 1789 en France, ou l'adoption de la Loi fondamentale en Allemagne fédérale, le dialogue civilisé et amical entre les deux nations reste possible. Le danger, cependant, c'est que l'Allemagne risque de ressusciter une autre notion, celle du «Volk», ethnos. Cette notion mal définie correspondait mieux à la vocation supra-nationale de l'Empire médiéval (l'Empereur était, après tout, le suzerain du Roi de France). Elle fut aussi invoquée par les historiens-philosophes du IIe Reich pour justifier le rassemblement, enfin, dans un seul État de toutes les principautés de langue allemande, et elle a servi de prétexte à la politique d'expansion nazie. Après une longue réflexion sur les dispositions intellectuelles des Allemands et les conséquences de la réunification, l'auteur conclut par une question: «Après avoir raté sa modernisation au tournant de XIXe siècle, l'état national allemand réussit-il son passage au XXIe siècle?» (141).

Ce sont donc les réactions imprévisibles du «Volk», c'est son profond irrationalisme qui inquiète les critiques français.

Selon la thèse de Hartmut Kaelble, le rapprochement franco-allemand serait dû surtout à une convergence mutuelle des deux sociétés, il serait donc, à moyen terme, irréversible. Au niveau politique, cependant, de nouvelles questions se posent, questions qui ont peu à avoir avec les évolutions sociales des deux peuples. Il est nécessaire que les Européens repensent leurs rapports avec les nouvelles démocraties de l'Europe centrale. Il faut que la France s'accommode d'une Allemagne unifiée, plus complexe, et qui ne manquera pas de prolonger son glacis d'influence au-delà de sa nouvelle frontière orientale; et qu'elle réalise de bonne grâce que la vocation géopolitique de l'Allemagne n'a jamais été, et ne sera jamais, identique avec celle de la France. Le bon fontionnement du dialogue transrhénan et l'intelligence mutuelle seront donc plus nécessaires que jamais pour maintenir et élargir le terrain de l'entente franco-allemande.

NOTES

[1] voir, à ce propos, le livre d'Henri Ménudier, chap. III, «Deutschland im französischen Fernsehen» - étude qui en appelle d'ailleurs une suite pour les années quatre-vingt.

[2] voir aussi le jugement du regretté Pierre Bertaux, rapporté par Klaus Peter Schmidt: «Nul n'a fait autant que Madame de Staël dans ce domaine et nul n'a exercé une influence aussi néfaste et aussi prolongée» (7).

[3] voir la discussion de l'origine de cette théorie par Leiner (28-46).

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L'Artiste sous la plume de Yourcenar

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Marguerite Yourcenar commença sa carrière littéraire en faisant des vers au jeune âge de quatorze ans avec le soutien de son père, Michel de Crayencour, qui l'aida à trouver son nom de plume par l'anagramme de son patronyme. La première femme admise à l'Académie française en 1980, mourut le 17 décembre 1987 dans le Maine, à l'âge de quatre-vingt quatre ans. Dans son pays adoptif l'Amérique du Nord, sur l'île de Monts-Déserts, elle vécut pendant plus de quarante ans, loin de sa Belgique natale de par sa mère, Fernande de Cartier de Marchienne, (morte dix jours après la naissance de Marguerite) et de sa patrie française de par son père. Cette "exilée" sur son île après la deuxième guerre mondiale fut, en fait, "une jeune femme aventureuse qui avait suivi sa pente, de hasard en départ, de nomadisme en insularité" (Savigneau) et qui ne cessa de créer des livres ouverts, à interprétations multiples, où le thème de la créativité joue un rôle essentiel.

Ses oeuvres comme *Les Mémoires d'Hadrien* et *L'Oeuvre au Noir* font partie de sa seconde période, la plus célèbre; mais sa première période très créatrice, des années 1929 à 1939, nous donne en 1938 le chef-d'oeuvre des *Nouvelles Orientales* qui, sous le couvert de récits fantastiques, de légendes folkloriques ou de contes de fées, expose clairement ses vues philosophiques sur la création artistique. L'art, particulièrement la peinture, ainsi que l'artiste et son imagination, sont placés au coeur même de la structure de ces nouvelles. La première nouvelle, "Comment Wang-Fô fut sauvé", sur la vie d'un peintre chinois en voie de salut, définit le ton et l'intention du recueil, alors que la dernière nouvelle, "La tristesse de Cornélius Berg", sur un peintre hollandais déchu, en souligne sa circularité. La mise en opposition de deux peintres, de deux cultures, d'époques et de visions opposées ne peut clore le suspense du livre. Les questions sur la créativité reviennent sur elles-mêmes dans un incessant mouvement rotatif et permettent de lire toutes les nouvelles sous l'égide d'une méditation sur la source de l'imagination créatrice et sur l'origine psychique qui fait le vrai artiste.

Wang-Fô, du pays de Han, en Chine, comme Cornélius Berg, le hollandais du pays des tulipes, sont des vieillards voués par leur art même à des habitudes nomades. La quête de Wang-Fô le pousse à vagabonder (thème du voyage) le long des routes sans autre bagage que sa palette et ses couleurs tandis que Cornélius Berg, rentré à Amsterdam sans argent (thème du retour), après de longs séjours en Italie, change sans cesse d'auberge. Les deux peintres, ayant renoncé depuis longtemps à toute gloire terrestre, dédaignaient l'argent. Tous deux sont occupés par une quête qui dépasse leur condition humaine.

Pourtant Wang-Fô et Cornélius Berg sont placés à des pôles opposés quant à leur réputation. Celle de Wang-Fô, qui est toujours accompagné de son disciple Ling, est connue dans tout le pays de Han:

> Leur réputation les précédait dans les villages, au seuils des châteaux forts et sous le porche des temples où les pélerins inquiets se réfugient au crépuscule. On disait que Wang-Fô avait le pouvoir de donner la vie à ses peintures par une dernière touche de couleur qu'il ajoutait à leurs yeux. (Nouvelles Orientales 15)

Il semble que plus Wang-Fô vieillit et plus il a de talent. Il donne vie aux natures mortes, et par les yeux capte l'essence de ses modèles dans les portraits. Au contraire, Cornélius Berg perd graduellement son talent en vieillissant et en buvant, puis est réduit à peindre de fausses boiseries sur les murs d'une église. Un tourment continuel le ronge:

> Cornélius, vieux peintre de portraits, longtemps établi dans une soupente de Rome, avait toute sa vie trop scruté les visages humains; il s'en détournait maintenant avec une indifférence irritée; il allait jusqu'à dire qu'il n'aimait pas à peindre les animaux, ceux-ci ressemblant trop aux hommes. (140)

Que se passe-t-il dans la tête de ses deux hommes doués pour expliquer leurs choix si opposés? Wang-Fô, arrêté par les soldats de l'Empereur, Fils du Soleil, est condamné par ce dernier à avoir les yeux brûlés et les mains coupées. Elevé pendant ses années d'enfance, seul au milieu de la beauté des tableaux de Wang-Fô, l'empereur accuse le peintre d'être la source de son malheur et d'avoir été la cause de son illusion sur la beauté du monde. Wang-Fô serait celui qui a caché à l'empereur la vérité sur la laideur ambiante:

> Tu m'as menti, Wang-Fô, vieil imposteur: le monde n'est qu'un amas de taches confuses, jetées sur le vide par un peintre insensé, sans cesse effacées par nos larmes. (21)

L'empereur considère la création de Dieu-peintre comme une folie. La condamnation du peintre chinois met en relief son obsession à essayer de saisir la perfection. Nul homme ou nulle femme, par exemple, ne peut représenter pour cet artiste la perfection de son sexe. Pour faire le portrait d'une princesse, Wang-Fô se sert de Ling, homme et futur disciple, comme modèle pour représenter la beauté féminine dans sa perfection. Puis il se sert de la femme de Ling pour représenter la beauté masculine à son apogée. Ainsi faisant, le portrait détruit le modèle et la femme de Ling se suicide puisque son époux préfère se consacrer à son maître Wang-Fô plutôt qu'à elle et que la peinture a volé son essence d'être vivant:

> Un matin, on la trouva pendue aux branches du prunier rose: les bouts de l'écharpe qui l'étranglait flottaient mêlés à sa chevelure... Wang-Fô la peignit une dernière fois car il aimait cette teinte verte dont se recouvre la figure des morts. Son disciple Ling broyait les couleurs, et cette besogne exigeait tant d'application qu'il oubliait de verser des larmes.

Toute l'horreur du choix de Wang-Fô surgit à cet instant. Ling sacrifie tout, même la vie de sa femme, à sa vocation de disciple. Le peintre Wang-Fô reste insensible à la souffrance humaine et aux conséquences de ses propres actes. Il ne peut qu'admirer le vert cadavérique de la morte. Il s'approprie Ling, corps et âme, sans souci des conséquences drastiques qui en résultent. Le plus grand peintre que la Chine ait connu est entièrement le miroir de son propre talent, l'égoïsme dans sa plus pure expression; et c'est probablement de là que vient sa capacité de peindre la perfection dans la nature et dans la nature humaine. Ne connaissant pas la bonté humaine, il atteint la beauté par procuration, à travers ses tableaux. L'oeuvre d'art demanderait-elle le sacrifice complet et total comme l'illustre la vie de Ling, sacrifiant tout à son maître? Ceci ne serait pas une vraie réponse pour Marguerite Yourcenar.

La seconde partie de la réponse nous est suggérée par la fin du conte sur Wang-Fô. Le Fils du Ciel ordonne au peintre de donner quelques dernières touches à une toile du palais qu'il avait laissé inachevée, avant d'être aveuglé et mutilé. Le peintre s'exécute devant la cour et son empereur pour finir la peinture d'une marine. Sur la mer, il crée une barque avec ses pinceaux, puis il a tôt fait de disparaître derrière un rocher de la peinture sur la barque, emportant avec lui son disciple Ling, qui a été miraculeusement ressuscité après sa décapitation. Seule l'écharpe rouge de Ling flottant dans l'air marin rappelle sa mort précédente:

> Enfin, la barque vira autour d'un rocher qui fermait l'entrée du large; l'ombre d'une falaise tomba sur elle; le sillage s'effaça de la surface déserte, et le peintre Wang-Fô et son disciple Ling disparurent à jamais sur cette mer de jade bleu que Wang-Fô venait d'inventer. (27)

Le peintre n'était-il pas moins égoïste qu'on aurait pu le penser s'il peint Ling dans la barque avec lui et s'il réussit à le sauver? Pas vraiment, car à la mort de Ling, le peintre admire son beau sang écarlate. Wang-Fô, le peintre de la quête, part pour un éternel voyage au-delà de l'humain, vers un monde de perfection. Son talent est tel qu'il peut, grâce à ses coups de pinceau, se transporter dans un autre monde. Mais sa peinture pourrait être une cage au lieu d'un échappatoire. Sa peinture derrière lui restera certainement à la postérité. La force de Wang-Fô réside dans son extrême obstination à n'avoir qu'un seul but, sa peinture. Parce qu'il y sacrifie tout, il peut passer de l'autre côté du miroir comme *Alice de l'autre côté du miroir*. Le peintre demeure l'homme des éternels départs, des grands voyages et de l'éternelle quête. Son imagination, source inépuisable, le perd et le sauve tout à la fois. Wang-Fô se perd littéralement dans sa peinture aussi bien que dans le sens symbolique. Son salut s'accomplit aussi à travers son art au double sens du littéral et du figuré. Pourtant le lecteur ne cesse de se poser des questions sur Wang-Fô. Toute son énergie s'est dirigée dans son oeuvre et n'a-t-il pas renoncé délibérement à la vraie compréhension des êtres? De son vivant, dans le monde terrestre il n'a montré aucune compassion. Il serait alors devenu un monstre au niveau humain et humaniste.

Pour Marguerite Yourcenar, l'artiste se trouve pris dans un dilemme existentiel car l'art devient synonyme de dévotion totale à la création. Le réel qui l'entoure ne

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reflète qu'imperfection, et fait entrave au monde de l'imagination. Le poète ou le peintre doit à toutes forces écarter cette entrave de la vie et passer outre. En créant contre la mort, en la défiant, et en laissant un héritage artistique à la postérité, l'artiste touche à un au-delà reservé aux "happy few", puisqu'il survit à la finitude existentielle. En empruntant son histoire de Wang-Fô à un apologue taoïste de la vieille Chine, Yourcenar présente une pensée philosophique qui loue l'esthète, qui projette une vision aristocratique de l'artiste et qui favorise la complexité métaphysique à travers une recherche de l'expression, simple seulement en apparences. L'"orientalisme" du texte n'a pas pour but la couleur locale, mais bien l'union des ambivalences, la communication mystique suprême, la rencontre de l'instant où le sacré et le secret réussissent à converger.

Par contraste, Cornélius Berg, dans "La Tristesse de Cornélius Berg", nouvelle d'abord intitulée "Les Tulipes de Cornélius Berg", est un homme de l'Occident. Il semble être un peintre qui a perdu son talent et qui se détourne de son oeuvre. Son ami, le Syndic de Harlem, se fait une joie de partager avec Cornélius la beauté d'une de ses tulipes les plus réussies. Le Syndic de Harlem remarque à propos de la perfection de sa tulipe que:

> Dieu est le peintre de l'univers. (143)

Le peintre reste d'abord silencieux devant le commentaire de son ami. Quelle est la préoccupation profonde qui hante l'âme de Cornélius à cet instant précis? Pourquoi ce peintre sur commande, qui a vu les plus belles tulipes du monde, en Hollande et dans leur terre de naissance chez un Sultan de Constantinople qui lui avait demandé de peindre son jardin de tulipes, ne peut-il acquiescer à la remarque du Syndic? Comment Cornélius, si gai et si plein de vie dans sa jeunesse, a-t-il pu devenir ce vieil homme taciturne? Autant de questions que se pose le lecteur. Une clé révélatrice s'offre dans une phrase particulière de Marguerite Yourcenar, mettant en lumière l'analyse de la crise existentielle de Cornélius.

> A mesure que se perdait le peu de talent qu'il avait jamais possédé, du génie semblait lui venir. (140)

De nouveau une comparaison s'impose entre le tempérament de Wang-Fô et celui de Cornélius. Marguerite Yourcenar différencie ici, d'une manière subtile mais claire, le talent du génie. Wang-Fô symbolise le peintre de talent, à qui il manque le génie; ce qui explique son manque de compassion. Au contraire, Cornélius Berg (dont le nom de "montagne" rappelle le livre de Gabrielle Roy *La Montagne Secrète*, sur le peintre et trappeur canadien René Richard, où Roy pose aussi le problème de la création artistique, ou bien évoque la fiction d'Hélène Cixous *Limonade tout était si infini* sur le "frôlement" créateur et la seconde innocence) symbolise l'homme capable de grande compassion. Mais il a tellement scruté les visages humains avec leurs défauts ou vices à peine cachés sous les traits, qu'il est devenu amer. Le pessimisme de Cornélius le détruit petit à petit, et il a renoncé à la quête vers la beauté à travers son art. Il est l'homme du retour, d'une part par son repliement sur Amsterdam et d'autre part par sa trop grande conscience des malheurs humains; Wang-Fô, l'homme des départs, par son inconscience même, continue à aller de l'avant et se perd et se sauve simultanément. La dernière phrase de la nouvelle "La Tristesse de Cornélius Berg" se termine par l'angoissant cri du protagoniste:

> Quel malheur, Monsieur le Syndic, que Dieu ne se soit pas borné à la peinture des paysages. (143)

Cornélius se perd aussi, mais d'une manière autre que celle de Wang-Fô. L'enthousiasme artistique de Wang-Fô fait de lui le peintre des éternelles naissances et forme un contraste parfait avec sa contrepartie hollandaise, le peintre des éternelles fins. Pas assez d'amour mène à un au-delà, mais ce dernier peut être quelquefois vide. Trop d'amour peut conduire à la mort de l'âme, mais ne nie pas automatiquement une rédemption possible. Dans le cas de Cornélius, il a choisi de peindre les murs d'une église. Qui dit qu'il ne pourra ainsi trouver la paix, puisqu'il a du génie, alors que Wang-Fô n'avait que du talent? Le rituel de ses deux histoires qui sertissent d'autres contes évoquant tantôt l'amour maternel sacrificiel, comme dans "Le Lait de la Mort," tantôt la mort génératrice, comme dans "Kâli décapitée" ou "Notre-Dame-des-Hirondelles", met l'emphase sur la recherche de la transcendance, au niveau le plus haut.

> In Marguerite Yourcenar's books, as in ancient rituals, it is necessary not only to live the experience, but also, in order to reach the highest stage, to remember to ask "What does this mean?" The constant search for transcendence, for the meaning

> beyond perceptible reality is one of the primary characteristics of her work.

De nombreuses interprétations pourraient se faire sur *Les Nouvelles Orientales*, car chaque récit demeure un récit à plusieurs facettes avec des dénouements ouverts malgré leur apparente finalité. Les deux contes se trouvent donc opposés, mais en fait l'un reflète l'autre. Ce n'est ni Wang-Fô ni Cornelius qui a la réponse. "L'art est sacré" semble chuchoter la première nouvelle. "L'art n'a pas de sens si on le compare à la souffrance humaine" souffle la seconde nouvelle à l'oreille du lecteur. Alors se pose le problème de Dieu, pour Marguerite Yourcenar.

Cette interprétation a essayé de montrer que ce que souhaite Marguerite Yourcenar n'est ni la solution du peintre chinois sauvé par son art, ni celle de Cornélius Berg perdu parce qu'il ne peint plus. Les deux peintres ont des philosophies opposées et se ressemblent comme le pile et la face d'une pièce de monnaie. Cornélius se situe dans le camp de l'empereur de Chine qui est horrifié par la laideur du monde. L'auteur suggèrerait un compromis entre les deux excès, car tous les récits de cette oeuvre ont pour thème central la passion excessive. Le dilemme de l'artiste est basé sur un paradoxe impossible à résoudre. Que reste-t-il à faire pour l'artiste? Marguerite Yourcenar verrait peut-être la réponse dans l'union de ces deux tendances. Cela voudrait dire que la création artistique ressemble au mythe de la déesse Kâli à la tête de sainte et au corps de prostituée. Nulle partie, tête ou corps, ne peut vivre sans l'autre, comme le talent ne peut vivre sans un certain génie et le génie ne peut vivre sans talent. Pour arriver à cette union de deux pôles contradictoires, l'artiste doit être un acrobate, marchant comme un funambule sur un fil tendu entre commencement et fin, comme l'est l'image de Sappho chez Yourcenar:

> The image of Sappho as an acrobat, struggling between the lessons of love and death, is particularly apt in the journey for self-discovery (Fisher 70)

L'ambiguïté de l'art ne pourra jamais être résolue tant que celle de Dieu ne le sera pas. Peut-on oublier la souffrance humaine et encore créer? Si on l'oublie, peut-on vraiment créer des chefs-d'oeuvre? Et si Dieu existe, peut-on accepter que le créateur puisse créer mieux que le Créateur? Est-ce une option possible que d'être meilleur dans la création que Dieu lui-même? On se retrouverait peut-être alors au chaos de la Tour de Babel. Et tout serait à recommencer.

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Memory, the Imperfect Mirror: a study of Anne Hébert's "Le Printemps de Catherine"

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In the poetry, drama and prose of the Quebec writer, Anne Hébert, memory is used as a vehicle to force her protagonists to face, define and relive their past. From Hébert's earliest poetic expressions where the return to the past represents a means to better situate the poet in the present, to her most recent novel, *Le premier jardin*, in which recollections of childhood help to direct the novel's heroine in her search for a personal identity, memory is always the perfect mirror whose reflections do not lie.

Looking to the past, for Hébert, is a bipartite act of deconstruction and reconstruction. It is a process played out by her characters as an elaborate dance of confrontation and retreat, an interplay between the present self and an older one. It is a sacred ritual during which the two selves gradually reshape each other as the effects of time and events work upon the outline of a single, individual identity.

There is in Hébert's work, however, another element that often imposes itself upon memory and the return to the past, that is, the element of dream, or, more specifically of daydream, as it relates to illusion and fantasy. Memories, for Hébert's characters, are more often "bad" than "good." When her protagonists allow themselves to dream, they often wilfully invite the distortion of bad memories as a means of coping with events in their past which they do not wish to or cannot confront. But these evasions represent only a temporary fix. Each of Hébert's characters must inevitably face the reality of his or her own music, however dissonant it may be. It is within this perpetual interplay and the resulting tension between memory, dream and reality that Hébert forges the tragic dimensions of her protagonists. And it is in one of her short stories, a story entitled "Le Printemps de Catherine," that the unfortunate ramifications of this interplay and resulting tension are best illustrated.

It was during the winter months of 1946 and 1947, not long after the end of the second world war, when Hébert wrote the short and gripping narrative under consideration here. Although there is no specific indication in the story of time and place, it is indirectly evident that Hébert's setting is a small French village during the Nazi occupation of 1940.

The title of the story immediately alerts the reader to a fundamental paradox. The juxtaposition of springtime, the season when man and nature come to life, with an atmosphere of war, a time when nature and man are destroyed and killed, is the first physical and philosophical image that strikes the reader's imagination and sets the tone of the narrative:

> Or, voici que l'ennemi est venu brouiller les graines, semer l'ivraie, tracer ses propres sillons, contrairiant le sens que nous donnons à nos cultures. Pour ses abatis, il brûle sans vergogne des choses qui nous sont précieuses et chères. (*Le Torrent* 93)

It is the first of many impositions of an external reality upon a sense of internal security, a process that turns upside down the fundamental social values of those who people this town. There are those, like Madame Pichou, who avoid facing the facts by hiding behind the safe routine of their daily lives. While others, like the pharmacist and his daughter, must care for the wounded and are thus thrown into the horrors of war by virtue of their professions. They are part of the few who cannot afford the luxury of living in a state of dream and illusion.

But for everyone else, when the enemy is upon them and they are forced to flee the protection of home, profession and daily routine, war is the great equalizer. It is no respecter of rank and bloodline. It cuts open the heart and lays it painfully bare.

It is in this brutal and ugly ambience that we are introduced to Catherine, a diminutive, hunchbacked barmaid, a hideously deformed servant of the people with that ageless and lifeless face that marks the look of the downtrodden. It is a face that has become so much an integral part of the bar over which she peers that it has merged with the fixture itself. Mercilessly mocked by the clientele, she instinctively responds to the name, "la Puce," a double dig at her only too obvious virginity and her flea-ridden, less than human condition.

Now it is war, and chaos is the disorder of the moment. It is a period when antipathy rules, when the subhuman emerges and the hateful and the hated reign supreme. It is a time that mirrors the inner rage boiling within Catherine's heart. For her, with this turning of the tables, comes a breath of new life. Indeed, it is her "printemps." It is seemingly the end of her old world and the beginning of a new. In the scorching heat of the fires and under the mind-shattering explosions of bombs she sees "les signes superbes de la fin du monde" (97). For Catherine, "la Puce," "le petit comptoir," it is a time for seeking revenge against her tormentors. When she is told to give up her only refuge, a moth-eaten mattress in an upstairs corner, to a nun by the name of Nathalie who has been chased from her convent by the invaders, she is seized by an inner loathing for all she has suffered, for the indignities and the scorn, for the years of social ostracism. "La Puce n'a rien dit," writes Hébert about the incident, "mais, dans son étroite poitrine, elle a senti tressaillir une telle violence que, pour la première fois, elle a été vengée du mal atroce qu'on lui a fait depuis toujours" (97). Finally, for Catherine, it is a time to regain a sense of freedom lost to a life of perpetual misery and enslavement. With walls crumbling all around her, she says: "'Ah! que tombent toutes les grilles et les murailles et que je m'échappe aussi!'" (97).

It is difficult, however, for Catherine to unbend her bones, to raise her head and confront the world, *her* enemy. The fold in her stature, the oblique glances, the lowered head are those of a brow-beaten child, the result of a lifetime of relentless social blows. But her greatest deformity is psychological. She has come to accept her condition, her place in the corner, her miserable mattress. "'...[C]'est ma place,'" she says, "'...c'est mon droit'" (99).

Catherine's only hope for deliverance is through sentiments of hate and evil, sentiments which have become an integral part of her psychological formation and with which she is most familiar. While Nathalie, helpless and afraid, says her nightly prayers in Catherine's humble corner, Catherine invokes, in her turn, her own "gods," demons which animate her inner sense of revolt and her desire for freedom. "'Délivrez-moi de mon pain quotidien,'" she thinks. "'Que je touche au mal, puisque c'est la seule brèche par laquelle je puisse atteindre la vie!'" (99)

Thus when the order comes from the mayor to evacuate the town,

when everyone is made to leave home and hovel, prison and convent, the security of habitual walls and of familiar closets, it is an exile that everyone fears and laments, everyone, that is, except Catherine. For her, it is not exile but liberation. "La puce est seule dans un monde horrible," comments Hébert, "mais elle est disponible. Elle hume son premier printemps, ...sa première journée au monde. Sous son silence éclate une espèce de chant intérieur" (101).

It is only when she is forced by circumstance into freedom that Catherine begins to accept it, to measure herself against it, to hold it up as a mirror of self-inspection. For the first time, not only does she recognize her condition, her ugliness, her sunken eyes, her bony head, the very face of death itself, but she begins to evaluate that condition, even embrace it. At one point she intones:

> "Je suis vacante, moi, la plus parfaite pauvreté, c'est moi. La plus offerte à ce temps impitoyable, c'est moi. Sans argent ni beauté, sans enfant au ventre ni personne au coeur, je passe où d'autres accrochent. Mes yeux perçants ne perdent rien de cette vision suprême du monde!" (102)

With Nathalie in tow, Catherine leaves the walls of her bar/prison and enters the chaos of the unknown. It is a journey back into the depths of her soul, to the childhood she never had. It is a quest for the memory of her aboriginal sources, her first springtime, a quest for which she has no physical nor temporal reference point. As she embarks upon this voyage of self-interrogation, she asks:

> "Mon âge? Puis-je savoir exactement? Les années sans trêve ni joie ont été si bien jointes les unes aux autres. Aucun point de repère. J'ai encaissé les coups, les injures, le travail... O cours égal des jours comme une unique journée épouvantable! Et voici que je rencontre mon printemps. Je n'en ai pas connu d'autres, et celui-ci est à ma mesure." (101-102)

While Catherine and Nathalie are en route, they encounter a soldier. The soldier grabs Nathalie, saying: "'On ne passe pas, la belle, sans payer le droit du vainqueur!'" (103). Catherine continues on and does not look back, paying no attention to Nathalie's shouts and screams echoing behind her. "'Qu'une paye pour les autres!'" she reasons. "'C'est justice'" (103). Catherine has her own agenda: the pursuit of an egocentric vision of self-realization in which the sacrifice of others is but the just payment for her own sacrifices.

Now alone, Catherine wanders on. Night falls. She seeks bed and shelter in the soft straw of an abandoned barn. Soon she is joined by another, a drunken soldier, a young man with the face of a sunburned child. In his dizzy inebriation and in the obscurity of the dark, he does not see Catherine's ugliness. Suddenly, she remembers the wounding words of her tormentors. "'Hein! la puce, une belle soirée pour l'amour! Rassure-toi, tu sera jamais assez belle pour cela!'" (104). She allows the young soldier to undress her, to touch her, to make love to her. For a moment, "le temps d'une étincelle" (104), she is a princess, the most beautiful in the world.

The soldier falls asleep. Catherine looks at the glow of his smooth and handsome face in the moonlight. Removing a knife from his belt, she wonders whether she should plant it in his chest where she had laid her head or whether she should use the knife to cut his throat. She opts for the latter. And as the blood trickles from his neck, he opens one of his eyes. It is the eye of a child, blue and terrified.

For a moment, the beauty and youth that Catherine never had is captured in and mirrored upon the fading gleam of this open eye. The soldier had not seen her ugliness. For him, and now for her, the soft and sensual memory of her first and her last experience with love is congealed within the lifeless stare of a dead man.

But Catherine's brief springtime is only an illusion, an inverse reflection of her miserable reality. Rather than reviving a memory of childhood on which she might construct one of her own, it only reminds her that this memory, this springtime, is a season she can never experience. Writes Hébert: "Dans cet oeil bleu qui se fige pour toujours, un instant elle a vu luire je ne sais quelle enfance, jardin d'où elle demeure à tout jamais chassée" (105).

It is, however, a garden that Catherine intuits. Along with the theme of war and the hate and revenge it engenders, it is, in this story, the theme of longing for the past and for the innocence of childhood that is central to its relationship to other of Hébert's literary works and to the theme of memory as a path which leads to the reviving and the rethinking of one's quintessence. But unlike other of Hébert's titles, the originality of "Le Printemps de Catherine" lies in the fact that its main character has no intelligible first memories. Rather, Catherine attempts to construct them with underpinnings grounded in a false present—the abnormality and eccentricity of war—and with a framework anchored to an illusion—the belief that within this chaos she will find the order of a cohesive past. It does not work, and she remains condemned forever to be who she is. Her tragic fallacy is centered in her attempt to search for her past in the eye of another. Couched within the story's final image of brutal murder is a symbolic act of self preservation. But the act lacks authenticity. Catherine never knows who she really is and consequently she cannot know for whom she is looking. Instead, this pathetic creature falls even deeper into a psychological chasm out of which she will never escape.

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The French Revolution and Historical Coherence

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The quincentenary of Columbus's 1492 voyage has become less a commemoration of a seminal event than a disputation on the politics of historical coherence. Indissociably connected to the colonization and enslavement that ensued, this 1492 encounter of continents can no longer be simply encapsulated and then scrutinized as a single moment in time. This suggests that cataclysmic historical moments cannot easily be transformed into flawlessly contoured objects for study. In trying to assign a clear empirical configuration to past events one could argue that the historian or cultural interpreter contributes to the formulation of an ideological perspective: to objectify the past is tantamount to sealing it in a particular belief system. According to Michel Foucault one can transcend a purely empirical analysis of the past by regarding historiography as a means to unravel a dynamic stream of correlations and social practices.[1] From this approach 1492 does become a new exploration because its interpretation implies a dismantling of beliefs, a decolonization of historical thinking.

The quincentennial emerges then as a confrontation between ways of conceptualizing the past. For the teacher of cultural history a philosophical dialogue of this significance cannot be excluded from the classroom. Yet, from a pragmatic standpoint, how can a dialog on historical interpretation be projected into a culture course without forsaking intelligibility? Far from pretending to offer a fully satisfactory answer, the following will examine the French Revolution in order to address the difficulties associated with coherently objectifying the past. Several distinct understandings of the French Revolution will be proposed: presented contrastively, that is, in correlation to each other, these interpretations will I hope enable the culture teacher to explain the French Revolution as a dynamic entity composed of interwoven and often antithetical concepts.

Like Columbus's voyage to the Americas, the French Revolution is a complex idea, rarefied in time and charged with different symbolic and political meanings. Should the Revolution be understood as a single pivotal event or, rather, as a dynamic social action unfolding in time? Does the substance of the French Revolution reside in its fragmented constitutional legacy rather than in its unsteady beginnings? Although his views have not gone unchallenged, the historian Paul Veyne can provide us with a point of departure. In his study on the appropriation of historical coherence he argues that structuring the past is not an operation based on a finite number of possibilities. This is the case, according to Veyne, because historical knowledge is not an experiential object (56), and because history is not guided by the laws of science (158). Historical consciousness is fluid and tends to be regulated by the conventions of a particular period. Furthermore, because it is predicated on a collective memory and on a constant resolve to conceptualize a vision of truth, history does far more than enumerate a causal sequence of events. Yet, if the process of historical theorizing is indeterminate, this is so, according to Veyne, in all ways except one: history must refer to what actually happened (21). Thus, to understand the French Revolution cultural interpreters must first of all accept it as fact.[2]

Most interpreters of the Revolution do indeed accept it factually, and they absorb a vast field of human activity into the realm of specific objective concepts and into cognitive arrangements. In Furet's view, this absorption and restructuring of time transforms the Revolution into one of two possibilities. The Revolution is either a coherent Tocquevillian concept, emerging out of reasoning founded on historical causality, or the Revolution is a radical interruption of history. According to Furet, this second interpretation stands like a watermark in the scholarship of the revolutionary historian Augustin Cochin (Penser 212-15, 254-57). Seen from this second viewpoint, the Revolution was concerned less with ideas than with ideology, less with change than with maintaining a fictive image of itself through a political apparatus.[3] As a result, the Revolution formed a moment of discontinuity: the traditional order of things collapsed to allow one system of power to supplant another. To Furet, the historian who conceives of the Revolution in this manner will identify the moment of rupture when political action has been sublimated into its ideological representation (Penser 42-49).

From these two ways of appropriating meaning it is possible to extrapolate a number of overlapping approaches to the French Revolution. The following five approaches do not preclude other possibilities. They do, however, provide workable instructional parameters for a French culture teacher.

I. The first approach could be called pre-Revolutionary. According to this view, the date 1789 is situated more at the end, and not at the start, of a social process. A set of latent and seemingly disjointed factors were growing beneath the surface of 18th century France. These factors would converge slowly and then finally intersect in 1789. Above all, these nascent insurrectional forces were defined by their multiplicity.

Jean Egret has provided the narrowest delimitation of the pre-Revolutionary period: he situates it between the convening of the Assembly of Notables in 1787 and the convocation of the Estates General in January 1789. For Egret, this early crisis, although an intermediate stage, served as a springboard for the events that would follow. Other historians have a wider view of the period. Soboul claims that 18th-century France witnessed the expansion and diversification of its commercial sector: this new economic reality would, firstly, encourage the Revolution and then legitimize the ascendancy of bourgeois values (I, 38-48).

René Rémond argues that a demographic revolution preceded the political revolution (43-45). For this reason, Rémond traces the beginning of the revolutionary period to 1750. By this date, France's population had reached a saturation point in terms of the country's food supply and capacity for employment. These conditions would swell the ranks of France's mendicant or fourth estate. Bolstered by the enlightened notions that had managed to seep down from the salons, the third and fourth estates would produce a new social momentum and a new vision based on "essential liberties".

At this juncture, according to Rémond, France's social fabric begins to unravel and to reorganize itself in a different way. A social pattern founded on separate orders (or judicial estates) develops into a new hierarchy that is no longer judicially defined by law: a class hierarchy emerges, based on such factors as income and profession (70). Seen in these terms, the Revolution is the conjunction of both demographic and economic factors that encouraged a social structure based on relatively impermeable orders to evolve into one based on relatively permeable classes.

If these factors became clearly noticeable in the 1750s, the actual transition from a society founded on estates to one founded on classes would occur the night of August 4, 1789, when the Constituting Assembly claimed to be abolishing all privileges. That night marks the point of no-return, for it consolidated the authority of those who sought to eliminate the Ancien Régime's absolutism.

Yet, there is another, quite different way of conceptualizing the multiple factors that were synthesized into a revolution. Instead of examining social forces like Rémond, one can explore how a period characterizes itself intellectually and linguistically, and how such a characterization affects historical events. This approach has, since Tocqueville, fueled an inconclusive debate regarding the influence, or lack thereof, of the Enlightenment on the French Revolution.[4] Keith Baker has devoted a considerable amount of attention to this question. His scholarship reveals the extent to which the French Revolution was not only the result of a conjunction of influences, but that it was, prior to 1789 and for a brief period thereafter, actually experienced in the plural rather than in the singular (Inventing 204). But Baker's analysis is not focused on specific historical episodes: the significance of his work stems from the fact that he is concerned with 18th-century discourse. How were various intellectual formulations of the term *revolution* absorbed both into a specific conscious act—the act of participating in a dramatic historical moment—and into a new vision of the future? Or putting it a different way: Baker is not trying to determine the social issues that first obliged Louis XVI to relinquish some of his authority; he is, rather, trying to locate a point in time when France, because of a change in discursive practices, was consciously aware of participating in a single process that it called "la Révolution" (Inventing 223).

II. The second, or sequential framework is perhaps the simplest to consider because it arranges the revolutionary period into phases or chronological blocks. This framework has been adopted by the French Ministry of Education to establish the history curriculum at the secondary level. One need only pick up a book like Jacques Marseille's history text for "la classe de seconde" to see that the Revolution's periodicity is clearly segmented.[5] According to this temporal arrangement, the Revolution unfolded like a five-act tragi-comedy. Tensions between the regional parliaments and the King perpetrate a first crisis: "la révolution nobiliaire". This crisis forces Louis XVI to swallow some of his pride and to convoke the Estates General. Instead of consolidating the strength of the aristocracy, the first phase serves as a catalyst for the deep social upheaval that opens Act II: the legislative revolution. The "révolution judiciaire" engenders a constitutional monarchy and brings a new élite to power. However, as more participants enter the political space, a democratic or Jacobin political machine emerges which, in a third phase, successfully rallies the people of Paris, "les sans-culottes," to overthrow the monarchy. In Act IV the Thermidorians win the day: a conservative reaction puts an end to the ideological excesses of the Jacobin phase and institutes a more permanent social order that privileges the bourgeoisie. The final act opens on a November morning in 1799: Bonaparte's Consulate brings the revolutionary decade to a close and launches France on a new imperial course. After tasting the bitter seed of experience, order is restored. The military paintings of David and of Gros visually capture the play's conclusion, when France is able to refind, if only momentarily, its sense of political innocence and grandeur.

Sequential reasoning underlies most histories of the French Revolution, simply because the temporal delineation that it provides is tacitly accepted as a way to decipher the period.[6] As a result, the phases of the sequential itinerary have been granted the highest conceptual status. However, Paul Veyne argues that this type of chronological sequencing, if applied too rigorously, produces a type of nominalism, where conceptual divisions do not always correspond to historical substance (42). Hence, to impose well drafted historical lines on the French Revolution amounts to encapsulation, and sheds very little light on the 1830, 1848, and 1871 insurrections.

III. A way of circumventing this difficulty is to place the French Revolution into a larger and more indefinite temporal matrix. The third, or constitutional explanation of the Revolution is an example of this approach. At the turn of this century Aulard examined how the democratic and republican principles of the "Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme" were institutionalized and then suppressed during the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods. More recently, both Godechot and Furet have also applied the constitutional framework to their scholarship.[7] This model is essentially concerned with the legacy of the Revolution for it defines France's 19th century political landscape in terms of the country's first three constitutions.

Each constitution articulates the political doctrine of the three currents that would compete for dominance in the 19th century. First, the 1791 Constitution represents a liberal and chartered monarchy; second, the 1793 Constitution, democratic socialism and; third, the 1795 Constitution, a stratified, free-trade Republic. These three documents contain the structure of France's political consciousness from the Restoration until the 1880s. The liberal views of France's industrialists would vie for legitimacy with both the regressive forces of monarchists and with the demands voiced by an expanding working class. What the 19th century produced was a consolidation of the 1793 and 1795 documents, which consisted of social as well as free-market principles that would find their way into primary school civics classes throughout the Third Republic. From this viewpoint the Revolution finally came to a close in the 1880s, when the Republican Opportunists, led by Gambetta and Ferry, claimed a decisive political victory over the monarchists.

In short, 19th-century France would chart an asymmetrical course back to the spirit and letter of its second and third constitutions in order to create a stable democratic republic.

IV. Yet some would claim that this republic was not fully instituted at the end of the 19th century and that it still has not materialized. This understanding of the Revolution is articulated by a fourth approach, one that is not founded on a stable constitutional pattern but on a social journey towards egalitarianism. The progressive model, which can be labeled social-democratic, perceives the Revolution as a process towards emancipation. Rather than being objectified as a completed past occurrence, the Revolution is projected towards a limitless future. As editor of the twelve-volume *Histoire socialiste*, Jean Jaurès would foster a fluid and dialectical explanation of the French Revolution. Tracing his political antecedents to Babeuf, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Blanc and Proudhon, he qualifies the French Revolution as an indefinite temporal process that will, eventually, produce an egalitarian state. In 1789 a new proprietor's class inherited the power of the Ancien Régime. This was a positive first step that encouraged industrial expansion and that, in turn, created the modern working class. In 1848 socialist theories emerged for the first time as a political force. After the 1871 Commune labor federations were formed to give syndical power to workers. By the end of the 19th century socialists were elected to Parliament. In the eyes of Jaurès, these progressive steps tangibly prove that history is advancing towards a new humanism. The French Revolution is only intelligible in terms of this advance.

However, Furet—who has devoted considerable attention to the Jacobin interpretation of the Revolution—argues that if May 1793 is a place of origin for many socialists, the Montagnard victory also unleashed an authoritarian political machine.[8] Furet believes that Michelet was the first to demystify the Jacobin Revolution. In purporting to represent the will of the people, the Montagnards, in fact, renewed an oligarchical tradition. In becoming a legend, if not an obsession, for 19th and 20th century revolutionary movements, the Jacobin progressive heritage would propagate authoritarian and fanatical political practices. As a result, according to Furet, the contradictory, perhaps even psychopathic nature of modern communism can be traced back to the Jacobin Club of the 1790s.[9] Briefly stated, if the progressive matrix allows the Revolution to expand into the future, this displacement across time also transmits a set of genes that obstruct the implementation of an egalitarian social order.

V. As a conclusion, to transcend the progressive paradigm, there is a fifth analysis of the Revolution that incorporates the other four. Derivative of Foucault the concluding approach is essentially non-conceptual. Far from being a concrete or elastic state of affairs, or an indefinite historical transformation, the Revolution is not objectively coherent. Its nature is fleeting and discontinuous, for it reveals itself only as a series of interruptions between dominant beliefs. The Revolution is only understandable as a link or a relationship between its various sanctioned histories: different systems of political authority will canonize different types of historical representation (Veyne, 236). In blurring the objects of all historical methods this non-conceptual approach sees the French Revolution or the Quincentennial of 1492 as a colossal archeological dig. Underlying events, discursive practices, political documents, and the sequence of and progress of social movements all contain clues that allow the cultural interpreter to discern the correlations that exist between authority and a particular society's historical consciousness.

Seen in terms of this fifth standpoint, the process of teaching a complex idea like the French Revolution, the 1492 explorations, or the New Europe, becomes more an endless archeological dig than a concise reconstruction of the past. As the number of civilization courses continue to increase in foreign language programs there will doubtlessly be a growing need to foster debate among cultural historians on this process, that is, on ways to conceptualize and to communicate the past.

NOTES

[1] Foucault suggests that transcendence of the empirical realm constitutes a fundamental aspect of 19th century European thought. He discusses this in terms of Husserlian phenomenology (*Les mots et les choses* 261), and positivism (382-85).

[2] François Furet has expressed the same idea with respect to the French Revolution, "Pour comprendre las Révolution, encore faut-il, d'une certaine maniére, l'accepter..." (*Penser 116*).

[3] "Aussi, la Révolution n'est pas pour Cochin, essentiellement, une bataille sociale, ou un transfert de propriété. Elle inaugure un *type de socialisation*, fondé sur la communion idéologique, et manipulé par des appareils." (*Penser* 257).

[4] Thomas Kaiser has written a useful overview of this debate by describing the discursive approaches to the Revolution used by both Furet and Baker. See his article, "This Strange Offspring of *Philosophie*: Recent Historiographical Problems in Relating the Enlightenment to the French Revolution," in *French Historical Studies*, XV, 3 (Spring 1988), 549-562.

[5] Chapters 8 to 12 in Marseille's book are titled respectively, "1789," and "Le République démocratique," "La République bourgeoise," and "L 'Etat napoléonien."

[6] This temporal X-raying of the Revolution has been intuitively accepted by historians from Michelet to Taine, from Jaurè to Lefebvre, from Aulard to Rudé.

[7] Godechot's introductions to the different constitutions are particularly useful. François Furet also projects this constitutional matrix in *La Révolution 1770-1880*, vol. 3 of *Histoire de France* (Paris: Hachette, 1988).

[8] See François Furet, "Révoultion française et tradition jacobine," in *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, vol. 2 (329-339). In addition, the authoritarian legacy of the French Revolution has been considered by Lynn Hunt.

[9] Furet, "Révolution française et tradition jacobine," (338-339).

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Toward an Ethics of the Sacred:
Cultural Dissidence in Simone Weils Thought

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Simone Weil is a fascinating figure for both her deep immersion in and her rejection of a certain moment in twentieth-century French intellectual life. She was an exact contemporary of Simone de Beauvoir at the Ecole Normale Supérieure; they took the Agrégation exam in philosophy at the same time, Weil winning the first prize and de Beauvoir the second. She was also an immediate contemporary of Sartre and Raymond Aron. Her intellectual evolution closely parallels that of many leftist French intellectuals, but hers took place in a much shorter time. She was thoroughly disillusioned with Marxism in particular and modern social and ethical thought in general by 1936. Her mature thought and intense personal commitment anticipate a number of important developments.

During the years since her death, Weil has been psychologized and categorized as perhaps only a female thinker whose death was attributed in part to self-imposed starvation could be. The recent increase of scholarly interest in Weil—five major studies published since 1989—is appropriate given her now clear anticipation of historical and intellectual developments. However, even the most recent studies seem to give too much importance to biographical peculiarities. Indeed, one essay from a 1981 anthology of critical articles comments at embarrassing length on the appearance of Weils handwriting (Cameron).

Mystic, repressed masochist, saint, Red Virgin, categorical imperative in skirts, guilt-ridden bourgeoise intellectual—Weils professors, colleagues, and commentators have been free with labels. Her later "spiritualism" has been seen as incommensurable with her earlier political commitments. There has, I think, been too much thinking *about* Simone Weil and far too little thinking *with* her. I will try to show in this brief sketch that her thought has consistency as well as originality and power.

Recent history has provided us with a term which, I believe, opens us to Weils thinking, rather than closing her into a category and effectively silencing her: she was, in the most comprehensive way, a dissident. Her ideas on spirituality, politics, and work have profound unity, and they are *dissident* ideas. In my effort to do some thinking with her, I have found that another concept, or body of concepts, that is increasingly important to us is helpful: Weils thinking about human associations and about the world is *ecological*. Though she did not use these terms, I believe their ethical implications are central to her thought.

Briefly, what I mean by "ecological" thinking is seeking an ethical critique, not just of the individuals relation to society, but also and especially of societys relation to the world. Weil clearly sees ethics as a matter of humanitys behavior in the context of the universe. She goes far beyond most recent ideologies and theories, which conflate the "world" or "universe" with the social. She thus deals with the issue of relationships in the largest and most compelling context and frees individual ethical awareness from the confines of any particular socially constructed ideology. She refuses the traditional Western grounding of ethics in human power over nature.

One cruelly annihilated element of the French past that Weil regards with particular respect because of its authentic spirituality is the Cathar civilization of medieval Languedoc. She was especially impressed by the Cathars refusal to use force and by their lack of interest in imperialist expansion or forceful conversion. As Weil sees this civilization, it is one of the very few seamless webs of religion, politics, and art in all of history. It was destroyed, and its traces nearly obliterated, by the Church, whose behavior Weil regards as an early essay in totalitarianism. Weil regarded the Cathars as the one Western cultural entity since classical Greece that seriously sought some of the goals she regarded as worthy.

Weil agrees with Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno of the Frankfurt School that post-Renaissance thought, and particularly the Enlightenment, have undermined the sacred. In fact, for Weil, modern scientistic thinkings instrumentalist, manipulative core is at the origin of our spiritual, social, and political problems. She sees *remnants* of what I would call the comprehensive sacred in art and folklore. In explicitly religious terms, she is a syncretist who venerates the *Iliad* and the sacred Hindu and Taoist texts as much as the *New Testament*. For her, beauty is a basic spiritual experience: it is "un pacte entre soi et ses propres conditions dexistence" (*Cahiers* I 11). The sacred, in fact, has always served to maintain cultures equilibrium with the ecosystem. Instrumentalism, of course, is clearly linked to the retreat of the sacred.

Enlightenment thought, on the other hand—which Weil regards as a debased religion—preaches the myth of progress, "lidée athée par excellence" (*Pesanteur* 198). Not only is such thinking actively hostile to the sacred, but "La technique, qui met du même côté la force et la civilisation, rend (les) régénérations impossibles. Elle est maudite" (*Pesanteur* 196). Only roots in the world can ground spirituality, but technological progress is a constant *uprooting*. The essence of beauty is the sacred, but beauty is absent from sciences representation of the world. Sciences objects must be uprooted and transported into sciences "space" in order to be studied. What cannot be uprooted remains outside scientific awareness. Weil says that physicists, for example, have come to regard as *inherently* negligible things which they originally ignored for their own methodological convenience (*On Science* 68). Weils idea of spirituality seems closely related to what "sacred" meant before religion became the specialty of certain social institutions: then, the sacred was not a "higher" realm; it was simply the properly appreciated value of *this* world.

The specific relation between Weils dissidence and her spiritual quest is expressed by her desire to "Renouer par-dessus lidole sociale le pacte originel de lesprit avec lunivers" (Davy 162). In "Oppression et liberté," which Camus called the most penetrating political analysis since Marx, Weil agrees with Plato in calling society *le gros animal*. She goes further, however, characterizing modern political reality as a *deification* of society. For Weil, what has been constructed cannot be designated as sacred. For her, "La société est la caverne, la sortie est la solitude" (*Pesanteur* 183). Critical contemplation of social reality—dissidence—is a means to attain spiritual awareness. If, as Michel de Certeau has it, ethics is the refusal to reduce life to what one sees of it, then Weil is the archetypal ethical thinker. She agrees with Theodor Adorno that, in our century, hatred of actual conditions may be the only authentic expression of love.

Weil is obviously searching for an ethics that is not dependent on a particular social configuration; she seeks a relationship between the individual and something transcending the social. Modernity has replaced the comprehensive sacred with the comprehensive social, and mistaken extirpation of the sacred for liberation. In fact, society itself is now treated as the sacred. Of this situation, Weil says, in *La Pesanteur et la grâce*, "Force du social. Laccord entre plusieurs hommes renferme un sentiment de réalité. Il renferme aussi un sentiment de devoir. Lécart, par rapport à cet accord, apparaît comme un péché. Par là, tous les retournements sont possibles. Un état de conformité est une imitation de la grâce" (186). Weils spirituality begins in exposure and rejection of the deified, though supposedly secular, society as a corrupt simulacrum of spirituality. Her sense of the sacred is thus intimately related to her political thought.

Our acceptance of the Hebrew and Roman concepts of the State has combined with the myth of progress through industrialized production to create this deified modern State. The modern State, from Richelieu to the present, has been built on the Roman model. Richelieu, Weil says, transformed the State into an absolute and divorced it from the public or people. Louis XIV and Napoleon both greatly admired the Augustan version of the Roman State and sought to recreate it in France. It was, in fact, in seventeenth-century France that the State came to be conceived as both the "head" of the social body and the agent for transforming both society and the environment in keeping with its own standards of "order." Indeed, this transforming power, given its connection with creating wealth, and therefore rights, has legitimated the exponential growth of States throughout modernity and made them the focus of a confused yearning that seems both materialistic and spiritual. Weil sees that the individual may have renounced real freedom, along with obligations and spiritual striving, in exchange for a growing array of "rights" or entitlements.

Weils ideas about the religious significance of these political and social developments are striking. Specifically, her concept of "idolatry" is quite fascinating. Following Plato in seeing society as "the Great Beast," Weil defines idolatry as the mistake of identifying a collective institution or history with divinity. She sees any peoples belief that its institutions and history are direct expressions of the divine, for example, as idolatrous in this sense. She does not regard this deification of collective institutions—and she distinguishes clearly between a "collective" and a people—as in any proper sense spiritual.

Weils idea that the Hebrew God, for example, was always essentially a tribal god, and thus that He always functioned as a justification for the acts of the collective or power structure, is important. It certainly sheds light on peoples other than the Jews. Tribal gods, or deified societies, have justified Americas Manifest Destiny and the British Empire as well as Roman, Spanish, French, and Nazi imperialism. The crisis of ideology in the formerly socialist countries amounts to the fall of a tribal god. Marxism certainly deifies the State by designating it as the mediator of all aspiration. Current conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere might well be understood better if we saw them as conflicts between deified States embodying tribal gods and if we remembered Weils contention that a State is not a people. A people is seduced into identifying with a State by the mediation of a tribal god. The collectivity thus worships *itself*, or the institutions that have in fact usurped the peoples identity, masked as "God."

Weils Platonist bent is evident in this emphasis on the States illusionist tendencies. Like Meno in the parable of the cave, the modern, secular, tribal god mediates and disguises the truth. This brings us to Weils thoughts on propaganda, which are penetrating and prophetic. First of all, Weil sees quite well that commercial advertising, particularly when used in election campaigns, corrupts communication and thought (*On Science* 64). Propaganda panders to *desire* and substitutes images for truth. It also emphasizes the personal over the impersonal—which Weil identifies as the potential for spirituality—within the individual. Political parties, like all other institutionalized projections of desire, have only their own unlimited expansion as a goal. Here, too, Weil is a good Platonist, distinguishing between the passionate and the dispassionate "levels" of individual being.

"Obligation" is a key to Weils spiritual and ethical quest and a link between this and her political analysis. Our understanding of justice focuses on rights because we regard Society, and the world, as sources of material benefits. Perhaps the essence of Weils dissent from modern ideologies is that she wants to found an ethics and politics of responsible individuals whose relations with each other and the world are not completely mediated by social institutions. Because we identify justice with the production and distribution of goods, not only do people become passive, objectified beneficiaries of "rights," but thought itself is trapped in manufactured objects: "Comme la pensée collective ne peut exister comme pensée, elle passe dans les choses. . . Doù ce paradoxe: cest la chose qui pense et lhomme qui est réduit à létat de chose" (Weil *Pesanteur* 176). Ethics, justice, and, unconsciously, sacredness, are identified first with the system of production and distribution and, then, with the things produced and distributed. Thus, "Certains cherchent le royaume de Dieu comme si cétait un paradis artificiel, seulement le meilleur des paradis artificiels" (*Cahiers* II 8). Weil contends that politics should be a form of work, not an auction or a branch of magic.

Weils political perceptions are inseparable from her analysis of industrialized work. In capitalist economies, credit buying ties workers into the discipline of industrial work and into the desire for a manufactured paradise. Marxist societies, too, practice the religion of production and regard the State as orchestrator of progress and "liberation" (Blum and Seidler 47). Weil dissents strongly, and prophetically, from the idea that Marxism is the antithesis of capitalism. She sees the two as sects within the religion of industrial productivity.

This religion, in any of its forms, both corrupts and subjugates workers. "On arrache les gens à lunivers qui les entoure," when work should explore and confirm the intimate relation between the individual and the natural world. Industrial work creates linear, segmented time, when "Morceler le temps, (cest) le mal le plus grand quon puisse faire à un homme" (*Cahiers* I 11).

The religion of productivity obliterates the individual as an ethical being. A State or party that controls the productive apparatus is the only political or ethical subject. Furthermore, Weil sees that, in technologys advanced stages, subjectivity and control inhere in the machinery and products themselves. For Weil, workers oppression is an aspect of industrial production, not a function of ownership. The worker is the object of others thinking as embodied in the physical process.

Sharing the beliefs that progress is inevitable and that productivity can achieve social justice, capitalism and Marxism corrupt workers desires and provide a false justification for industrialisms damaging effects. Moreover, according to Weil, we submerge ethics and the sacred in a moral psychology of desire and satisfaction (Blum and Seidler 84) and in the belief that attitude toward work is a matter of will, and therefore the workers responsibility. This delusive conflation of morality, utility, and productivity denies any basis for an ethical critique of society. Such a critique is, of course, what Weil regards as the basis of spiritual development. The social idol substitutes itself for the given world, and defines its own configuration as not only good, but inevitable. Marx is within the Enlightenment tradition which, by reducing man to *homo laborans*, reduces nature to a mere field for exploitation.

Weil has some ideas about how work should be conceived and organized in order to encourage spiritual—or what I call ecological—awareness. An important element is her linkage of work and obligation—obligation to other creatures and to the world, not to *le gros animal*. Such work places an ethical subject in a responsible relation with others whose individual subjectivity he or she respects. Work enables the body to function as our means of learning to "read" the world. Manual work, informed by the workers intelligence, is contact with the world undeformed by the social configuration.

The spiritual importance Weil ascribes to the bodys activities moderates the impression, given by some passages in her writings, that she is a strict dualist. For her, true equilibrium exists only in physical work. While segmented industrial time destroys organic connections with past and future, conscious, intelligent manual work satisfies mans greatest temporal need: meaningful continuity with cycles that transcend the individuals own temporal existence (*LEnracinement* 131). She is aware that one of the greatest of progresss carefully hidden costs is the emotional and spiritual pain associated with distance from nature and with destruction of temporal continuity. Work brings us closer to true perception than does reflection.

Science, according to Weil, has buttressed the oppressive modern concept of work by ratifying the hierarchical distinction between mental and manual work. It has thus corrupted the idea that work is a *value*. Weil regards this idea as early modernitys one major contribution to civilization and as Greek cultures one major lack (Little 105). In fact, Weil contends, a properly constituted society would integrate manual work and intelligence by acknowledging the workers obligation to understand their works purpose and effects. The disruption of the relationship between work and awareness of the works goals and effects has been catastrophic:

> Partout, à des degrés différents, limpossibilité de mettre en rapport ce quon donne et ce quon reçoit a tué le sens du travail bien fait, le sentiment de la responsabilité, a suscité la passivité, labandon, lhabitude de tout attendre de lextérieur, la croyance aux miracles...."
>
> (Quoted in Davy 153)

Weils idea that the autonomous "I" is illusory links her closely to the mainstream of post-Freudian and post-structuralist thought. Her further conviction that the illusion of singularity and autonomy obstructs relations between self and others and self and universe places her squarely within major cultural concerns today. Her concept of *décréation*—the annihilation of personal perspective and desire—is based on her effort to let creation exist fully in consciousness. Individual perspective, specialization, and standardization depend on ignoring the complexity of being. Attentiveness to the sacred may be described as a purposive renunciation of purpose. Spirituality is without appetite or purpose. This is precisely what Weil seeks.

For Weil, then, liberal individualism simply hides the ubiquity of the social in modern societies. She contends that true ethical thinking is always about obligations and relations between the individual and the universe, not about an exchange of obedience and benefits between citizen and society.

Weils thinking is profoundly ecological in its insistence on obligations and relations, and also in its positive attitude toward the reality of limits (*Source* 22). Weil sees clearly that all relations involve limits, and thus that the ideologies of unlimited progress and productivity are completely unrealistic. Among the fascinatingly clairvoyant details in her writings are predictions of energy shortages, of stifling overproduction, and of a permanent war-economy.

Weil sees the unrealistic, incoherent behavior of modern persons and societies as a result of what she calls *mettre à part* (*Cahiers* II 309): our specialized, fragmented, instrumentalized culture teaches us to ignore all that falls outside our particular specialties and interests. This practice, which Weil sees as especially typical of post-Renaissance science, creates an illusion of ethical invisibility, an obliviousness to consequences beyond narrowly defined instrumental purposes—of what we approvingly and absurdly call "value-free inquiry." Selecting an object of inquiry is an act with emphatically ethical implications. Weils *décréation* is one response to this: progressive elimination of narrow, personal purposes allows the world and God to exist fully in de-personalized consciousness. This is an antidote to the modern tendency of relationships to be appropriations wherein the other—person or world—is raw material for exploitation.

Weil has evident affinities with recent critiques of industrial cultures definitions of knowledge. Although she denounces modern science for regarding natural limits as constraints to be overcome as man "masters" nature, her thinking occasionly seems to set spirit and morality against force and to identify force with matter, or nature. The idea that one must transcend the material world in order to transcend society may be Meno/societys most ingenious delusion. Weil regards specialized proprietors of knowledge as a disguised priesthood. Instead of striving to understand nature directly, we are confronted with the impossibility of understanding science.

Weil herself says that scientific study of myth and folklore ignores their spiritual importance. Had she known the concept of ecology, she might have concluded that the comprehensive sacred existed to place ethical limits on society (Cameron 38), or to control the collectives relations with the material world. She needed a definition of "spirituality" that could harmonize with the world. In fact, the "force" she speaks of is a *social creation*, not an aspect of nature. It is the power of an army motivated by imperialistic rivalry, not the pull of gravity or the bodys chemical composition.

It seems to me, then, that Weil is a dissident not only from the social realities of her time—and ours—but also from the available tools for analyzing and criticizing those realities. She anticipates Michel Foucault in decrying the post-Renaissance effort to unify and standardize all knowledge (*On Science 70)*. She is aware that spirituality and continuity always grow within *localities*. She links universalism to the modern tyranny of management (Mc Lellan 60). Universalism, of course, overrides small, naturally evolved communities, imposing an artificial, standardized order.

Weil sees, lucidly, that most versions of the "divine" actually reflect and reinforce social configurations. However, she lacks a satisfactory context wherein to develop her concept of obligation. When, in making recommendations for post-World War II France, she speaks of peoples "needs," it sounds very much as if she has not gotten beyond "rights." She clearly does not want to saddle individuals with sacred obligations to society. To do so would be to fall into deifying the *gros animal*. However, she has no vocabulary adequate for her philosophical needs.

Weil never consented to be baptized, despite her experiences of union with Christ. Perhaps it is appropriate that the most powerful of these experiences was in Assisi, in the chapel where Saint Francis often prayed. Her attitude toward the whole of creation is much like Saint Francis. Her difficulty, with which she refused to compromise, was to make that attitude operative within society. Her efforts, and her conception of the sacred, were guided as much by the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, and other non-Christian texts, as by the Gospel.

Weil was unable to believe that ethics and justice reside in the distribution of goods and services by society when, as she saw it, those goods and services can be produced and distributed only by oppressing workers, denying reverence to anything but the economy itself, pillaging the earth, and cutting off contact with both past and future? Weil contends that Christianity does not sanction capitalism and that Marxism is no ethical alternative to capitalism. The two are only options within the context defined by the economics of industrial production. Economics often speaks of an ethical issue—justice—but gives it a definition empty of what Weil is willing to regard as positive ethical meaning.

Weils rejection of most Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thought on the issue of rights and obligations makes her a fascinating thinker for the epoch that seems to be beginning now. If post-Enlightenment political thinking has run its course—and many of our current problems suggest that it may have—then Weils meditations are a useful start toward some re-thinking. Her contentions that obligation and freedom are inextricably linked, and that our conception of both the self and the State obscures our spirituality, are especially timely. Certainly our consumer economies, dominated as they are by commodities and publicity, illustrate the applicability of some of Weils thoughts on consciousness and the collective.

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Imagery and Symbolism in Tchicaya U Tam'si's *Le Zulu*

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The importance of Tchicaya U Tam'si as a francophone poet has been amply noted in critical literature. In the 1967 edition of her *Anthologie négroafricaine* Lilyan Kesteloot noted: "[Tchicaya] est en train de devenir un des tout grands poètes de l'Afrique Noire" (308).[1] Jaques Nantet remarked in 1972: "l'auteur, repris par sa terre, se sent, comme il l'écrit expressement, prisonnier d'une langue française à laquelle il a—ne l'oublions pas—tant donné" (163). For Tchicaya French was the language of literary expression, but this conceals, as Chévrier points out, the true paradox of the "littérature africaine en langue française" (244-45). At the occasion of his passing in 1988 Robert Cornevin noted that GérardFelix Tchicaya U Tam'si "restera comme l'un des plus grands écrivains de notre temps" (147). But, as Mineke Schipper points out in her *Afrikaanse Letterkunde* (149), his fame is by no means limited to his poetry; his contribution to the francophone theater of SubSaharan Africa is of equal importance.

Commenting on Tchicaya's work in the early sixties, Gerald Moore observed: "his poems exhibit a complex system of interdependent imagery, so that the particular images of each poem often feed the significance of those in surrounding poems" (5). Moore's comments on the interlocking quality of Tchicaya's poetic imagery could equally be applied to his first important play, *Le Zulu*. In this play, created for the Festival d'Avignon in 1976, and subsequently performed at FortdeFrance (Martinique) and the Théâtre Oblique in Paris, visual representation linking African and personal symbolism are rhythmically interwoven throughout, supporting both plot and theme. Kesteloot attributes the difficulty of Tchicaya's poetry to his constant use of symbols (309), and in this paper I intend to examine the function of imagery and symbolism in his first play.

Le Zulu starts with a glorious dream, a revolutionary goal to be achieved. This goal, however, can only be achieved by an exceptional individual. In the play's prologue Chaka, and in a sense the spectators, participate in the inition ceremony required for entrance into what MbaZue has called, "le monde secret des croyances africaines" (36). In the African world, however, the divinities cannot be approached without appropriate sacrifice, a sacrifice that Chaka appears to be quite willing to make in return for what he ardently desires. Ndlebé and Malunga, in the form of jinn, observe Chaka, and note that his loneliness and singlemindedness make him a likely recipient for absolute power: "C'est bien notre homme" (17). The hero's allconsuming dream to unite heaven, earth, and people under his will wins approval from Africa's supernatural forces.

Tchicaya uses Bantu symbolism to indicate Chaka's ascent to power. The Bantu aspect of Tchicaya's poetry was first noted by Senghor in his preface to *Epitomé*. As in Senghor's "Chaka", the numbers three, four, and seven play an important part. In the play's prologue, the three jinn representing earth, air, and flesh are joined by the Voice, who is indicated by the number four. Ndlebé points out that this adds up to seven (16). In his *Les religions de l'Afrique noire*, Hubert Deschamps noted that three often stands for the male symbol in Africa (49, 63). It should also be kept in mind that Chaka is the Zulu, a word that stands for Sky or Heaven. The sky is male as opposed to the female earth, and creation is sometimes explained by the Bantu people through the union of the cosmic couple, Sky and Earth, which is symbolized by the number seven (50,63). The Amazulu, People of the Sky, derive their essence from this mystical link between the sky, the people, and the earth. Chaka dreams to unite these three elements and subjugate them to his will. His absolute power is confirmed by another Bantu symbol, the rainbow, an image of power and glory that is considered to be a means of communication between earth and the gods (Balandrier 99). Among the Luba, as Luc de Heusch indicates, the rainbow also signifies impending disaster or sickness (63).

After the completion of the prologue ritual, Chaka is ready to fulfill his destiny, but the realization of his dream depends on the wise use of power and the correct interpretation of the enigmas presented by the

Voice. Chaka's reflections indicate his intention to maintain a balance between power and love for mankind:

> Si mon sang ne me trahit, je triomphe de tout. Tout: le ciel et la terre unis à mon vouloir. *La part égale, dans chaque main, d'amour pour les hommes et pour le pouvoir*. Pour être juste. Je sais cela. Sans sacrifier l'un à l'autre. Estce danser sur une corde raide audessus des précipices? (30. Emphasis mine.)

But the problem is how to restrain his driving amibition for power.

Generally the consolidation of power takes precedence over all other considerations. Malunga and Ndlebé become extensions of Chaka's power and will help him retain it. He welcomes the death of his father which will make him master of Nobamba; however, his refusal to pay proper respect to the deceased father might, in spite of his denial, be considered parricide in terms of African culture. This sacred act of violence opens the road to absolute power. The Voice changes from master to servant, and becomes part of Chaka: "Moimême le serviteur de mon propre dessein! . . . Je suis mon maître et mon serviteur à la fois" (37).

The achievement of power, however, requires sacrifice. It is the act of violence that creates a distance between the tyrant and his subjects, and Chaka is acutely aware of this when he complains of his loneliness. The need for an act of violence as a prerequisite for acceding to power has been noted in connection with the rise of Ntinu Wene, the founder of the Kingdom of the Kongo. It is perhaps no coincidence that *Vwène le Fondateur* was published together with *Le Zulu*. For Balandier the name Ntinu Wene is a symbol of power, but it is power built on violence. "Sacred violence," he states, "remains the privilege of a sovereign with two faces: one brutal and tyrannical, the other justiceloving and conciliatory" (36).

The Chaka theme clearly indicates this connection between power and violence. Chaka's dream is very intense; "il . . . blesse l'âme d'une blessure toujours sanglante!" (17). There is only one remedy for this type of dream: "Pour une telle blessure le cautère est fait d'un flot de sang!" (18). Nothing less than total sacrifice will separate him enough from the common human experience to use total power. The hero, however, is unable to control his destiny, and fails to realize his dream because of his inability to grasp the significance of a language of incoherent images which dance throughout the text like verbal masks. The play is filled with a number of recurring oracular pronouncements that are either not heeded or misunderstood, and this familiar dramatic device is used to indicate the progression of Chaka's haunting isolation. The repeated enigma of the magic arms, "Ce sont les armes d'un main ou d'un homme pas comme les autres" (21), is directly linked to the image of blood. Through the latter Chaka obtains strength and establishes contact with Africa's vital forces, but is also made aware of a potential danger. The voice's confirmation that the blood on the shield could also be Chaka's, "si jamais il rejaillit sur toi" (29), continues to trouble the Zulu, and Zwide's repeated curse in the third act, ". . . Ton propre sang t'étouffera" (87), intensifies the hero's anxiety.

This linkage between blood and destiny immediately brings to mind the personal images in *Le Mauvais Sang*. In the play the warning about his own blood continues to haunt Chaka, but the absolute power gives him the conviction that he can control his destiny: "Souvent le destin improvise. Je vais faire comme lui" (76). The warning about his own blood has to be dealt with if the Zulu wants to retain his power and succeed in achieving his dream, but this forces him to commit an ever increasing number of violent acts, which in turn bring about the hero's ever increasing isolation. The sacrifice of Noliwé personifies Chaka's loss of human concern, but her death does not diminish his apprehension, for the warning about his own blood could also apply to Nandi. "Il reste ma mère! Ma mère, c'est aussi mon sang . . . Non, elle n'a que moi" (101). Frequent repetition of this warning increases the hero's fear of betrayal and leads to his subsequent suicide. Bad blood, betrayal, and suicide figure prominently in Tchicaya's poetry, and of the eight Chaka plays by Francophone African authors, Tchicaya's play is the only one in which the hero kills himself.

If the Zulu's attempts to prevent realization of the blood curse bring about an increase in paranoia and isolation, another recurring image, "Que rien de blanc n'apparaisse au Sud . . . Surveille l'écume de la mer" (28), causes equal concern. Failure to keep his blood from turning against him, is matched by failure to contain the sea's white froth. The liquidity of

Tchicaya's imagery linking dew to blood and blood to sea, recalls the author's favorite river Congo and the irreversible flow of destiny. In spite of the hero's repeated statements to the contrary, he fails to control destiny. And this arrogance contrasted by an inability to avoid defeat creates dramatic irony. Tchicaya's expression of despair about the supremacy of destiny, "destintu es plus cannibale que moi . . . ,"[2] is shared by Chaka when he becomes aware of the futility of his actions.

Chaka's ruthless utilization of human beings is contrasted to Dingiswayo's rule, based on minimal interference with tribal affairs, respect for tradition, and leniency toward defeated enemies. Dingiswayo represents the "justiceloving and conciliatory" face of Ntinu Wene, and Chaka the "brutal and tyrannical" one. In spite of Epervier's admiration for Chaka's "new order", he admits the appeal of Dingiswayo's benign rule: "Tu es si généreux, qu'il est difficile de ne pas aimer la politique" (50). Unfortunately this rule does not prevent intertribal warfare, and Epervier prefers Chaka's way of governing: "Edicter d'autres règles entre les tribus. Faire naître d'autres moeurs" (50). Tchicaya's use of the name Epervier (sparrowhawk) rather than Ngomane provides a link with the present. It should be noted that in Cesaire's *Une Saison au Congo*, "épervier" is mentioned by KalaLubu (Kasavubu) in connection with the Congo: "Kongo, tard né, qu'il suive l'épervier" (28). Symbolically the "épervier" is also connected with death, and in his cell Lumumba is reminded of this by the song of the Sanza Player:

> O petit épervier, oh! oh!
> O petit épervier étends tes ailes!
> Le soleil boit du sang, oh! oh!
> Petit épervier, petit épervier,
> Quel sang boit le soleil! (85)

Epervier's initial fascination with Chaka's forceful, innovative leadership and his subsequent disappointment are directly related to the hero's failure to understand the traditional concept of power. Balandrier points out that under this concept power is seen under the "triple aspect of force, arbitration, and the sacred" (12).

In the beginning Chaka had been aware that governing with absolute power was similar to walking a tightrope, for it requires a continual balance between human concerns and the use of power. However, Chaka gradually loses balance. In supreme arrogance he considers himself superior to the god, Umzikulu: "Comment l'Epervier pourraitil connaître mon plan? Umzikulu luimême ne l'imagine même pas" (57), and he is convinced that his will is equivalent to the course of destiny: "Souvent le destin improvise. Je vais faire comme lui" (76). Chaka's lack of any human consideration causes the disillusion of his ideological ally, Epervier. For the latter Chaka has become a heartless leader without wisdom; he has lost the lawgiving and charismatic aspects of traditional power. In a sense, Epervier represents one aspect of Chaka's personality. In Egyptian mythology the "Ba" or soul appears in the form of a manheaded hawk, and was closely associated with the "Ka" or double personality and the "Ab" or heart.[3] Confronted by Epervier in his nightmare, Chaka insists, "Je n'ai aucune infirmité. Pourquoi auraisje un coeur?" (106). Later Epervier refers to Chaka's lack of balance: "Estu donc le maître du monde pour que tes caprices passent pour des vérités!" (107). By killing Epervier, Noliwe, and Nandi, he eliminates two of the aspects needed to retain power; he equally loses balance as a human being. Yet, Chaka insists that there is a great design to which everything else must be subordinated: the creation of a united people under his leadership against the dangers of colonialism and its disastrous results for all Africans. It is a powerful argument, but it fails to convince Epervier; for he realizes that Chaka wants to be the sole and absolute ruler of one heaven, one earth, and one people, a dictator without control.

The defeat of Chaka is inherent to the problem of power.[4] Epervier reasons that Chaka failed to achieve his dream because of his own impatience. The mere application of force to bring about a sudden change in traditional customs and practices is doomed to failure:

> L'homme a toujours assez d'enthousiasme pour répondre tout de suite "présent" au porteur de nouvelles idées, mais hélas, il est lent à prendre de nouvelles habitudes. En te pressant, tu t'es condamné à ne pas réussir, à trahir ta mission. (124)

The reasons for Chaka's defeat resemble those of Césaire's Christophe and Lumumba: the inability of their people to understand the full extent of the hero's dream, the lack of energy or unwillingness to produce the enormous efforts and sacrifices required to reach the desired goal, and the hero's failure to understand that the greatness of his dream does not authorize him to deny his people's freedom and human dignity. It is thus that a dream of greatness turns into a nightmare, and the powerful leader is reduced to a pitiful human being.

The symbolism and poetic imagery of *Le Zulu* are central to the hope and failure of absolute power. The poet's personal imagery of bad blood, destiny, betrayal, colonial dominance, and isolation coincide with the Zulu's attempt to achieve a dream. As in Senghor's "Chaka," the hero must come to terms with the contradictory terms of his existence. Michel Fabre has pointed out that the text suggests a reading "à la fois politique et métaphysique" (649). For R. Chemain and A. ChemainDegrange, Chaka's fault is not simply one of the abuse of absolute power. "Ce qui le perd est une malédiction familiale de type mycénien et la hantise de sang" (134). It is this multiple reading that makes it such an interesting play. In one way Chaka incarnates the poet's feelings about Lumumba's defeat and his beloved Congo's tragic destiny. In a soliloquy toward the end of the final act Chaka wonders about the paradox of his achievement:

> Une aube est toujours grosse de quelque chose qui fatalement échappe à l'homme . . . L'homme . . . Quel homme aije été? Une caricature de moimême, parce que je ne me suis rendu ni maître de l'écume de la mer, ni féal du destin! Allons donc! L'homme est aveugle puisqu'il ne voit pas où il va. Moi je vois ce que je vois est horrible (130).

In another he incarnated, for a time, the Africans' control of their destiny: "Et pourtant c'était la liberté . . . Ce n'est pas de moi ce legs d'esclavage. Non" (130).

NOTES

[1] The revised and augmented edition of 1983 simply reprints Kesteloot's earlier comments on Tchicaya.

[2] See Tchicaya U Tam'si, *Arc Musical*, 122.

[3] See in this connection Anthony S. Mercantante, *Who is Who in Egyptian Mythology*, Passim.

[4] See in this connection my article "Chaka and the Problem of Power in the French Theater of Black Africa", *The French Review* 57.5 (1984): 63440.

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Ut Pictura Verbum:[1]
Las Hilanderas as allegory of orality and literacy

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One of the few works of literature in Diego de Velázquez's library inventoried after his death is Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. That fact is not insignificant. Velázquez used Ovid's book — a collection of tales, myths and legends dealing with transformations, and one of the seminal works of the Renaissance — to great advantage in portrayals that suggest his vision of the forthcoming change in European culture. That change had been initiated by the earlier rediscovery of classical texts, fueled by the invention of printing, and characterized by the gradual reconfiguration of the relationships of the social classes. Velázquez, recognized as "one of the founders of modern culture,"[2] and following the tradition initiated by Giotto, transforms the reality of his time into works that will answer the artistic needs, not only of his royal patrons and their noble subjects, but also of the general population who, for the first time and in true modern spirit, became privy to public displays of works of artistic merit on the "Calle Mayor" of Madrid.

Most importantly, Velázquez, together with Galileo in science and Descartes in philosophy, views this new historic epoch as a seamless cultural continuum. Velázquez is a member of a social group of painters who, although consciously part of a historical tradition in painting, have a vision of the evolution of the art and society which they themselves are developing, and in which they are spiritual and intellectual participants.[3]

Part of the genius of this great court painter was his ability to express the complexities and intricacies of his perceptions of this new order in intriguing and seductive works which tempted others to use them as allegories for constructs, ideas, or paradigms that the artist himself may or may not have consciously envisioned[4]. I will use Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas (Fable of Arachne, The Spinners)*, as a pictorial allegory of the metamorphosis that a culture may undergo in its transition from orality to literacy, and argue that both the painting and the orality/literacy idea, rather than distinguishing dichotomous or opposing categories, depend for their meanings on a symbiosis between the categories that each distinguishes. Furthermore, I will argue that Velázquez himself — while obviously unaware of the orality/literacy distinction so familiar to our day, was nevertheless cognizant of the cultural transition that was underway in Europe during his life time, and that the interpretation of *Las Hilanderas* given here would not have been alien to his own purposes and intentions.

The Historical Frame

Around 1634 Diego Rodrigo de Silva y Velázquez, as court painter for Philip IV of Spain, depicted in *La rendición de Breda (The Surrender of Breda)* — his only extant historical work, which is also known as *The Lances* — the resounding success that resulted in the taking of the Dutch town ten years earlier. That conquest was one of few remaining glories of the collapsing Spanish empire. By the end of the XVII century Spain had lost the Netherlands, part of Flanders, Luxembourg, the Artois, the French-Comté, the Roussillon, Cardeña, some African possessions, and the kingdom of Portugal. Velázquez had lived through the Thirty Years' War and the signing away of vast expanses of Spanish territory at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

He saw the decline of Spain from the point of view of someone immersed in the land that started the Counter Reformation, and that had engendered one of the most powerful religious tools for its execution: the Society of Jesus. The Golden Age of Spain had been born during the reign of the fiercely Catholic Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand, and fully developed under the no less devout Charles I and the Philipses (1517-1665). Charles I, or Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, tried at first to reach an agreement with protesting Luther, but, seeing the danger that the German monk's influence meant for the empire, decided to fight him. The events that followed made quite clear that Catholicism no longer held the hegemonic position that it had once commanded: Europe was being violated —

as far as the Spanish were concerned — by dangerous heterodoxia.

Four years before his death, Velázquez placed at the top of his famous masterpiece, *Las Hilanderas*, a copy of Titian's *Rape of Europa*, one in the series of *poesie* that the Venetian artist had painted for Philip II of Spain. And at the bottom of the painting, near the foot of the wool spinner in the foreground, and tangled in the legs of her spinning wheel, he sketched in a few brush strokes a winding frame or spool (*devanadera*), a seductive suggestion of two forgotten crosses. The workers engage in the trade that had given Spain world renown and supported its economic ascendancy[5]. Although placed in the much darker portion of the painting, the workers are nevertheless part of the foreground and appear much more alive than their aristocratic counterparts located in the upper, brighter, but more distant room. The historical reality evoked by the painting includes Velázquez's view of the organic relationship between the Spanish working classes and the aristocracy.

Thus, a careful look at the painting leads to an expansion of its historical interpretation. The grounding of its theme in the poetry of Ovid, and the copy of one of Titian's *poesie* indicate an obvious allusion to literacy. Knowing Velázquez's interest in the portrayal of common people depicted, for example, with such naturalism in his *bodegones* and in his court dwarfs, a further look at the readers in Velázquez's time suggests a more plausible, or at least a more fundamentally true interpretation of *Las Hilanderas*.

In his study of reading and readers in Golden Age Spain, the very epoch in which Velázquez's life span is wholly placed, Maxime Chevalier states that

> . . . almost all the villagers and the urban proletariat on the one hand, and an important segment of the artisans on the other are left at the margin of the culture of writing. These men [sic] do not reach the cultural level of common reading and of the practice of the book. Their culture — which they do not lack — is fundamentally oral, based on refrains, traditional stories, romances, and songs[6]. (My translation)

The truth is that the brilliance of such a period of Spanish letters that produced Lope de Vega, Calderón, Góngora, Quevedo, and above them all Cervantes, was generated and enjoyed by only twenty percent of the population: the clergy, the nobility, academics and professionals, merchants, a fraction of the tradesmen and artisans, and some functionaries and servants[7]. The rest of the population either could not afford the price of the books, or was non-literate, or both. Nevertheless, for Velázquez, they occupied a crucial place in the organic structure of Spanish life. How is Velázquez placed in this world?

An inventory of Velázquez's library and Palomino's biography of the painter reveal that he is placed squarely with the most literate of his time. We learn that "he was well versed in the study of various authors who have written distinguished precepts for painting," and that he also "equipped himself with a knowledge of sacred and secular writings and of other important subjects in order to enrich his mind with every kind of learning and a universal appreciation of the arts"[8]. Although unusual for his time, his recognition of the less fortunate classes displayed in his *oeuvre* reveals a willingness to portray the important societal position for those plain folks in a way never before adequately acknowledged.

The Orality/Literacy Idea

In addition to the political and cultural realities that the painting may evoke, particularly the sweep over Europe by the Protestant Reformation, the resonances of the painting expand beyond that merely topical context. With the aristocracy firmly planted at the upper half of *Las Hilanderas*, and the women workers actively engaged in their trade in front and below their patrons, the painting conjures the world of ancient myth handed down by the poets.

In bardic literature, such as that of Homer's epic poems, a linear, non-reflective chronicle constituted the essential vehicle of narration. Ong[9] lists the characteristics that contrast oral with literate cultures as those manifest in language that is respectively additive rather than categorical; aggregative rather than analytic; redundant or "copious" rather than sparse; close to the human lifeworld rather than exact; empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced; homeostatic rather than part of an immobile world of ideas; and concrete and practical rather than abstract and general. This rather neat although simplistic list of dichotomies, however, does not entirely satisfy the very complex picture that the slow evolutionary transformation of a society in transition from oral to literate experiences.

Goody[10] points to the many changes that standard oral forms of non-literate societies undergo[11], and concludes that such changes

> fall towards the variable rather than the repetitive ends of the continuum; that is, they may be standard both with regard to 'genre' and in contrast to the syntax of ordinary utterance, and standard too in certain aspects of their construction, but not necessarily with regard to their content[12].

In light of this conclusion, Goody invites a reconsideration of the rigid divisions suggested by writers like Ong, Lévi-Strauss[13], and Todorov[14], and points to the rapprochement that such a softening of the gap between the two forms of language implies.

According to the original and insightful studies of Milman Parry and those that followed him, Homeric epic presented a character like Achilles, for example, as

> a man of strong character, definite personality, great energy and forceful decision, but . . . a man to whom it has not occurred, and to whom it cannot occur, that he has a personality apart from the pattern of his acts. His acts are responses to his situation, and are governed by remembered examples of previous acts by previous strong men.[15]

What was characteristic of Homeric literature, that is to say, of the bardic origin that marked it, was not merely "the acoustic mechanics of oral verse-making" but also "an oral state of mind and an oral condition of culture."[16] As a result of the invention of the phonetic alphabet and the subsequent spread of literacy, this orality starts disappearing rather rapidly by the time of the pre-Platonists and was diminished considerably by the time of Plato himself. "Along with the discovery of the soul, Greece in Plato's day and just before Plato had to discover something else—the activity of sheer thinking".[17]

In the *Phaedrus* Plato deals with a variety of issues, the most remarkably controversial of which, paradoxically, is writing. The last of several myths that Socrates uses to juxtapose to his criticisms is that of the king/god of Egypt Thamus/Ammon and the god of invention, Theuth, who had created, among many other things, writing. When Theuth goes to Thamus/Ammon to show him his new invention and tells the god that it "will make the Egyptians wiser and will improve their memories, for it is an elixir (***phármakon***) of memory that [he has] discovered," the god replies

> Most ingenious Theuth, one man has the ability to beget the arts, but the ability to judge of their usefulness or harmfulness to their users belongs to another; and now you, who are the father of letters, have been led by your affection to ascribe to them a power the opposite of that which they really possess. For this invention will produce forgetfulness in the minds of those who learn to use it, because they will not practice their memory. Their trust in writing, produced by external characters which are no part of themselves, will discourage the use of their own memory within them. You have discovered an elixir (**phármakon**) not of memory, but of reminding; and you offer your pupils the appearance of wisdom, not true wisdom, for they will read many things without instruction and will therefore seem to know many things, when they are for the most part ignorant and hard to get along with, since they are not wise, but only appear wise.[18]

Socrates then tells Phaedrus that writing is like painting in that "the creatures of painting stand like living beings, but if one asks them a question, they preserve a solemn silence. And so it is with written words . . . "[19]. The Western world has certainly *not* kept silent since Plato wrote those paradoxical words. As many have noted before me, Plato subverted the words of his famous teacher by writing what he had said. Indeed, some would argue that the abstraction, generalities, and objective point of view of Socrates, not to mention his rigorous logic, are the hallmarks of the literate mind and could not have been possessed by a primarily oral Socrates. The paradigm of the god/king Thamus/Ammon, a jealous god, fearful of the possibility that the written word might get out in the population and be misused, stands as a reminder of the awesome power that writing has always been accorded, and that those who possess the skill will necessarily be in a position of prevalence over those whose only means of communication is the spoken word.

Close to the end of the dialogue with Phaedrus, Socrates asks his young friend to tell "whoever has written political compositions which he calls laws" that:

> If he has composed his writings with knowledge of the truth, and is able to support them by discussion of that which he has written, and has the power to show by his own speech that the written words are of little worth, such a man ought not to derive his title from such writings, but from the serious pursuit which underlies them.[20]

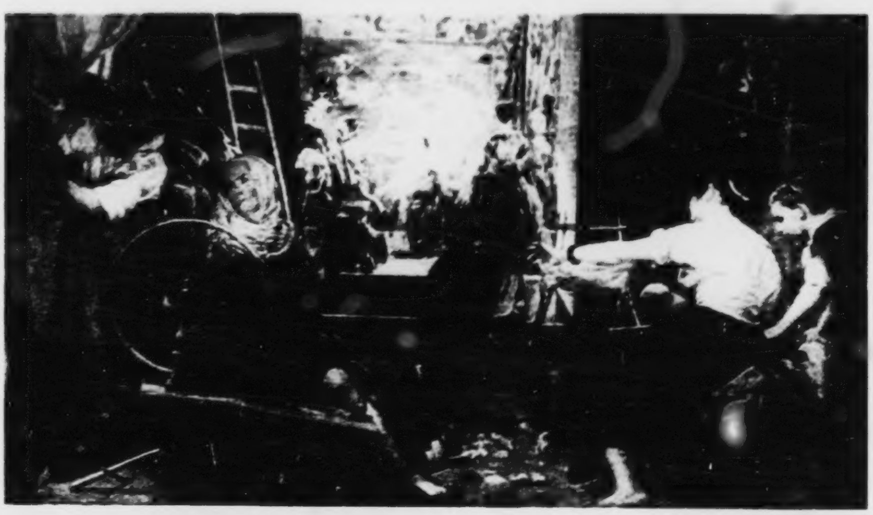

Figure 1. *Las hilanderas*

Las hilanderas

The spinners' workshop (foreground) displays movement, fluidity, and immediacy: it is a slice-of-life image close to the human life-world as well as spatially proximate to the viewer. Each element in this darker world has a significance beyond the literal world it represents. There is a cat playing with raw wool and the carder is reaching for the cat. Both figures thus signify play, which is, like orality, aggregative, repetitive and redundant.

The transformation presented by the spinning wheel, the spinner, and the skein winder show the metamorphosis of raw material into a medium for art, just as orality is the raw material of written language. The tapestry *depends on* the skein winder for its construction, and in like manner does writing, in fact, depend on speech. The worker on the left, engaged in conversation with the spinner, is possibly reaching for stored wool behind the curtain to fill the baskets for the worker on the far right. The work of the carder/player, the spinner, and the skeiner, individually and collectively, represents the empathetic and participatory characteristics of orality. Their labor is a necessary preparation for what will result in the tapestries that are on exhibit in the lighted room.

The front plane display of naked legs, arms, necks, and upper bodices evokes, again, immediacy and closeness to the human life world, also characteristics of orality, strongly suggested by the dialogic stances of the spinner and the woman on the left. The stylized poses of the women in the upper room and their fully

For Socrates, then, the power of the written word ***depends upon*** the spoken word. However highly the gods regard the written word, and however jealously they guard its distribution, it is the spoken word that will ultimately support it and defend it. One could not teach a little child to write before he has learned to speak. In his comments on the same passages in the *Phaedrus* B. W. Ife remarks that

> [Socrates's] comments on the myth are also interesting in that they support the view put forward that reading entails prior knowledge of some kind if the words are to be fully intelligible. This does not mean that we cannot learn anything from books, merely that what we learn will be constituted of what we already know[21].

Appropriately, Socrates likens writing to painting. My interpretation of *Las Hilanderas* will attempt to show that, in like manner, Velázquez shows that art, at its most abstract, stands in the same relative position to craftsmanship as Socrates had stated that writing stands to the spoken word. The Spanish court painter certainly shows us his "knowledge of the truth," not in words, but by presenting in *Las Hilanderas* an example of the power of myth and of the dependency of art upon craftsmanship.

clad bodies, on the other hand, characterize a distant worldview, disengaged from the everyday toil.

The upper (background) room displays three distinct levels: backdrop, performance and observation; there is, besides, one transitional step that separates the upper from the lower room. Interestingly, the four levels are linked thematically to one another. At the highest physical point in the painting, in the background, hangs the representation of a tapestry executed after Titian's painting of the rape or abduction of Europa. According to Ovid, this theme is the first in the series of tapestries that Arachne wove in her contest with Pallas. The position and theme of the tapestry in the painting are significant in the context of the orality/literacy transformation. It is at the top of the painting in an area where all lines of perspective converge; it shines with the brightest light in the composition; and most of its own background consists of the sky and the putti. Most importantly, it represents a myth that deals with the will of the gods over mortals.

This painting, to which Velázquez had access daily at the Royal Palace, was the last in the series of *poesie* or mythological representations, based on Titian's reading of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. According to David Rosand[22]

> Titian proves to be a close and deeply sympathetic reader, and his choice of the term *poesie* to categorize these pictures is an apt one; perhaps in no other images does the ancient rhetorical simile *ut pictura poesis*, the parallel between painting and poetry, so come to life. In this case especially, the self-consciousness of the artist, his awareness of the power of his art, matches and answers that of the poet.

Thus, the poetry of Ovid transforms Greek and Roman oral myths; in turn, Titian metamorphoses Ovid's poetry into painting; and Velázquez recasts Titian's painting into the representation of a tapestry. This woven tale acts as a backdrop to the stylized action taking place in front of it, facing the viewer: a performance of another myth that two of the three women standing in the room are actually watching. One of the spectators has temporarily turned her gaze towards the spinners in the lower, darker, foreground room.

At the next stage the tapestry is both background and thematic link for the performance of the myth that has traditionally been considered the theme of the painting.[23] The play being performed is *Minerva and Arachne*. Acted by mortals, this drama, like the representation of the myth in the background tapestry, illustrates the power of the will of the gods over mortals. It also reminds the viewers of the punishment that a mortal necessarily receives for her hubris, the distinctive sin of the literate self, in defiance of a god or goddess. The play itself establishes, of course, a direct and obvious link to the workshop of the *hilanderas*: their craftsmanship *is dependent on* the demands of art.

The distinguishing head covers and the parallel actions of the ostensible Pallas on the upper level and the Pallas disguised as the old woman in the spinners' workshop reinforce their like functions. Just as the painting shows these parallel roles of craftsmanship and art, it also reveals, in the symmetry of its compositional correspondences, an allegorical equivalency to the uses and characteristics of orality and literacy and their mutual dependency.

Symmetries and Equivalencies

The symmetries and equivalencies in the two realms of *Las Hilanderas*, at first, perhaps, unnoticed by the casual viewer of the painting, become so clear to the more careful observer or persistent spectator that the need for interpretation becomes unavoidable. There are five women in each room. One of those women in each one of the rooms has her head covered. When considering the direction of the gazes of each woman, the emerging pattern unfolds in a compelling manner.

1. Two women address each other at each level:
   a. in the room of the hilanderas, suggesting speech: spinner with distaff and another *hilandera*;
   b. in the lighted room above, representing speech from written text: Pallas with spear or distaff (her symbol as the goddess of useful arts) punishing or admonishing Arachne.
2. One woman at each level is glancing at the other level, the one in the right background more frontally and clearly than the one in the right foreground.
3. One woman at each level is in profile or half-profile.

Although in two quite different worlds, each occupant of each room has her double, her "other" in the other room. If we consider that the finished tapestry is located in the brighter, upper room, and the raw material for it in the darker, lower room, the spaces replicate each other, but the accoutrements of each determine in which room they belong.

It is interesting to note that both the foreground and the background scenes are balanced in the degree of interest that Velázquez built into them through compensation in distance through light and darkness through proximity: the foreground scene, though closest to the viewer, is darker than the farther, but brightly lighted scene in the background.

Links

In spite of the separation of workers and aristocracy in two distinct areas, the links established by the shuttle of gazes and the equivalencies of gestures weave the tapestry of meaning into a tight pattern. The raised arms in both Pallas and the spinner, for example, both holding distaffs—although Pallas' has been stylized to a wand—is significant. It has been suggested that Pallas' helmet and the spinner's cowl are equivalent symbols of their function in their respective worlds.

At the third level in the lighted room stands the aristocracy. In their rather stiff and somewhat formal poses, they represent the characteristics of the culture of literacy. Their posture is detached, objectively distanced. They are sponsors of a performance of a myth by other members of their class: a representation of the world of ideas. They are familiar with, and for their entertainment make use of, a musical instrument that provides enjoyment in the arts and implies a worldview that presupposes such unique qualities of the literate mind as abstraction, generalization, objectivity, precision and categorical thought.

According to Boyden[24], "the viol was popular at many 16th-century courts." It is considered by many writers to be an upper-class instrument. In the 16th century this higher-caste status of the viol was maintained through the amateur character of the performances, in contrast with the violin, which was considered professional, and therefore an instrument for the lower classes, "often played in the streets to accompany dances or to lead wedding processions" [25]. In his influential *Libro del cortegiano* Baldassare Castiglione — the writer who helped fashion and establish courtly behavior and tastes in the sixteenth century — wrote of the music of the viol consort:'The musicke with a sette of violes doth no lesse delite a man: for it is verrie sweet and artificiall'[26].

Dating to the middle of the sixteenth century, musical treatises dealt with such matters as the correct playing position and fingering for the viol as well as viol bowing and bowstroke techniques. Numerous tutors were published at that time, to aid the amateur court viol players in their practice. The highly literate character of viol performance was well established a century before Velázquez painted *Las Hilanderas*. But in spite of all the emphasis on technique and precision, Ganassi, a Venetian viol master warns that

> viol playing should be above all expressive, and that the best way to play expressively is to imitate the human voice. . . He compared the viol player to the orator, who expresses his meaning to his listeners by gestures of the hand and changes in the tone of his voice[27].

A viol, like the human voice, placed at the edge between the two levels of *Las Hilanderas* is too seductive an icon to ignore. Musical instruments are, of course, universally used by non-literate peoples; music, in fact, plays a key role in non-literate cultures. In the painting, the viola da gamba — the highly literate instrument that should be played expressively "to imitate the human voice" — placed at the edge of both areas acts as a link, rather than a separation, between the two.

The viola da gamba, then, suggests the harmony necessary between the two rooms or worlds, an accord already suggested by the gazes of the women from one room to another and by their relative positions in each room. The musical instrument — of the ear rather than of the eye — is the transitional link necessary for the cultural continuity that the painting proposes: it aspires to imitate speech, that necessary element of human understanding without which "written words are of little worth."

The absence of weavers in the painting is as telling as the presence of spinners. The latter represent an earlier stage in the construction of the tapestry, and the contrast between the work of the spinners and the finished product is more dramatic than it would have been with weavers; but, most importantly, the painting shows that the carding, spinning and skeining of the wool is the most essential requisite in the transition from the raw product of the pasture to the sublime abstract expression of literate civilization. The actors enacting the myth of Arachne may be seen as weaving the tale or myth. Missing is the shuttle of the weaver, then, but Pallas, in her wisdom as the goddess of the urban arts and handicrafts, especially spinning and weaving, reigns in both realms, establishing a metaphoric shuttle.

In a world of profound and vast cultural shifts such as ours, it is fitting to use the work of a painter who illustrated with his art the metamorphoses taking place in his own culture, as an allegory for the idea of the symbiotic relationship of orality and literacy. Just as in *Las Hilanderas*, the notion of the shuttle relationship between the two perceptions of a culture functions as an amalgam in the process leading to its understanding.

NOTES

Special thanks are due to Cornell University Press for allowing me to reproduce the copy of *Las Hilanderas* published in Enriqueta Harris's *Velázquez* (see complete bibliographic entry below).

[1] The title *Ut Pictura Verbum* (as is painting so is the word) for the whole idea of this paper is an invention. The classical theory of *ut pictura poesis*: "as is painting so is poetry," draws from the plastic and literary arts. According to the *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, this theory "was widely held and developed, especially from the Middle Ages through the Enlightenment, and served as the testing ground for theories of imitation and as the incubator for systematic aesthetics... Particular emphasis was always placed on the ability of the poet (or orator) to make his listener see the object, and of the painter to make his viewer understand meaning as well as imagine action. The usual major developments of the parallel include the principles that both arts are imitative and that their subjects must be significant and unified human actions, usually drawn from history, epics, romances and the Bible."

[2] In his *Velázquez y el Espíritu de la Modernidad* José maravall (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1960) considers the intellectual influence of Velázquez on a par with that of Galileo and Descartes.

[3] Maravall 36-38.

[4] A salient example of this use of Velázquez's work is Michel Foucault's interpretation of *Las Meninas* in his *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. A translation of *Les mots et les choses*. 1965 (New York: Vintage Books, 1973).

[5] According to Rafael (*Manual de Historia de España*), 2ª edición corregida y aumentada, Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1946; 398) there were more than 38,000 weaver workshops in Toledo and in the region of La Mancha in 1587.

[6] *Lectura y lectores en la España del siglo XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1976) 14.

[7] Chevalier 20.

[8] Antonio Palomino Castro y Velasco, *Life of Velázquez* Appendix II, *Velázquez*, by Enriquita Harris (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982) 198.

[9] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Routledge, 1982) 36-57.

[10] Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) Chapter 6 "Following a Formula."

[11] Goody 119.

[12] Goody 119-120.

[13] *The Raw and the Cooked. Indroduction to a Science of Mythology* (London, 1970).

[14] *Poetique de la Prose* (Paris, 1971).

[15] Eric A. Havelock, *Preface to Plato* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963) 199.

[16] Eric A. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write. Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) 52.

[17] Havelock, *Preface* 200.

[18] S274E, 275A, B.

[19] S275D.

[20] S278C, D.

[21] *Readings and Fiction in Golden-Age Spain. A Platonist Critique and Some Picaresque Replies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 73.

[22] *Titian* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1978) 42.

[23] Enriqueta Harris [*Velázquez*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982) 160] states that the painting was called *Fable of Arachne* in Velázquez time, and that it received this name only four years after his death. "As an interpretation of a mythological subject it stands alone, not only in Velázquez oeuvre, but in a wider context. No similar treatment of the subject is known, or any source for the composition, except for the detail after Titian. There exists no tapestry with the scene represented."

[24] David D. Boyden, "Viol," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 20 vols. (1980: London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1989 reprint) 19: 791-814.

[25] Boyden 795.

[26] Boyden 795.

[27] Boyden 796.

Narrative and The Politics of Identity

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Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas, on their American lecture tour, were driving in the country. Toklas pointed out a batch of clouds. Stein replied, "Fresh eggs". Tolkas insisted that Stein look at the clouds. Stein replied again, "Fresh eggs." Then Toklas asked, "Are you making symbolic language?" "No," Stein answered, "I'm reading the signs".[1]

A growing tradition within feminist theory is involved in the study of narrative and its relation to female subjectivity. Much of the recent work in the field attempts to find a common ground between the study of narrative and the concepts of psychological identity and history. With this in mind, I would like to discuss two novels: *The Lover* (1984) by Marguerite Duras and *The Back Room* (1978) by Carmen Martín Gaite. The novels at issue differ in their historical, political and cultural references, yet the reason I place them together is because I feel they address a very pressing intellectual and humanistic concern within feminist theory today: the complication of the binary opposition **Woman/women**, or what could otherwise be called of the categories general/particular, abstract/concrete, whole/fractioned, public/private. The Women/women I will read, (those clouds of fresh eggs Stein refers to) write structures of desire, power, authority and domesticity around the feminine and yet they allow **historical women** to partake in the writing and in the portrayal of experience through experimentation in narrative form.

Many feminist critics have taken a close look at the way in which narrative, psychological identity and history come together.[2] In the field of narrative, important literary and film studies reveal the way narrative space is structurally engendered.[3] They have pointed to its internal working and analyzed its need of a male hero (regardless of the gender of the text-image) and of a female obstacle "He" must overcome. The premise underlying this work explains that women, as historical beings, have always been defined from within discourses that made them the "other-from-man", i.e. nature and Mother, site of sexuality and masculine desire, or sign and object of men's social exchange.[4]

Likewise, feminist psychoanalytic studies have centered upon the internal workings of the categories Male/Female.[5] Their purpose has been to trace the processes by which we come to live ourselves as nonfragmentary engendered human beings. They have explained the way we learn to distinguish ourselves from our objects (our inside and outside), and they have analyzed the stability of these borders, and the way in which what lies beyond them is culturally codified feminine.

On yet another level, the political urgency within feminism has made many studies still focussed on the individual, place special emphasis on the linguistic and social structures which precede and exceed it.[6] This has lead recent marxist studies on ideology to also address the issue of subject formation and subject identity.[7] Here marxism finds a common ground with psychoanalysis as both try to explain (a) the way sexual identity is related to the formation of patriarchal positions, and more excitingly, (b) the way ideological discourses tap into the fragmentary and unstable nature of subject identity. The political implications for a feminist study of subjectivity, ideology and literature are tremendous, for we have come across a way in which to explain the more extensive notions of culture—"structures which precede the way in which people represent their situation"[8]—and the internal, psychological operations of ideological discourses which are capable of soliciting these fragmentary layers of subjectivity for distortive purposes. The novels I will address foreground these issues. We will see the way they reveal the inseparability of the public and the private, of the way economic relations mark and determine subject positions, and by doing so of suggesting that the domestic sphere is much more than the workplace for emotions.

John Berger writes in *Ways of Seeing*:

> To be born a woman has been to be born, within an allotted and confined space, into the keeping of men. The social presence of woman has developed as a result of their ingenuity in living under such tutelage within such a limited space. But this has been at the cost of a woman's self being split into two. A woman must

> continually watch herself. She is almost continually accompanied by her own image of herself. Whilst she is walking across a room or whilst she is weeping at the death of her father, she can scarcely avoid envisaging herself walking or weeping. From earliest childhood she has been taught and persuaded to survey herself continually. And so she comes to consider the *surveyor* and the *surveyed* within her as the two constituent yet always distinct elements of her identity as woman.[9]

Both novelists are "observed observers" immersed in recording, in recollecting, in writing and rewriting past experiences and in trying through their writing to fragment identity and reconstitute a multiple and diverse notion of selfhood. The concept of "Otherness" (the "surveyed") involves the discussion of borders and identity. The "Other" is what we understand as different from ourselves, as existing from without, yet coming from within because it is defined through us. The oppositions which figure the Other in Western culture derive from hierarchical polarities inhabiting language and structuring philosophical thought: inside/outside, masculine/feminine, heterosexual/homosexual, white/black, subject/object, theory/practice, wealth/poverty etc. "Otherness" is written as a single site, as an opposition and a thing to be opposed to. But, its identity can be multiple. It can be something to be destroyed or assimilated for the purpose of seeking pleasure through sameness. It can be a difference which is elevated and becomes a "not me" in an attempt to protect the singularity of "I"; or it can be a part of myself I need to deny in order to "pass" in a world dominated by others who do not like difference(s).[10]

Textual and psychological boundaries are fragmented in the novels at issue. In *The Lover*, the narrator crosses the Mekong River into a time when she is fifteen, living in Saigon and attending a French high school. The novel explores a space which exists outside the barriers of consciousness as it (re)reads the family drama and writes about desire. Set in French Indochina during the 1930's, it lays bare the oppositions of male/female, white skin/dark skin, rich/poor. Duras sets in motion the oppositions which not only define phallocentrism, but also those of colonialism and classism. She explains how her family was poor but white:

> Nouns n'avions faim, nous étions des enfants blancs, nous avions honte, nous vendions nos meubles, mais nous n'avions pas faim, nous avions un boy et nous mangions, parfois, il est vrai, des saloperies, des échassiers, des petits caimans, mais ces saloperies étaient cuites par un boy et servies par lui et parfois aussi nous les refusions, nous nous permettions ce luxe de ne pas vouloir manger.[11]

The colonial world of French Indochina separates races and classes as it does sexes. The young Duras is seen with the man in the black limousine, but he is not white. Racism dictates the family's response. For them "he wears the invisibility of the racially different"[12]. He can invite them to dinner, pay for their meals yet the white family still has the authority given to them by racism, of constituting him as "Other":

> Ils ne le regardent pas non plus. Ils ne peuvent pas le regarder. Ils ne pourraient pas le faire... Pas de merci, de personne... Mes frères ne lui adresseront jamais la parole. C'est comme s'il n'était pas visible pour eux, comme s'il n'était pas assez dense pour être perçu, vu, entendu par eux. Cela parce qu'il est à mes pieds, qu'il est posé en principe que je ne l'aime pas, que je suis avec lui pour l'argent, que je ne peux pas l'aimer, que c'est impossible, qu'il pourrait tout supporter de moi sans être jamais au bout de cet amour. Cela, parce que c'est un Chinois, que ce n'est pas un blanc.[13]

As she lays bare the many layers of representation given to her own subjectivity she also denounces her complicity in his betrayal. In the presence of her older brother the Chinese man ceases to be her lover. Duras writes:

> En présence de mon frère aîné il cesse d'être mon amant. Il ne cesse pas d'exister mais il ne m'est plus rien. Il devient un endroit brûlé.[14]

But in this powerful circuit of exchange, we have much more than a narrative of phallocentrism and racism. The Chinese man is more than just a member of another race and the girl is more than just the "woman" in circulation. The girl is also "la petite prostituée blanche du poste de Sadec" (45) "the little white whore from Sadec" (35) rejected by the Chinese man's wealthy father who would rather see his son dead than married to her.[15] They all know in Sadec:

> La mère n'a aucun sens de rien, ni celui de la façon d'élever une petite fille. La pauvre enfant. Ne croyez pas, ce chapeau n'est pas innocent...tout ça signifie quelque chose, ce n'est pas innocent, ça

> veut dire, c'est pour attirer les regards, l'argent... On dit que c'est un Chinois, le fils du milliardaire, la villa du Mékong, en céramiques bleues. Même lui, au lieu d'en être honoré, il n'en veut pas pour son fils. Famille de voyous blancs.[16]

Part of the strategy underlying the way she reworks the notion of subject identity consists in showing little regard for fixity or stability. She places herself in a wide register of subject positions. By allowing the narrator to speak as "I", "she" or "the girl", Duras makes explicit in the narrative the way the girl becomes available for viewing, awaiting the gaze that creates her as "woman" and as "Other". She explains:

> Soudain je me vois comme une autre, comme une autre serait vue, au-dehors, mise à la disposition de tous, mise à la disposition de tous les regards, mise dans la circulation des villes, de routes, du désir.[17]

The complexity lies in the fact that between desiring and being desired a text is being written. It is here that Duras also gives the girl the power of the gaze:

> Tout à coup elle sait, là, à l'instant, elle sait qu'il ne la connaît pas, qu'il ne la connaîtra jamais, qu'il n'a pas les moyens de connaître tant de perversité. Et de faire tant et tant de détours pour l'attraper, lui il ne pourra jamais. C'est à elle à savoir. Elle sait. A partir de son ignorance à lui, elle sait tout à coup: il lui plaisait déjà sur le bac. Il lui plaît, la chose ne dépendait que d'elle seule.[18]

The duality Subject/Other becomes very painful and antagonizing as she narrates her relationship within her own family, and especially with her mother. The older Duras weaves together the many images of this woman and underlines the way she closes her eyes to her own suspicions. She writes:

> Reste cette petite-là qui grandit et qui, elle, saura peut-être un jour comment on fait venir l'argent dans cette maison. C'est pour cette raison, elle ne le sait pas, que la mère permet à son enfant de sortir dans cette tenue d'enfant prostituée.[19]

The girl's sexuality becomes object of terror and pain. It takes on qualities of the abject feminine and of self-inflicted punishment. In fits of rage her mother attacks her. She falls on her, locks her in her room.

> ...elle me bat à coups de poing, elle me gifle, elle me déshabille, elle s'approche de moi, elle sent mon corps, mon linge, elle dit qu'elle trouve le parfum de l'homme chinois, elle va plus avant, elle regarde s'il y a des taches suspectes sur le linge et elle hurle, la ville à l'entendre, que sa fille est une prostituée... Et elle pleure en demandant ce qu'elle peut faire avec ça, sinon la sortir de la maison pour qu'elle n'empuantisse plus les lieux.[20]

Writing the Other is, for Duras, a way of theorizing both the Other and the Self. The novel brings together the language of desire, of the unconscious and while doing so the subject which emerges (re)negotiates its place. Stability is defied and binary categories no longer serve their purpose. The One becomes the Other for they cannot be distinctly separated.

In *The Back Room*, Carmen Martín Gaite is also immersed in the process of (re)writing herself as she ties together what she calls:

> el paso de la historia con el ritmo de los sueños, un panorama tan ancho y revuelto, como una habitación donde cada cosa está en su sitio precisamente al haberse salido de su sitio.[21]

Like Duras, Martín Gaite incorporates a historical subtext into the discussion of selfhood. Her novel is set in the Madrid of the late 1970's, four or five years after the death of Franco, and not getting "lost" seems to be the issue at stake. She uses the "official" version of Perrault's "Tom Thumb" (as he finds his way back through the forest) as a metaphor of the narrative she wants to avoid. Martín Gaite does not want to follow the little white stones out of the forest. On the contrary, she prefers to lose herself and follow an alternative narrative capable of rewriting experience. The narrator protagonist of the book, a fictive Martín Gaite, shuttles back and forth in time and the reflections she offers on her past are intimately bound up with the past of Spain. Like Duras, her writing shows the intimate connection between the subjective and History. Martín Gaite explains:

> No somos un solo ser, sino muchos, de la misma manera que tampoco la historia es ésa que se escribe poniendo en orden las fechas y se nos presenta como inamovible, cada persona que nos ha visto o hablado alguna vez guarda una pieza del rompecabezas que nunca podremos contemplar entero.[22]

Martín Gaite writes one novel as she describes another to the reader. Both reader and writer are involved in the creative process. *The Back Room* is her "false bottomed novel" (su novela de doble fondo). It is the novel she is (re)writing, in the ever increasing amount of typed pages that appear on her desk as she brings memories, fantasies, historical facts, and descriptions of her family together, out of the "back room".

The back room of the house, a "feminine" world of Otherness, both escapes and is determined by the structures of the dictatorship. The backroom is the stronghold of childhood, the room where the author spent endless hours playing, writing, studying, a fortress within the home that protected childhood from the dark, restrictive, passionless, coercive reality of postwar society. But it is also more.

The domestic cannot escape the contradictions underlying a phallocentric, paternalistic regime. Thus, women are solicited as Heroines, Mothers, and Wives. Martín Gaite explains:

> La retórica de la postguerra se aplicaba a desprestigiar los conatos de feminismo que tomaron auge en los años de la República y volvía a poner el acento en el heroísmo abnegado de madres y esposas, en la importancia de su silenciosa y oscura labor como pilares del hogar cristiano.[23]

And for the needed consent to take place, Martín Gaite beautifully explains the contradictions within women themselves, especially within her own mother. The same woman who would have liked to have had a university degree in the 1930's or who defends her daughter from women who say things like "A woman who knows Latin can come to no good end" (87) ("Mujer que sabe latín no puede tener buen fin") (93) is the person who offers her daughter "literatura folletinesca" to read, romantic novels with women striving to better themselves through education in order to find a better husband. Then, if the saying is right, and educated women were ill-equipped to find happiness, this is so because they threatened the immobility the institutionalization of the Feminine had to offer. In the regime's rendering of femininity, women were first and above all Mother. In a historical moment in which women were many times the widowed heads of households, the Mother became a superior hierarchy endowed with saintliness. Martín Gaite quotes a magazine of the time which stated:

> Si en el agradable camino de una vida fácil, la mujer no sabe prepararse más que para el amable triunfo de salón, pobre será su victoria... El gozo de ser madre por el dolor y el sacrificio es tarea inexcusablemente femenina.[24]

The dictatorship had officially institutionalized the space of the Feminine through what was known as "El Servicio Social". Women from all social strata were submitted to the indoctrination of the regime and learned how, to "sew hems, do gymnastics and play basketball" (87) "coser dobladillos, hacer gimnasia, y jugar al baloncesto" (93). The ideological manipulation of the domestic sphere draws from the historical values of sacrifice, practicality, and spirituality. A good woman is a practical woman who would learn how to:

> ...hacer la señal de la cruz sobre la frente de nuestros hijos, a ventilar un cuarto, a aprovechar los recortes de cartulina y de carne, a quitar manchas, tejer bufandas y lavar visillos, a sonreír al esposo cuando llega disgustado...a decir que la economía doméstica ayuda a salvar la economía nacional y que el ajo es buenísimo para los bronquios.[25]

Popular literature also played an important role in the construction of female subjectivity. It underlined in the domestic level the alert against anarchism that dominated the internal and foreign political policies of the regime. Disorder was spoken of in terms of illness, and the ills of society were incubated in the disorder of the home. The "new" women of the regime were not to be like the outspoken women who occupied high ranking positions in the government of the Second Republic (Victoria Kent, Federica Montseny o Dolores Ibárruri). No, they were rather taught that:

> Las mujeres optimistas madrugaban para abrir las ventanas y respirar el aire a pleno pulmón, mientras hacían flexiones de gimnasia, teniendo delante de los ojos, a modo de catecismo ilustrado...los recuadros que mensualmente les suministraba, por cinco pesetas, la revista *Y*, editada por la Sección.[26]

Y magazine gets its name from Isabel la Católica, the woman who had:

> reprimido la ambición y el despotismo de los nobles, había creado la Santa Hermandad, expulsado a los judíos traicioneros, se había desprendido de sus joyas para financiar la empresa más gloriosa de nuestra historia.[27]

By discussing her childhood in this manner, Martín Gaite brings the historical layering into the present. Politically, it allows her to reformulate the past with the subjective. *The Back Room* brings to the surface the restrictions and limitations of the Francoist regime, but it also indulges in other stories, in different histories.

Martín Gaite discusses her passion for the romance novels most women of her generation read; in the way they colored her romantic fantasies and inspired her to write fictional stories; in the way women of her generation wore their hair; in the importance of visiting Madrid and in absorbing the culture of metropolitan life; of going to the theatre or to the movies with her parents, to see those things which never came the way of "provincias"; in explaining the dating customs of her generation or the clothes people wore or the toys they bought their children. The richness of her work is to be found in her ability to balance a critique of the dictatorship and its institutions while making explicit the many layers of subjective experience. When her interviewer in the novel asks if she had had a happy childhood, she refuses to reply that happiness was not an option in the postwar period; that they were surrounded by ignorance and repression; that textbooks in school kept them from getting a decent education; that her father's friends were either put to death by a firing squad or driven into exile. She rather wishes to complicate the historical notion of the period and brings in the subjective:

> Pero este hombre no se merece respuestas tópicas. La verdad es que yo mi infancia y mi adolescencia las recuerdo, a pesar de todo, como una época muy feliz. El simple hecho de comprar un helado de cinco céntimos, de aquellos que se extendían con un molde plateado entre dos galletas, era una fiesta.[28]

But, of course, she cannot stop here. The dictatorship is forever present. Popular songs speak of women who were nothing like the "home sweet home" version of womanhood inspired by the Sección Femenina. Marginalized women who struggled to feed their children, who were left widowed by the war, lived among economic and spiritual ruin. They were not those young and spirited girls who would kiss their boyfriends good night at nine, play basketball and love to sew. And much like the wounds of war which were bandaged with difficulty, their mourning and sorrow compose the historical subtext the novel explores.

I have tried to bring together a discussion of narrative and the political implications of writing Woman as a multiple, complex and contradictory subject position. The feminist project both Marguerite Duras and Carmen Martín Gaite develop in their novels entails the relocation of elements of memory in new disruptive narratives as they attempt an exploration of writing, identity and history. By doing so both novelists belong to a tradition of women writers occupied with what Susan Rubin Suleiman calls:

> knots—entanglements among persons, characters, texts, discourses, commentaries and cross-commentaries...knots between desire and frustration, mastery and loss, madness and reason, illness and cure, men and women. In a word, love. Which some have called transference. Which some have called reading. Which some have called writing. Which some have called *écriture*. Which some have called displacement, slippage, gap. Which some have called the unconscious. Which some have called the discourse of the Other. Which, if it can be spoken (of), written (of) at all, produces knots.[28]

NOTES

[1] Catherine R. Stimpson, "Stein and the Transposition of Gender" in *The Poetics of Gender*, edited by Nancy K. Miller, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986) qtd. by Elin Diamond in "Brechtian Theory/Feminist Theory. Toward a Gestic Fiminist Criticism" in *Drama Review*, Vol. 32, No. 1, (Spring 1988): 82.

[2] By narrative I am referring to a causal chain of events moving toward a telos or completion. For more on the Freudian notion of narrative see Teresa de Lauretis, "Desire in Narrative" in *Alice Doesn't. Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984).

[3] For studies of narrative in film and literature see Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender. Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); on narrative and representation in theatre see Elin Diamond, "Refusing the Romanticism of Identity: Narrative Interventions in Churchill, Benmussa, Duras" in *performing Feminisms*, ed. Sue Ellen Case, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990).

[4] Teresa de Lauretis, *Alice*, 5.

[5] For more on this issue see Kaja Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983) 126-193, Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror. An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987) 56-89 and Madelon Sprengnether, *The Spectral Mother. Freud, Feminism, and Psychoanalysis*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[6] Linda Kintz, "Gendering the Critique of Representation: Fascism, the Purified Body, and Theatre in Adorno, Artaud, and María Irene Fornes" in *Rethinking Marxism*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (Fall 1991): 83-100.

[7] I am following Spivak's definition of the term: "Loosely articulated sets of historically determined and determining notions, presuppositions, and practices, each implying the other by real or forced logic, which goes by the name of common sense or self-evident truth or natural behavior in a certain situation" in Gayarti

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Chakrovory Spivak, *In Other Worlds. Essays in Cultural Politics*, (New York: Routledge, 1987) 97.

[8] Paul Ricouer, "Marx, *The German Ideology* (I) in *Lectures on Ideology and Utopia*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986) 75.

[9] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972) 46.

[10] Elizabeth A. Meese, *(Ex)tensions. Refiguring Feminist Criticism*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990) 79.

[11] Marguerite Duras, *L'Amant*, (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, in 1984) 13. All English translations will be from *The Lover*, trans. Barbara Bray, (New York: Harper * Row, 1985). "We were white children, we were ashamed, we sold our furniture, but we weren't hungry, we had a houseboy and we ate. Sometimes, admittedly, we ate garbage - storks, baby crocodile - but the garbage was cooked and served by a houseboy, and sometimes we refused it, too, we indulged in the luxury of declining to eat" (6-7).

[12] Meese, 87.

[13] Duras, 64-65. "They don't look at him either. They can't. They're incapable of it... No one says thank you... My brothers never will say a word to him, it's as if he were invisible to them, as if for them he weren't solid enough to be perceived, seen or heard. This is because he adores me, but it's taken for granted I don't love him, that I'm with him for the money, that I can't love him, it's impossible, that he could take any sort of treatment from me and still go on loving me. This because he's Chinese, because he's not a white man" (50-51).

[14] Duras, 66. "In my brother's presence he becomes an unmentionable outrage, a cause of shame who ought to be kept out of sight" (52).

[15] Duras, 83.

[16] Duras, 109. "The clothes were enough to show. The mother has no idea, and none about how to bring up a daughter. Poor child. Don't tell me that hat's innocent...it's not innocent, it means something, it's to attract attention, money... They say it's a Chinese, the son of the millionaire, the villa in Mekong with the blue tiles. And even he, instead of thinking himself honored, doesn't want her for his son. A family of white layabouts" (88).

[17] Duras, 20. "Suddenly I see myself as another, as another would be seen, outside myself, available to all, available to all eyes, in circulation for cities, journeys, desire" (13).

[18] Duras, 48. "Suddenly, all at once, she knows, knows that he doesn't understand her, that he never will, that he lacks the power to understand such perverseness. And that he can never move fast enough to catch her. It's up to her to know. And she does. Because of his ignorance she suddenly knows: she was attracted to him already on the ferry. She was attracted to him. It depended on her alone" (37).

[19] Duras, 33. "The only thing left is this girl, she's growing up, perhaps one day she'll find out how to bring in some money. That's why, though she doesn't know it, that's why the mother lets the girl go out dressed like a child prostitute" (24).

[20] Duras, 73. "...she punches me, undresses me, comes up to me and smells my body, my underwear, says she can smell the Chinese's scent, goes even further, looks for suspect stains on my underwear, and shouts, for the whole town to hear, that her daughter's a prostitute... And she weeps, asking what she can do, except drive her out of the house so she can't stink the place up any more" (58).

[21] Carmen Martín Gaite, *El cuarto de atrás*, (Madrid: Destino, 1978) 104. English translations from *The Back Room*, trans. Helen R. Lane, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). "The march of history and the rhythm of dreams. It is such a vast panorama and such a topsy-turvy one, like a room where each things is in its proper place precisely because it is out of place" (98).

[22] Martín Gaite, 167. "We are not just one being, but many, exactly as real history is not what is written by putting dates in their proper order and then presenting it to us as a single whole. Each person who has seen us or spoken to us at a certain time retains one piece of the puzzle that we will never be able to see all put together" (166).

[23] Martín Gaite, 93. "Rhetoric in the postwar era was devoted to discrediting the feminist stirrings that had begun in the years of the Republic, and stressed once again the unselfish heroism of wives and mothers, the importance of their silent and obscured labor as pillars of the Christian home and family" (87).

[24] José Juanes, *Medina* 6 Dec 1942, qtd by Martín Gaite, *Los usos amorosos de la postguerra española*, (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1987) 108. If in looking for a pleasant and easy life, a woman doesn't prepare herself except for the pleasantries of drawing-room society, her victory will be a meager one indeed... The joy of being a mother, because of its pain and sacrifice, is the inexcusable task of a woman (English translation is my own).

[25] Martín Gaite, 96. "...make the sign of the cross on our children's foreheads, to air a room, to make use of every last scrap of cardboard and meat, to remove stains, to knit mufflers and wash window curtains, to smile at our husband when he came home in a bad mood...and to say that domestic economy helps to safeguard the national economy and that garlic is excellent for the bronchial tubes" (90).

[26] Martín Gaite, 94-95. "Optimistic women rose at dawn to open the windows and breathe deeply as they did calisthenics, keeping before their eyes, like an illustrated catechism manual...the series of drawings marked off in squares offered them each month for five pesetas in the pages of magazine *Y*, published by the Women's Section" (88).

[27] Martín Gaite, 96. "...held the ambition and the despotism of the nobles in check, who had created the Holy Office, expelled the traitorous Jews, [and] given up her jewels to finance the most glorious undertaking of our history" (89).

[28] Martín Gaite, 69-70. "But this man does not deserve stereotyped responses. The truth of the matter is that I remember my childhood and my adolescence, despite everything, as a very happy time in my life. The mere fact of buying a five-centavo ice cream, the sort that the street vendor spread between two wafers with a silver-plated paddle, was a real treat" (64).

[29] Susan Rubin Suleiman, "Nadja, Dora, Lol V. Stein: Women, Madness and Narrative" in *Discourse in Psychoanalysis and Literature*, ed. Shlomith Rimmer-Keana, (London: Methuen, 1987) qtd in Elizabeth A. Meese *(Ex)tensions. Refiguring Feminist Criticism*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990) 78.

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The Lost Steps of *The Great Gatsby*

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In spite of the negative criticism it received during the twenties, F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) is now considered his masterpiece as well as a classic in American literature. In spite of having earlier been touted as an "experimental" novel, Alejo Carpentier's *Los pasos perdidos* (1953) [*The Lost Steps*], is today recognized as an essential element in the gestation of contemporary Spanish-American fiction.

Within the historical frame of the prohibition era, Fitzgerald depicts the story of Jay Gatsby, an idealistic individual who becomes involved in the materialism and corruption of his society. On the other hand, Carpentier presents an anonymous Spanish-American composer who escapes from New York to the Venezuelan jungle, where he finds love, authenticity, and creativity. Gatsby has a goal and tries to achieve it but does not succeed in regaining a lost past. Carpentier's hero, after a return to civilization, cannot go back to his newly discovered paradise. Even though these two works were written a quarter of a century apart, and by authors from different cultural backgrounds, both novels present the same mythical reverse: the failure of the "American Dream."

Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* embodies the spirit, glamour, and corruption of the American twenties. Thus, one of its essential elements is materialism, as John Henry Raleigh defines it, "a materialism so heavy that it was inhuman."[1] In the narrative, then, we face artificial creatures "who retreated back into their money or their vast carelessness, or whatever it was that kept them, together."[2] No feelings, no human concern, just a remarkable search for money; in other words, they are, as Nick Carraway describes them, just " a rotten crowd" (*GG*, 154). But even Nick, the only sensitive character in the novel, "decided to go East and learn the 'bond business'"(*GG*, 3; emphasis mine). It is not only thirst for knowledge but ambition, as Nick "bought a dozen volumes on banking credit and investment securities. . . to unfold the shining secrets that only Midas and Morgan and Maccenas knew" (*GG*, 4). Money is, then, the ultimate word in the East. Long Island, New York, is the setting discussed in Fitzgerald's work; similarly, New York City is the first place chosen by Carpentier.

Carpentier's novel portrays a society where people "had fallen upon the era of the Wasp-Man, the No-Man when souls were no longer sold to the Devil but to the Bookkeeper."[3] The same materialism found in Fitzgerald re-emerges in Carpentier, as well as the dehumanized condition of "that city of perennial anonymity amid the crowd, that place of relentless haste were eyes met only by accident" (*LS*, 29-30). Even in social gatherings, there is no friendship, no interest, no communication. In Gatsby's parties, for instance, "People were not invited—they [just] went there" (*GG*, 41). They never care about their host as they never care about the rest of the guests. Fitzgerald's guests are a crowd of solitary individuals who drink, dance, and talk while trying to hide their frustrations. The same traits are shared by the friends of Carpentier's hero, who "drank every day as a defense against despair, fear of failure, self-contempt" (*LS*, 29).

If we analyze some of the characters of both novels, we will find more similarities. Daisy Buchanan, for instance, with her childish attitudes, her empty expressions such as "How gorgeous" (*GG*, 10), "I'm p-paralyzed with happiness" (*GG*, 9), and her "bright eyes and bright passionate mouth" (*GG*, 9), obviously illuminated by makeup, personifies the superficiality and artificiality of her society. Daisy's brightness is a fake. "Her romantic facade. . . " as A.E. Dyson says, "is without reality."[4] And her main concern is to be "sophisticated" (*GG*, 18). Mouche, the lover of Carpentier's composer, is Daisy's counterpart. Mouche is the astrologer, fond of yoga and drugs who loves to introduce artificial, pseudo-intellectual comments into their conversations. Alexis Márquez defines her as the embodiment of snobbery and frivolity.[5] Besides, during the jungle trip, Mouche's beautiful blonde hair turns "greenish," her skin "reddish" and her previously well-manicured nails, become broken and chipped. Daisy and Mouche are as fake and frivolous as their urban environments.

Tom Buchanan, besides corruption and hypocrisy, represents another trait of that society: failure. Tom is the successful football player at New Haven, a kind of "national figure" who achieves "such an acute limited excellence at twenty-one that everything afterward savors of anti-climax" (*GG*, 6). In spite of his material success and his complete adaptation to the East, for he is a Westerner, as are Nick and Gatsby, Tom is stagnant. We have a similar case in Ruth, the composer's wife. She is an actress who has been repeating the same role for several years. As Carpentier says, "The success of the play was slowly effacing its interpreters" (*LS*, 5). Susana Poujol affirms that by means of Ruth, Carpentier introduces the conception of the world as a piece of drama where men and women repeat their actors' roles, where there is no communication but total solitude.[6] So Ruth and Tom's impotence in holding on to non-economic success is another characteristic of their decadent and materialistic society.

Due to their previously depicted milieu, Fitzgerald's Gatsby and Carpentier's composer exhibit a deep loneliness as well as a strong urge for communication. Gatsby, for example, held parties, but his guests usually "came and went without having met Gatsby at all" (*GG*, 41). For them, he could be a killer, a spy, or a bootlegger, but never a friend. The only one who cares about Gatsby is Nick, who explains, "I found myself on Gatsby's side and 'alone' "(*GG*, 165; emphasizes mine). In his relationship with Daisy, for instance, Gatsby is the only one who loves. With the exception of Nick and Gatsby's own father, "nobody came" (*GG*, 175) to his funeral.

Carpentier's hero has the same problem. He cannot find communication in his marriage nor in his love affair. However, unlike Gatsby, he finds real love and communication in Rosario, the native of the Venezuelan primitive community, but he loses them. Then, at the end of the novel, he is again alone trying to trace his own lost steps.

Dualism is a common feature shared by both heroes. In Gatsby, as many critics have seen, there is a mixture between materialism and idealism that has been considered "the corruption of the American dream."[7] Dyson, for instance, considers Gatsby "the apotheosis of his rootless society;"[8] while Marius Bewley sees him as "a romantic view of wealth."[9] In short, Gatsby is a platonic conception, as he defines himself, within a corrupt world. But, as Thomas Stavola says, "Gatsby suffers from a form of moral myopia. He does not recognize the speciousness of the world of the very rich where he searched for fulfillment."[10] So he collapses, victim of a dualistic and antagonistic nature. Although he "succeed[s] in creating a glittering new identity,"[11] he fails in trying to preserve it, for Jay Gatsby does not know himself.

Carpentier's hero also possesses a dualistic nature. According to Esther Mocega-González, his dualism is due to the conflict between the Spanish-American cultural values and a highly disunited American society. Mocega-González states that this clash develops the conflict between the authentic "I" and the alienated one, in other words, the self and the other, the man from "here" and the one from "there."[12] According to Graciela Perosio, his dualism comes from his origin since his father was a German Protestant and his mother a Spanish-American Catholic, and so he is the product of a reconciliation of opposites.[13] But unfortunately, we do not see this "reconciliation" in the hero. Carpentier's composer presents an agony-filled search for an identity that turns out to be dualistic and conflictive.

Although foreigners in an alien milieu (Gatsby from the Mid-West and Carpentier's hero from Spanish America), they become part of New York society, needing to adapt to it and absorb it. Gatsby becomes materialistic in the pursuit of his dreams. His naiveté gives over to corruption. Carpentier's hero leaves his art, music, to be part of the film industry in order to achieve the proper living standard that the expensive city demands. Gatsby never sees the environment as his own nemesis, while Carpentier's hero realizes it is, but still returns. Thus, the corrupt milieu, as well as the hero's conflictive nature, show, in both works, the reverse of the "American Dream."

The Venezuelan jungle serves to develop a conflict that is not present in Fitzgerald's artificial setting, the one of civilization versus Nature. An ambience where "the trees. . . looked taller now that their roots would soon feel the warmth of the sun" (*LS*, 278) does not have a counterpart in *The Great Gatsby*. In Fitzgerald, even the moon, the symbol of motherhood and spirituality, is compared to "a triangle of silver scales," (*GG*, 47) and the green light that Gatsby contemplates is as artificial as Daisy herself. There is no place to breathe "fresh air," to "scent life," as Shelley says. There is just "the valley of ashes" obviously filled with "powdery air." While in Carpentier's hero, we see the revival of Rousseau's ideas of the Noble Savage, of Nature as a source of goodness, and society as an entity of corruption; in Fitzgerald, the conflict is limited to that of society versus man. The quest motif, while present in both works, also exhibits differences. In Fitzgerald's, there is a material quest that Edwin Fussell sees as "the search for wealth familiar within the Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal of personal material success."[14] But, as we have observed, there is also a quest for love and human concern. In Carpentier, we first have the search for the musical instruments, which is simply a pretext the hero uses to evade his world. Besides, at first, he does not look for material richness to achieve idealistic dreams as Gatsby does; he looks for the moral values now non-existent in his materialistic society. In addition, there is a quest for origin and truth. While Gatsby tries to efface his origin by creating a new self-image in line with that materialistic world, Carpentier's composer wants to rediscover his roots.

However, both heroes are concerned with the idea of identity as well as with the search for the past. It is at this point that their differences converge: James Gats could easily take the trip undergone by the composer. Gatsby contemplates the green light with the same hope that the composer looks for the signs that would show him the way back. However, Jay Gatsby would have been saved if he had known that which Carpentier's hero discovered at the end: for Gatsby's affirmation "Can't repeat the past?. . . Why of course you can!" (*GG*, 111) is denied by Carpentier's composer who realizes that it is an "unforgivable mistake of turning back, thinking that a miracle could be repeated" (*LS*, 271). This same "miracle" is embedded in the idea of the "American Dream", the desire for an ideal place where happiness and success could be achieved and preserved.

Within the frame of the cluster of the three myths that constitute the "American Dream," that is, the myth of Edenic possibilities, the myth of the New Adam, and the myth of success, we can perceive some other differences in the two novels. The myth of Edenic possibilities, the one of finding a second paradise, is seen in Carpentier's novel. As Susana Poujol affirms, it is there where we find the first couple, the first man and the first woman who have recuperated the Paradise.[15] Such a paradise is never found in Fitzgerald's work. Instead, we have an embodiment of corruption and lack of moral values. The second myth, that of the new Adam, is found in Carpentier's work, too. However, the life of the "first man" is ephemeral. In Fitzgerald, on the other hand, we have Adam after the fall. Finally, we have the myth of success, which could be the case of the self-made individual who rises from rags to riches, in other words, Jay Gatsby. But Fitzgerald's hero is paradoxical, for he is naive yet corrupted, humble yet ambitious, rich yet unsuccessful. It is precisely this conflictive nature that prevents his success at the end. With Carpentier's hero, we do not see this material idea of success, in the sense that he wants to rediscover himself, to purify himself in Nature, to be the first man. However, later he decides to return to civilization looking for artistic success and fame, since he rediscovers the inspiration to write his music in his Edenic jungle.

The history of humanity itself marks the contextual tradition which evolved into the "American Dream." The Europeans saw the Americas as lands of opportunity and improvement, as a possibility of beginning a new life. Then, the Americas were colonized, exploited, as well as peopled by the Old World. As a result, different races converge, giving birth to hybrid cultures. Later, the Americas demanded independence, looking for a self-identity. Of course, there were differences in the Americas: the way they are colonized, the kind of people who colonized them, and their intentions, for instance, the great deal of ambition in Columbus and his followers, and the need of the Pilgrims to liberate themselves from an oppressive society.

Leaving history aside for a moment, let us now return to literature. Richard Chase affirms that the American novel is charged with antagonism. On the other hand, a lot of criticism on the Spanish-American novel has pointed out a presence of opposites and contradictions. The American novel, as such, leaving behind European models, presents the recurrent theme of a search for identity. This theme has also been characteristic in the Spanish-American novel. After a quick glance at history of the Americas and criticism of the novel, we have already seen: a desire for success, a hope of finding a paradise, hybrid cultures, ambition, liberation from society, conflictive nature, opposites, antagonism, and the question of identity. All these notions echo themes in Fitzgerald's and Carpentier's works.

The Great Gatsby presents dualism and antagonism, as does *The Lost Steps*, which also shows conflicts of a hybrid culture. Additionally, Fitzgerald's hero exhibits the same ambition that moved Columbus and his followers to the "New World." Carpentier's hero, on the other hand, needs a liberation from society similar to that of the Pilgrims in North America. Thus, the two works reflect needs, desires, and dreams that the Americas have experienced. It is not necessary, then, to be a North-American to sympathize with Jay Gatsby. It is not necessary to be Spanish-American to yearn for the paradise Carpentier's composer found in the Amazonian jungle. It is not surprising, then, that the so-called "American Dream" is present in both works. As its adjective in the phrase indicates, the idea does not belong exclusively to one country, but to the Americas as a whole.

Obviously, "the Americas" present differences, too, and one of them is the idea of success: the American conception is more individualistic while the Spanish-American one is embedded in society. It is precisely here where we find one more reason for the reverse of the "American Dream" analyzed in the two novels. While Fitzgerald's hero is not described as an individual, but as a product of the American twenties, Carpentier's hero tries to detach himself from society. Thus, both try to achieve success by contradicting the nature of their respective cultural backgrounds. The result, then, is the failure of the "American Dream" that is implicit in my amalgamative and ironic title: *The Lost Steps of The Great Gatsby*.

NOTES

[1] John Henry Raleigh. "F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*," *F.Scott Fitzgerald: A Collection of Critical Essays*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963) 101.

[2] F. Scott Fitzgerald. *The Great Gatsby*. (New York: MacMillan, 1986) 180-181. The following quotes from this source will be included in the text indicated as *GG* with its respective page number.

[3] Alejo Carpentier. *The Lost Steps*, trans. Harriet de Onís ed. Alfred A. Knopf. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967) 9. The following quotes from this source will be included in the text indicated as *LS* with its respective page number.

[4] A. E. Dyson. "The Great Gatsby: Thirty-six Years After," *F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Collection of Critical Essays*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963) 114.

[5] Alexis Márquez Rodríguez. *La obra narrativa de Alejo Carpentier*. (Caracas: Ediciones de la biblioteca de la Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1970) 70.

[6] Susana Poujol. "Palabra y Creación en Los pasos perdidos," *Historia y mito en la obra de Alejo Carpentier*. (Buenos Aires: Fernando García Cambeiro, 1972) 142.

[7] Raleigh, 99.

[8] Dyson, 117.

[9] Marius Bewley. "Scott Fitzgerald's Criticism of America," *F. Scott Fitzgerald: A Collection of Critical Essays*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963) 127.

[10] Thomas J. Stavola. *Scott Fitzgerald: Crisis in an American Identity*. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1979) 131.

[11] Stavola, 132.

[12] Esther P. Mocega-González. *Alejo Carpentier: estudios sobre su narrativa*. (Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1980) 40.

[13] Graciela Perosio. "*Los pasos perdidos*: olvido y reminiscencia," *Historia y mito en la obra de Alejo Carpentier*. (Buenos Aires: Fernando García Cambeiro, 1972) 135.

[14] Edwin Fussell. "Fitzgerald's Brave New World," *Fitzgerald: A Collection of Critical Essays*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963) 44.

[15] Poujol, 146.

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Hartmann's *Der arme Heinrich*: A Precartesian View of Medicine

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Hartmann von Aue's verse epic, *Der arme Heinrich*, has been the subject of lively critical discussion for many years. Scholars have scrutinized every aspect of this work except one. This omission is surprising chiefly because it is so obvious. Whatever else Hartmann's narrative may be, it is most clearly the tale of a man who is overcome with a dreadful illness, leprosy, and is cured; i.e., it is a story of disease and recovery, of sickness and health. Why have critics directed so little attention to this aspect of the story? Perhaps it is a classic case of not seeing the forest for the trees; but more likely, it has to do with the Cartesian gulf separating the modern from the medieval mind.

We moderns perceive the human body as a machine. One of the first to use this metaphor was Descartes, who states in *The Passions of the Soul*,

> ...we may judge that the body of a living man differs from that of a dead man just as does a watch when it is wound up..., from the same watch or other machine when it is broken....
>
> In order to render this more intelligible, I shall here explain...the whole method in which the bodily machine is composed (Wilson 355).

Clearly, if one accepts this metaphor of body as machine, then doctors must be mechanics. When the machine breaks, the mechanic's job is to fix it. This machine serves in some mysterious way as the residence for man's soul, but it is also quite separate from that soul.

> The most striking feature of the Cartesian metaphysics, of reality as Descartes's philosophy describes it, is that it erects... a duality, dichotomy, between two different kinds of reality; between mental, spiritual, thinking substance...and physical, spatial, extended substance....These two kinds of substances constitute two different and separate worlds. They represent two different and separate realities between which there is a gap which can never be closed (Lavine 121).

Aware that this dualism created substantial problems in his philosophical scheme, Descartes sought to locate a part of the anatomy where body and soul converged. Thus, he posited that the interaction between the *res extensa*, or the three dimensional body, and the *res cogitans*, or the rational soul, takes place in the pineal gland,which is so suspended above the duct whereby the animal spirits in its anterior cavities have communication with those in the posterior, that the slightest movements which take place in it may alter very greatly the course of these spirits;and reciprocally, that the smallest changes which occur in the course of the spirits may do much to change the movement of this gland (Wilson 362).

This explanation is as unconvincing today as it was in Descartes' time. What Descartes sundered, no one, not even Descartes, could join together. Yet, one must admire him for making the attempt. Few others have had the courage to do so. Anatomy texts today do not discuss man's soul or spirit. Most people accept the fact that humans are made up of a *res extensa* and a *res cogitans*. No one, however, attempts to explain the relationship of those two parts. We are all heirs to a kind of institutionalized schizophrenia.

It was not so in the Middle Ages. The medieval mind did not see the human body as a machine. It held to the view of Scholastic Aristotelianism in which

> the human being was depicted as a unity, soul standing to body as form to matter. The soul, moreover, was not reduced to mind; it was regarded as the principle of biological, sensitive and intellectual life. And in Thomism at least it was depicted as giving existence to the body, in the sense of making the body what it is, a human body. Clearly, this view of the soul facilitated insistence on the unity of the human being.Soul and body together form one complete substance (Copleston 129).

According to Honorius von Regensburg, an anchorite of the twelfth century, Man was "ein Bild des Kosmos, ein Kompendium der Natur, das Haus Gottes" (Schipperges 25), in which body and soul were perfectly integrated. Man, as God created him, was perfect. Through his rebellion and fall, he brought disorder into the cosmos which affected not only him, but all nature as well. Sickness is a manifestation of this disorder (Schipperges 22). Its cause is man's delinquency, and to overcome it man must overcome his fallen nature. As he does so and subordinates his will to God's, he will draw ever closer to that condition which God intended for him in the beginning, that of *homo operans*, man helping to continue God's work of creation (Schipperges 23).

Medieval man viewed sickness not as a process but as the exact opposite: a failure, an omission, a mistake (Schipperges 22). Health was seen not as a static condition, a mere absence of sickness, but as an active state in which one's will was actively and voluntarily engaged in carrying creation further. It is a condition in which one lives life to the fullest, in which mankind is at one with the divine purpose of life (Schipperges 65).

Health is a condition which extends beyond the individual to the environment and finally to the entire cosmos. It is, more than anything else, the establishment and maintenance of harmony. The primary task of the physician was not to cure physical distress, but to act as a guide to provident living. Of the three areas in which physicians were trained—dietetics, pharmacology, and surgery—the first was the most important and had a much broader connotation than its modern cognate (Schipperges 139). It might best be translated as life style and included advice on the most varied topics. A physician could not master this subject until he was fully conversant with the trivium and quadrivium. It was the extensive training necessary for this liberal background that caused Isidore of Seville to refer to medicine as the second philosophy (Schipperges 63). The medieval master of medicine was more than a mechanic, and health defined a much broader field than today.

Hartmann's *Der arme Heinrich* illustrates this expanded sense of health and medicine. The story concerns Lord Henry who is the embodiment of the perfect liege lord:

er was ein bluome der jugent,
der werltvreude ein spiegelglas,
stæter triuwe ein adamas,
ein ganziu krône der zuht.
er was der nôthaften vluht,
ein schilt sîner mâge,
der milte ein glîchiu wâge:
im enwart über noch gebrast.
er truoc den arbeitsamen last
der êren über rücke.
er was des râtes brücke
und sanc vil wol von minnen.
alsus kunde er gewinnen
der werlte lop unde prîs
er was hövesch unde wîs. (Hartmann 60-74)

[He was a flower of young manhood, a mirror of the joy of the world, a diamond of constant loyalty, a full crown of courtly behavior. He was a refuge to those in need, a shield of protection for his kin. His generosity weighed the amount to be given against the need. Both excess and lack were foreign to him. He carried the wearisome burden of honors upon his back. He was a bridge stretching forth help and was well-versed in singing of courtly love. Thus he knew how to gain the honor and glory of the world.[1]]

At the height of his powers, Henry is stricken with leprosy. For the contemporary reader, leprosy is a rather exotic disease. For the Middle Ages, it was not. By the thirteenth century, Europe had over 20,000 leper houses (Schipperges 78). Often, those afflicted with the disease were officially declared dead. Many times requiem masses were sung for them while they were still alive. Their families were responsible for their maintenance. Where there were no means, the lepers had to wander in great, infectious herds. After a year or more of begging, the fortunate ones gained admittance to a leper house.

In the High Middle Ages, the Italian city of Salerno had established itself as a medical center, which specialized in the treatment of leprosy. Henry visits Salerno where he is told, "daz er genislich wære / und wære doch iemer ungenesen." (Hartmann 186-7). […he was curable and yet he would never be cured. Tobin 4] When asked how this could be, the doctors respond,

ir müeset haben eine maget
vollen *hîbære*
diu des willen wære
daz si den tôt durch iuch lite.
ne enist ez der liute site
daz es ieman gerne tuo.
So enhœret anders niht dar zuo
niuwan der maget herzebluot:
das wære vür iuwer suht guot. (Hartmann 224-232)

[You would have to find a virgin of marriageable age who would be willing to suffer death for your sake. Now it is not the usual state of affairs among people that someone freely takes such an act upon himself. Nothing else is necessary for a cure than the blood from the heart of such a girl. This would be a cure for your disease. Tobin 4]

Henry returns to his holdings, sells them, with the exception of one small farm, and retires to that farm to live with the man who manages the property for him.

Among the farmer's children is an eight year old girl of surpassing beauty who is very taken with Henry. The two become fast friends, and Henry refers to her with gentle irony as his bride. Three years pass; then one evening this child overhears a conversation between Henry and her father in which Henry reveals the awful antidote to his disease. There follows a remarkable passage in which the young girl persuades her parents that she should sacrifice herself for her liege lord.

Critics are still divided as to whether the girl's desires are motivated by her selfless love of Henry or her selfish desires to be a martyr. After a show of resistance, Henry yields to the girl's insistence, and the two of them travel to Salerno where the sacrifice is to be performed. When they arrive the doctor prepares the girl. As Henry, who has been barred from the operating room, hears the surgeon sharpening his knife on the whetstone, he is moved to pity and finds a crack in the wall through which he sees the maid's charming body. The sight moves Henry so profoundly that he submits to God's will and decides not to go through with the sacrifice. Henry demands that the doctor release the girl unharmed. There follows a dramatic confrontation between the doctor, who is relieved at not having to sacrifice such a beautiful girl; Henry, who has just saved his soul by accepting God's will; and the maid, who is furious at having been cheated out of a martyr's crown. Henry, despite the maid's insistence, remains firm in his resolve, and, with his almost mutinous would be savior firmly in tow, he returns to his former kingdom. Certain now of their faith and constancy, the *Cordis Speculator*

sît er durch sînen süezen list
an in beiden des geruochte
daz er si versuochte
rechte alsô volleclîchen
sam Jôben den rîchen,
dô erzeicte der heilic Krist
wie liep im triuwe und bärmde ist
und schiet si dô beide
von allem ir leide
und machete in dâ zestunt
reine unde wol gesunt. (Hartmann 1360-1370).

[Since He in His providence had thought it best to try them both just as completely as He had tried the wealthy Job, Holy Christ made manifest how dear devotion and compassion are to Him. He freed them both from all their miseries and at that very moment cleansed Heinrich and made him completely healthy. Tobin 19]

Henry sends the joyful news ahead, and his friends and subjects come to welcome him back into their society. They travel to him and accompany their restored king and the maiden during the last three days of their journey. In this number are the faithful farmer and his wife, who, having despaired of ever seeing their daughter again, are, of all Henry's subjects, the happiest when they find their Lord well and their daughter unharmed. Like Job, Henry receives more than he had had before; and the girl who had hoped for a martyr's crown receives instead temporal salvation at the hands of her Lord. He takes her as his wife and "nâch süezem lanclîbe/ do besâzen si gelîche/ daz êwige rîche." (Hartmann 1514-1516) [After a long and happy life they both gained possession of the eternal kingdom. Tobin 21]

The preCartesian mind would have responded to many elements in this story in a decidedly different manner than the postCartesian mind. For example, the modern mind sees Henry's illness beginning with the onset of leprosy. However, if one defines health not as the absence of physical distress but as a harmonious balance between man's spiritual, intellectual, and emotional needs, then Henry's health at the beginning of the tale is not a given. While it may escape the modern ear, Hartmann's audience would certainly have noticed that the author's encomium of his hero, quoted above, says nothing about his relationship to God (Finch 645). The silence, in fact, is deafening. Clearly something is amiss in this most important of all relationships. Heinrich has been careless about his relationship with God and has probably committed the sin of *superbia*.

Is Henry conscious of this fault? Probably not at first. Is he culpable if he is unaware of his sin? In the past critics have generally doubted Henry's culpability. Ronald Finch, however, has persuasively argued the contrary. He cites Peter Lombard's views concerning the different kinds of ignorance. "Ignorance despite a desire to know does exclude sin; wilful ignorance does not; ignorance that neither desires nor refuses knowledge lessens the punishment (Finch 642)." It might be effectively argued that Henry's attempts to decrease his ignorance were not all that they should have been (Finch 643). Therefore, God's punishments are just.

Yet, seen from a preCartesian view, the real question might not be was Henry punished *for* his sins, but was Henry punished *by* his sins. Both sin and illness represent a disruption of the harmony with which God invested all creation. When man sins, whether knowingly or not, he sounds a discord in that harmony, which echoes through the universe. For example, one belief subscribed to universally in medieval medicine held that illness was the result of the disharmony of the four humors in the body (Schipperges 64). Further, Constantinum Africanus maintained that the body drove the bad humors to the surface in order to clean the inner vessel (Schipperges 69). This he believed to be the origin of skin diseases.

If one accepts this model, then Henry's leprosy could be explained as a physical symptom of a spiritual dissonance. Initially, Henry's sin of *superbia* renders him incapable of accepting his fate. After his visit to Salerno, he retires to his tenant's house in a kind of stoic withdrawal from the world. Having failed to subordinate his will to God, he fails again when he accepts the girl's offer of sacrifice (Finch 645).

It is not inconceivable that the maid herself is guilty of the same sin as Henry—*superbia*. She betrays an inordinate desire to flee this world's woes (just as Henry wished to escape his fate) and enter heaven as a martyr. She, like Henry, wishes to dictate her fate rather than submit to God's will. If Henry is too concerned about this life, the maid is too concerned about the next. Her excess is as dissonant to the world order as is Henry's and manifests itself in a kind of hysteria which robs her of her reason at the moment Henry finally withstands his third and final test—voluntarily rejecting the maiden's sacrifice. It is the sight of her body lying naked on the doctor's table that finally awakens in Henry the proper response. As she saves him, so he must save her. In so doing, he becomes *homo compatiens* (Schipperges 95), man the with-sufferer, having now overcome the *superbia* of his earlier self and having restored consonance where before there was dissonance. He who acts justly will in every case restore a portion of that order that existed in the cosmos before man's fall.

This would seem to conclude Henry's healing. But again, what appears to the postCartesian mind as an accomplished fact is viewed by preCartesian standards as a necessary but insufficient regimen of healing. Again, one must remember that for the medieval mind health is not a destination at which one arrives, but a perpetual process. Health concerns not just the body but the way that body reacts with the total environment (Schipperges 28). Henry cannot regain his health until he returns to society. The final act of integration, and therefore the final act of healing, which sustains this newly established harmony is Henry's marriage with the maiden.

All events which occur in this narrative have a direct bearing on Henry's return to health. However, this is obvious only if the reader can escape the Cartesian view which treats mind and body as two different substances and which also seeks to enthrone the mind as the master not only of the body but all nature as well. Medicine in the Middle Ages is the servant of nature, its guardian and shepherd, not its master. It does not seek to establish a new order, rather it attempts to mediate between man and God's eternal order. It teaches one how to live in harmony with the universe. Only when a man has accomplished this task can he be truly healthy. Thus, in the end health and salvation are for the preCartesian mind coterminous.

Note

[1] Hartmann von Aue, *The Unfortunate Lord Henry*, trans. Frank Tobin, *German Medieval Tales*, ed. Francis G. Gentry (New York: Continuum, 1982) 2. All translations of Hartmann's *Der arme Heinrich* are taken from this work, referred to throughout as Tobin.

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Poetik des Spiels: Peter Handkes postmoderner Inter-text

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Als Text zwischen zwei anderen Texten ist Handkes Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire ein Zwischen-text, oder ein Inter-text, also gewissermaßen das Bindeglied in Handkes Trilogie, die mit Langsame Heimkehr beginnt und dann mit der Kindergeschichte ihren Abschluß findet.[1] Die Mitte der Trilogie markierend, stellt die Lehre damit eine gewisse Kontinuität zwischen den einzelnen Texten her, etwa dadurch, daß sie die mit Langsame Heimkehr begonnene Suche von Handkes Erzähler nach einer "entstofflichten und doch materiellen Sprache" weiterführt, mit der dann von der im ersten Teil begonnenen, jedoch noch immer "ausstehenden Rückkehr des Mannes mit den gekreuzten Armen" erzählt werden soll (LSV 73). Als Text zwischen zwei Texten, also in ihrer Stellung als Inter-Text, markiert Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire mit ihren Überlegungen zur Kunst zugleich aber auch einen Bruch innerhalb der Gesamtkonzeption von Handkes Trilogie; sie ist damit diejenige Bruchstelle innerhalb des Ganzen, durch welche die einzelnen Teile der Trilogie in ihre Selbständigkeit gehoben und einer weitgehend eigenständigen Lektüre zugänglich gemacht werden.

Jedoch beschränkt sich der Begriff des Inter-Textes nicht auf derartige "Äußerlichkeiten," liegt doch seine Besonderheit gerade darin, daß er aufgrund seiner prekären Stellung in einem "Zwischen-Raum" die genaue Unterscheidung zwischen Innen und Außen verwischt. So sind denn auch, wie im folgenden gezeigt werden soll, weder das Innen noch das Außen die Räume, in denen sich die Lehre bewegt, sondern eben das "Zwischen", der "Zwischen-Raum" oder der "Unter-schied", der zwar Verschiedenes voneinander trennt, das Getrennte aber doch wieder in ein Zusammenspiel zu bringen vermag.

Ein derartiges Zusammenspiel besteht nun aber nicht nur zwischen den drei Texten der Handkeschen Trilogie. Der Begriff des Inter-textes deutet ebenso auf ein Zusammenspiel von Texten in der Lehre selbst, etwa auf dasjenige zwischen Handkes Text und Heideggers Text, oder auf das Spiel zwischen Handkes Schrift und dem im Text selbst als "Schrift," oder als "Geflecht verschlungener Schriftzeichen" bezeichneten Text der Bilder Cézannes (LSV 78). Im Zusammen-spiel von verschiedenen Texten in Handkes eigenem Text geht jedoch eines nie verloren, nämlich das trennende "Zwischen" zwischen diesen Texten, also der trennende Unterschied, oder, wie Handke an anderer Stelle erkärt, eine gewisse Leere, in der und durch die sowohl Text als auch Spiel, wie auch das Spiel des Textes (oder der Texte) selbst, erst m÷glich wird.

Was damit gemeint ist, wird in einem anderen Text Handkes deutlich, einem Text, der ganz offensichtlich aus dem besonderen Leer-Sein des Zwischen entsteht. "Schließ die Augen, und aus dem Schwarz der Lettern bilden sich die Stadtlichter" (CS 7). Im Schließen der Augen wird der Raum für Handkes Erzählung Der Chinese des Schmerzes er÷ffnet. Die Welt der Erzählung entsteht gewissermaßen aus dem Rückzug des Erzählers in sich selbst. Ihr Anfang ist denn auch "kein Sich-Ausbreiten, sondern ein Aufwallen; keine Leere, sondern ein Leer-Sein; weniger mein pers÷nliches Leersein, als eine Leer-Form. Und die Leerform heißt: Erzählung" (CS 11; Hervorh. von mir). Die Erzählung ist somit aus der Leere, oder genauer: aus dem Zwischen des Leer-Seins, d.h. dem Zustand zwischen Leere und Sein, aus dem sich die Leere in sich zurückstellt und Sein--d.h. das Sein der Erzählung--sich erhebt.

Nicht nach den Gesetzen von Ursache und Wirkung, sondern in einem ursprünglicheren Geschehen, einem "Urheben" (CS 11) nämlich, aus dem die erzählte Welt entsteht: "Alles (jeder Körper) richtet sich vor [der Leere] an seinen Ort" (CS 11). Körper und Ort bleiben aber immer von der Leere umfangen, durchdrungen von Leere in der Leer-Form der Erzählung. Zwar heben sie sich spielend von der Leere ab, jedoch nur, um mit ihr zusammenzuspielen in einem Spiel, welches durch den Zwischen-Raum des Leer-Seins, oder der Schwelle zwischen Leere und Sein, zusammengehalten wird. Entsprechend bemerkt denn auch der Erzähler: "Ich habe nämlich bemerkt, daß es nichts gibt, womit man andere so zum Erzählen bringen kann wie mit der Frage nach der Schwelle" (CS133). Auch in Chinese des Schmerzes ist die Schwelle der Anlaß zum Erzählen, und zwar nicht nur dadurch, daß sie thematisiert und zum Gegenstand der Erzählung wird; die Schwelle ist auch und vor allem der Anlaß der Erzählung, deren Veranlassung, insofern als die Erzählung aus dem Spiel der Schwelle erscheint, anhebt und anwest aus der Leere.

Die Erzählung ist daher immer und ganz wesentlich eine "Schwellengeschichte" (CS 241), also eine Geschichte, die niemals die Schwelle überschreitet, um einen neuen Zusammenhang zu gewinnen, sondern gewissermaßen auf der Stelle tritt und mit der Schwelle im Spiel bleibt, um so die Leere ihres Zwischen-Raums auszutragen und auszuhalten. Handke schreibt daher auch in Die Geschichte des Bleistifts:

> ja, meine Herkunft aus der Herkunftlosigkeit wird mich für immer davon abhalten, einen 'Text,' eine 'Story,' ein 'Sittenbild,' eine 'Widerspiegelung,' ja sogar ein 'Gedicht' zu schreiben; aber was sonst?--Eine die Leere in Energie umwandelnde und so erhaltende Erzählung (GB 16; Hervorh. von mir).

Und wenig später bemerkt er:

> Es ist klar: ich kann mir eine Heimat nicht zusammenfinden durch Sehen, Hören, Riechen, Erinnern.--ich muß sie mir erschreiben, erfinden (sag auch nie: 'meine Heimat,' aber doch: 'meine Art Heimat') (GB 22).

Die "Schwellengeschichte" entsteht somit aus der Leere, oder der Herkunftlosigkeit, weswegen sie die Schwelle auch nicht vergessen oder ⁿberschreiten kann in Richtung Heimat, d.h. im Schritt zur völligen Gegenwart und zum vollen Bei-sich-sein im Sein. Vielmehr ist sie immer "Leer-Sein," d.h. zugleich Leere und Sein, oder Sein aus und in der Leere. Also ist sie auch immer Inter-Text, nämlich Text zwischen dem Raum der Leere und dem des vollen Seins. Sie schöpft ihre Energie aus der Quelle der Schwelle--"Was ist der Reim auf Schwelle?" (CS 242)--, welche sich jedoch selbst niemals zeigt, anderes aber in ihrem eigenen Rückzug anwesen und erscheinen läßt.

Die Quelle, wie auch die Schwelle und die Leere, ist somit das, was im Entbergen und im Entdecken selbst "verborgen bleibt oder wieder in die Verdeckung zurückfällt,"[2] wobei letztere keinesfalls mit einer völligen Vergessenheit gleichzusetzen ist. Vielmehr erhält das Erscheinende die Leere, aus deren gegenwendiger Bewegung Erscheinen möglich wird. Was erscheint und offenbar wird, ist daher durchsetzt von der Leere, was ihm dann auch immer die Möglichkeit entzieht, Heimat und volles Sein darzustellen, abzubilden, sichtbar und hörbar zu machen. Die "Schwellengeschichte" ist somit niemals eine geschlossene "Story" oder ein vollständiger "Text," d.h. ein Text, der im Vollen seiner Bedeutung steht. Als Text ist sie immer zugleich auch Textur, d.h. in ihrem Sein durchsetzt von Zwischenräumen, gewoben als ein Geflecht von Räumen und Öffnungen und erwirkt aus der Leere, aus der sie entsteht. Die Schwellengeschichte gewährt daher auch immer "nur" eine "Art Heimat," da sie die Leere "erhält" und nicht einfach in Sinn und Präsenz verwandelt. Ihr Sein ist somit das besondere "Leer-Sein" einer Erzählung, die aus dem Spiel der Schwelle entsteht, also jenes Sein aus der Leere, welches die Leere nicht vergißt, sondern in sich trägt und dadurch selbst nie zu einer vollen Entfaltung kommt.[3]

Die Erzählung trägt somit diejenige Öffnung oder Lichtung aus, in der für Heidegger (der hier nun mit ins Spiel kommt) Wahrheit in einem ursprünglichen Ereignis als aletheia geschieht. Das Wesen der Schwellengeschichte liegt daher auch nicht im metaphysischen Bereich von Wahrheit als Richtigkeit und Übereinstimmung, sondern in einem ursprünglichen Geschehen von Wahrheit als Offenheit.[4] Entsprechend kann das Wesen der Erzählung auch nicht in einer (wahrheitsgetreuen) Abbildung von Äußerlichkeiten liegen, oder, wie Handke in Bleistift schreibt, in einer mimetischen "Widerspiegelung" von Realität. Handke lehnt vielmehr die metaphysische Idee von Wahrheit als Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Gesagten und dem im Gesagten widergespiegelten Wirklichen ab, um sich jener ursprünglicheren Wahrheit zuzuwenden, die sich im Kunstwerk "ins Werk setzt," nämlich, wie Heidegger sagt, als Streit zwischen Erde und Welt, oder als das polemische Widerspiel zwischen dem Entbergen von Bedeutung und von sinnvollen Zusammenhängen und dem im Entbergen gleichzeitig als gegenwendiges Moment mitspielenden Verbergen.[5] Insofern findet sich Wahrheit auch für Handke nicht dort, "wo man höchstens etwas wiedererkennt;"

Wahrheit geschieht vielmehr in einem Kunstwerk, in dem man "Neues erkennt" (CS 123); oder in einem Werk, welches zu etwas Ursprünglichem wird, wo sich das Geschehen von Entbergung und Verbergung nicht in Gegenwart und in die volle Präsenz eines eindeutigen Sinnes verwandelt, sondern in seinem Widerspiel ausgehalten und ausgetragen wird. Diese Ursprünglichkeit des Geschehens begründet dann auch den Unterschied zwischen "eigentlicher" Kunst und bloßer Belletristik, oder zwischen Handkes Kunst-Prosa und einem auf bloßes Lesevergnügen ausgerichteten Schreiben. Denn Handkes "Anspruch" ist, in seinem Schreiben "eine Gegenwelt auf[zustellen]," die im Wahrheitsgeschehen "ein zwingendes Modell [herstellt], das als Gesetz gilt" (Z 119-20). Das Erkennen von Neuem in dieser Gegenwelt ist aber nur dann möglich, wenn im "Reich der Erzählung," welches das "nicht metaphysische Reich" der Wahrheit ist (Z 158), die Funktion der Erzählung als "Schwellengeschichte" eben nicht mehr im Abbilden und im Darstellen von Sinn und Bedeutung liegt, sondern in der ursprünglichen Eröffnung einer Welt aus dem Spiel der Schwelle. Indem Handke die Frage nach dem Sein von Seiendem in der Erzählung dadurch beantwortet, daß das Seiende in der Erzählung aus dem Spiel der Schwelle und des Zwischenraums an-west, verhindert er immer zugleich die sekundäre Rolle der Erzählung gegenüber der erdrückenden Gegenwart einer gegenständlichen, metaphysisch begründeten Welt, jedoch ohne dabei ins völlige Schweigen eines einfachen Zurückweisens dieser Welt verfallen zu müssen.

Sagen und Schweigen, Darstellen und Zurücknehmen sind bei Handke somit eins. Nicht ein und dasselbe, sondern miteinander verwoben zu einem intermittierenden Dar-stellen, welches die platonisch-metaphysische Bestimmung von Nachahmung in Richtung einer ursprünglichen mimesis umdeutet, die nichts kopiert, sondern im performativen Spiel eine Welt an-wesen läßt. Inter-textualität, in der besonderen Bedeutung des "Zwischen", bezeichnet demnach das ursprüngliche Geschehen von Wahrheit (im Sinne von Heideggers aletheia) im Text, ein Geschehen, welches sich für Heidegger im Kunstwerk in der gegenwendigen Bewegung von Entbergen und Verbergen ereignet. Damit kommen wir nun aber wieder zurück zu unserem "eigentlichen" Text, der Lehre der Sainte-Victoire, sowie zu deren Hinwendung zur Kunst, oder genauer, zum Wesen der Kunst, wie es sich aus Cézannes Werk ergibt.

Daß gerade Cézanne als Vorbild für Handkes gegenwärtiges Erzählen gilt, ist nicht unerheblich. Cézanne gilt allgemein als einer der Begründer der modernen Malerei, und als solchem galt ihm auch das Interesse Heideggers.[6] Dieser schreibt in einem Gedicht--also in einem Kunstwerk--mit dem Titel "Cézanne": "Im Spätwerk des Malers ist die Zwiefalt von Anwesendem und Anwesenheit einfältig geworden, 'realisiert' und verwunden zugleich, verwandelt in eine geheimnisvolle Identität."[7] Verwindung findet statt in einem Schritt der Überwindung, der jedoch gleichzeitig das Überwundene mit sich nimmt, in sich aufnimmt und dabei in einer ursprünglicheren Weise vertieft (Vattimo 164-181). So wird bei Cézanne die gegenständliche Anwesenheit der Dinge dahingehend "verwunden," daß sie mit ihrem Anwesen, d.h. ihrem Entstehen aus dem ursprünglichen Geschehen von Wahrheit im Spiel zu einer Identität verbunden, oder vielmehr gefaltet wird. Die Einfalt der Identität ist dann aber nicht mehr die einer einfachen, offenbaren Präsenz; vielmehr ist die in der Realisation erzielte Identität eine verwundene, d.h. eine vertiefte und daher auch geheimnisvolle Zwiefalt, die als eine Unsichtbare und Unersichtliche in der Falte der Einfalt ruht.[8] In einer derartigen Einfalt "realisiert" dann Cézanne die alltäglichsten Dinge, das Gewöhnliche und Gegenständliche, und zwar so, daß in ihrer Gegenwart das Verborgene und Verbergende mitspielt, sie den Schein des Besonderen annehmen und dadurch jene Vertiefung der Kunst vollziehen, in der die Darstellung zu etwas Ursprünglichem und Anfänglichem wird.

"Als . . . Dinge des Anfangs erlebte ich die Bilder Cézannes" (LSV 34) erklärt auch der Erzähler in Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire. Denn für ihn sind die Bilder keine Gegenstände, mit denen "er 'übereinstimmen' könnte" (LSV 34), weil nämlich eine Übereinstimmung zwischen Subjekt und Objekt dort nicht möglich ist, wo Wahrheit in einer anfänglichen Weise geschieht, und d.h. nicht in einem Gegenstand verkörpert ist, sondern sich vielmehr im Ereignis der Offenheit vollzieht. Entsprechend malt Cézanne nach eigener Aussage ja auch "keinesfalls 'nach der Natur';" seine Bilder sind vielmehr 'Konstruktionen und Harmonien parallel zur

Natur'" (LSV 78), was bedeutet, daß es ihm nicht darum geht, Natur abzubilden, d.h. jene metapysisch-platonische Tradition fortzusetzen, welche das Wesen der Kunst als Nachahmung und Abbildung eines Originals bestimmt und Kunst dabei an einen bestimmten (praktischen) Nutzen bindet.[9] Nicht in der mimetischen Reproduktion eines in der Natur vorhandenen Gegenstandes geht es somit Cézanne in seinen "Konstruktionen parallel zur Natur," sondern vielmehr um eine Kunst, welche die "Verwirklichung ('réalisation') des reinen, schuldlosen Irdischen [schafft]: des Apfels, des Felsens, eines menschlichen Gesichts" (LSV 21). Dies ist dann eine Kunst, die Natur im wesentlichen Sinne als *physis* versteht, und d.h., nicht mehr metaphysisch-gegenständlich, sondern als der Vorgang des "Herauskommen[s] und Aufgehen[s] selbst und im Ganzen" (Ursprung 28), oder als das "eigenw^{n}chsig aufgehend[e] Seiend[e]" (Ursprung 46), das anwest in die Gegenwart. Insofern erschöpft sich eine Kunst, die parallel zur Natur--verstanden als *physis* in dem bezeichneten Sinn--arbeitet, nicht im Kopieren von Vorhandenem; vielmehr wird sie im wirklich ursprünglichen Sinne Nachahmung, nämlich Nachahmung des ursprünglichen Anwesens und Aufgehens in der *physis* als dem, was sich in die Anwesenheit und in die Gegenwart entbirgt.[10] Das Anwesende ist dann aus seiner Alltäglichkeit gelöst; es verliert seine allgemeine Verfügbarkeit und Gegenständlichkeit, um in einem ursprünglichen und wahren Geschehen dem Menschen als Gegenüber zu begegnen, in dem die von Heidegger angesprochene Identität von Anwesendem und Anwesenheit verwirklicht ist.[11] Das Erscheinende ist demnach das eigentlich Wahre, ontologisch Ursprünglichere. Es ist nicht Abbildung, Widerspiegelung, sondern ein Vorgang des Seins (Heidemann 13), welcher sich für Heidegger im Kunstwerk in der Form des Streites zwischen Erde und Welt ereignet, also in jenem polemischen Spiel, welches die Lichtung öffnet, in der Seindes erscheint.

Auch Handke bringt das Problem der Darstellung in der Erzählung mit der Frage nach dem Wesen der Kunst in Verbindung. Denn die doppelte Bewegung von Entbergen und Verbergen, die sich im Spiel der Schwelle vollzieht und durch die die Erzählung ursprünglich wird, insofern als die von ihr dargestellten Ereignisse und Dinge in ihrem "unverstellten Anwesen" wieder lebendig werden, klingt bei Handke in Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire erneut an, wenn der Erzähler in den Bildern Cézannes ein Geflecht von "verschlungene[n] Schriftzeichen" findet (LSV 78). Schrift und Bild sind in einer gemeinsamen Weise ursprünglich, da auch die Schrift als Spiel von Differenzen–oder der Text als Textur–, Bedeutung ankündigt, entbirgt, diese aber gleichzeitig wieder aufhebt, verbirgt und verschiebt (sowohl im temporalen wie auch im räumlichen Sinne).[12]

In der Schrift zeigt sich Bedeutung "so eindeutig wie unbestimmbar;" in ihr wiederholt sich das differentielle Spiel der Schwelle als Zwischenraum, also das Erscheinen, wie auch der gleichzeitige R^{n}ckzug von Bedeutung in der Eröffnung der Erzählung aus der Leere. Insofern besteht denn auch ein ursprünglicher "Einklang" (LSV 79) von Schrift, Bild und Ding: "Ding-Bild-Schrift in einem: es ist das Unerhörte" (LSV 78), nämlich das unerhörte Geschehen einer in der Verwindung erziehlten geheimnisvollen Identiät: der Einfalt von Anwesendem und Anwesenheit. Cézanne kann daher auch als Vorbild und als "der Menschheitslehrer der Jetztzeit" (LSV 74) gelten, zeigt er doch, wie es möglich ist, das "nicht mehr rückgängig zu machende Ende der Raumillusion" (LSV 78) zu verwinden und dadurch zu einer erneuten künstlerischen Darstellungskraft zu gelangen. Trotz der Reduktion des Bildes auf die reine Flächigkeit der Leinwand, bleibt dann aber im Spiel der Farben und Formen, oder im "Einklang" der Dinge und Bilder, der Schrift und des Strichs, dennoch "das Reich der Welt," also das Reich des anfänglichen und ursprünglichen Spiels, offengehalten (LSV 18-19).[13] Für Handke liegt Cézannes Bedeutung deswegen darin, daß sich bei ihm gerade in einer Zeit, wo, wie Cézanne sagt, "[a]lles verschwindet" (LSV 79), d.h. wo alles dem technologisch-metaphysischen Herstellen und Vergegenständlichen unterliegt, eine Verwindung dieser Epoche und der zum Gegenständlichen gewordenen Alltäglichkeit vollzieht.

Auch für Handkes Erzähler ist es "offensichtlich: Fast alles ist verschwunden. In einem Haufen von Früchten genügt das Stumpfgelb der einen gewachsten Orange, und ich kann mir nichts weiter vorstellen. Wo ist die Farbe, die noch aus der Substanz des Dings selbst kommt?" (LSV 81; Hervorh. von mir). Aus den Dingen selbst "kommt" nichts mehr; in ihrem technologisch hergestellten Zustand sind sie wesenslos, ohne Anwesen im Sinne von *physis*. Und entsprechend ist auch ihnen gegenüber jene "Art des Schauens" unmöglich, "die auf griechisch *leukein* heißt," und die in Chinese des Schmerzes als eine "Einheit von Gewahrwerden und Vorstellungskraft" bezeichnet wird (CS 179). Dem Ding, welches als *physis* anwest und somit nicht mehr nur Gegenstand, sondern, wie Handke in der Lehre schreibt, ein "Augenstoff" ist (LSV 81), entspricht aber das Sehen als *leukein*. Dieses verzichtet auf das metaphysische Vorstellen und Beherrschen des Gegenstandes als Objekt und achtet auf das im Hervorkommen spielende Spiel, um dem eigenständigen "Leuchten" des Dings Raum zur eigenen Entfaltung zu geben (CS 179).

Dieses den Dingen eigene "Weltgeschehen" ist in den "parallel zur Natur" entstehenden Bildern Cézannes "verwirklicht" (LSV 81). Was sich dort eröffnet, ist demnach die Wahrheit im Sinne von Heideggers Ins-Werk-Setzen der Wahrheit im Kunstwerk. Handke seinerseits setzt dieses Geschehen der Wahrheit mit der Transsubstantation in der katholischen Eucharistiefeier gleich, in der das Göttliche im Materiellen anwest, oder wo das Materielle von Brot und Wein das göttliche Wesen herauskommen läßt, indem es sich selbst in sich zurⁿckstellt (LSV 83-84). Diese Realisation des Göttlichen und Wahren aus dem Materiellen, Gegenständlichen, ist dann aber ursprünglicher als jedes Entsprechen zwischen Bild und Gegenstand in mimetischer Nachahmung der Natur in der Kunst.[14] Denn sie gibt den alltäglichen Dingen ihre phänomenale Transzendenz aus dem Spiel der *physis* wieder zurück und läßt sie aus dem das Ganze erfassenden Spiel anwesen, in dem das "Allerheiligste" dann auch zum "Allerwirklichste[n] wird (LSV 83). Das Spiel der *physis* verlangt daher auch seitens des Kⁿnstlers oder Erzählers eine neue Art von Entsprechen, nämlich ein Entsprechen im (griechischen) Sinne von *leukein*, welches den Übergang von einem ins andere, oder des einen aus dem anderen, wie es im Spiel der Schwelle geschieht, in einer ursprünglichen Weise vernimmt.[15]

"Meine Sache konnte nicht die rein im Sachgebiet die Bezüge suchende Abhandlung sein," erklärt daher der Erzähler in der Lehre; "mein Ideal waren seit je der sanfte Nachdruck und die begütigende Abfolge einer Erzählung" (LSV 99). Erzählen aber heißt realisieren, das Offene aus der Leere erwirken, heißt *leukein*, oder: "die Wahrheit des Erzählens als Helligkeit erfahren, in der ein Satz ruhig den anderen [gibt] und das Wahre . . . nur an den Übergängen der Sätze als etwas Sanftes zu spüren [ist]" (LSV 99). Die Übergänge, wie auch die Schwelle, müssen aber "klar trennend und ineinander sein" (LSV 119); sie müssen im Spiel realisieren, was noch nicht existiert, sondern zuerst anwesen muß, dies jedoch im trennenden Schnitt des Unter-Schieds, aus dessen Leere Seiendes entsteht. Das Geschehen der Wahrheit ist dann aber niemals in einem ein für allemal gültigen Ergebnis festzuhalten. Vielmehr ist der "Bereich des Dazwischen," den es überall gibt (LSV 118) und der als Leere immer zugleich im Vollen, Dargestellten mitspielt und letzteres durchsetzt, gerade der Garant dafür, daß die Ursprünglichkeit des Geschehens erhalten bleibt, also sich nicht in ewige Wahrheit verwandelt, sondern das Aussetzen, Intermittierende, Ereignende des Wahrheitsgeschehens im Spiel beibehält. In der Darstellung eines Ganzen kann daher kein "Triumph" mehr liegen (LSV 116). Denn ein Ganzes gibt es nicht mehr, zumindest nicht in einer Form, die sich abbilden oder lückenlos darstellen und erzählen ließe. Was es dagegen gibt, ist vielmehr "nur" das Es gibt im Spiel, oder, wie Heidegger schreibt, das im Ereignis und "im Entbergen verborgen spielend[e] Gebe[n]."[16] Das Ereignis, welches bei Heidegger an die Stelle des metaphysischen Grunds der Wahrheit tritt, gibt Raum und Zeit; es läßt Wahrheit geschehen im entbergend-verbergenden Spiel und zwar in einer Art und Weise, die bei Handke im Spiel der Schwelle und im Geschehen der Kunst Wahrheit wieder anklingt. Diese Wahrheit muß aber notwendigerweise fragmentarisch bleiben, nicht etwa, weil sie am Ganzen scheitern wⁿrde, sondern gerade weil in ihrem Geschehen immer zugleich die Leere mitspielt und das Entborgene, das in der Erzählung Dargestellte, nur eine Seite des Spiels der trennenden Mitte ist.

Dies bedeutet nun aber, daß im Darstellen immer auch der Zwang zu einem erneuten erzählerischen Anheben mitbegrⁿndet ist. Nicht Linearität und Teleologie, d.h. ein Fortschritt im Erzählen in Richtung auf eine vollständige Bedeutung oder Sinneinheit des Geschriebenen, sind damit das Charakteristische von Handkes Erzählweise, sondern jene fⁿr die Postmoderne charakteristische stasis einer immer erneuten Wiederholung ohne Fortschritt, einer Koexistenz von Momenten und Öffnungen im Spiel, deren Bedeutung sich nicht aus einem übergeordneten Gesamten ableiten läßt und sich auch nicht zu einem solchen zusammenfassen läßt.[17] Diese Momente und Öffnungen sind sich vielmehr immer selbst das Ganze und das Einzelne in einem, entborgen aus dem Spiel der Schwelle, welches das Eröffnete transzendiert, ohne jedoch dabei endgültige kausale oder hermeneutische Querverbindungen zwischen den einzelnen Momenten zu erlauben. So bringt denn auch das, was Handke in Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire als nunc stans bezeichnet, immer Gegensätzliches in Gleichzeitigkeit zusammen: einerseits das Gefühl der eigenen Größe, der Fähigkeit, "der Schriftsteller" zu sein, sowie die Ruhe eines "erleichternde[n], erheiternde[n], verwegene[n] Sollensmoments des Schreibens;" andererseits aber auch das eigene Verschwinden als "Niemand," die fehlende Form sowie "die übliche Qual, oder Quälerei," deren Ursache in der Unmöglichkeit liegt, den Moment des Hochgefühls festzuhalten (LSV 72-73). So ist das dem nunc stans eigene Paradox weniger dem Scheitern des Strebens nach Wahrheit und Beständigkeit in einer zerrissenen Welt zuzuschreiben; es ist auch nicht der absolute, ideale Gegenentwurf eines Ganzen zu einer fragmentarischen Realität.[18] Vielmehr findet sich darin der paradoxe Ausdruck einer paradoxen Zeit, deren Präfix ("post-") ja gerade die innere Spannung wie auch die statische Situation einer Zeit danach zum Ausdruck bringt, einer Zeit nach dem technologischen Bestellen der Welt in den Bestand,[19] wie auch nach dem modernen Streben nach Überwindung und Fortschritt. Es ist dies die Zeit der statischen Gleichzeitigkeit der Verwindung am Ende der Moderne und am Ende der Metaphysik. Deren Erfahrung prägt aber nicht nur Handkes Schreiben, sondern auch die gegenwärtige Situation derjenigen Kunst, Literatur oder Philosophie, die sich als postmodern oder post-metaphysisch versteht, und deren Text immer ein Inter-Text sein wird, welcher gleichzeitig in der Metaphysik und der Moderne und außerhalb beider stehen wird, also im Zwischen eines Unter-schieds, in dem etwas von der ursprünglichen Erfahrung der Wahrheit spürbar wird. In dieser Hinsicht ist dann aber Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire in einer ausgezeichneten Weise Inter-text und postmodern zugleich, gewissermaßen Handkes postmodernes Zwischen-Spiel par excellence, verbindet sie doch Kunst und Literatur mit jenem Spiel, das immer schon beide zugleich erfaßt und umfaßt, nämlich das Spiel der Schwelle, oder das Spiel des Zwischen, welches auch das Spiel der Postmoderne is, jener "Zwischenzeit . . . ohne Ortsansässigkeit" (LSV 43) und Beständigkeit.

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ANMERKUNGEN

[1] Handkes Texte werden wie folgt zitiert: LH=Langsame Heimkehr; CS=Der Chinese des Schmerzes; LSV=Die Lehre der Sainte-Victoire; Z=Aber ich lebe nur von den Zwischenräumen; GB=Die Geschichte des Bleistifts.

[2] Heidegger, Sein und Zeit 35.

[3] Handkes Text ist somit Text im Sinne Derridas, der dessen Spiel folgendermaßen beschreibt: "A text is not a text unless it hides from the first comer, from the first glance the law of its composition and the rules of its game. A text remains, moreover, forever imperceptible. Its laws and rules are not, however, harbored in the inaccessibility of a sectret; it is simply that they can never be booked, in the present, into anything that could be called perception" (Dissemination 63)

[4] Zu Heidegger und Handke siehe Hoesterey sowie die Aufsätze von Kolleritsch und Lämmle.

[5] Siehe dazu Heidegger, "Der Ursprung des Kunstwerkes;" im folgenden zitiert als "Ursprung."

[6] In seinem Vortrag vom 20. März 1958 an der Universität von Aix en Provence hat Heidegger ausdrücklich auf die enge Verbindung zwischen Cézanne und seinem eigenen Denkens verwiesen: "J'ai trouvé ici le chemin de Paul Cézanne, auquel, de son début jusqu'á sa fin, mon propre chemin de pensée en une certain mesure correspond" (zit. Fédier 331).

[7] Heidegger, "Cézanne." *Aus der Erfahrung des Denkens*, 223.

[8] Fédier läßt in seinem Kommentar zu Heideggers Gedicht diesen Aspekt der Falte außer Acht (Fédier 343-44). Die Falte wird aber bei Handke wiederum bedeutend, wenn er, wie weiter unten angedeutet, das Geschehen der Kunst mit dem der Transsubstantation parallelisiert. Denn das Göttliche ist, nach katholischer Lehre, in seiner Identität dreifaltig und zwar ebenfalls in einer geheimnisvollen Art, nämlich anwesend und gleichzeitig verborgen. Im Ge-heim-nisvollen der göttlichen Dreifaltigkeit liegt aber zugleich die Möglichkeit eines Wohnens und Ruhens in einer "Art Heimat," auf die Handke mit seinem Heidegger-Zitat in Die Geschichte des Bleistifts verweist: "Alle Dinge selbst bergen das Geviert nur dann, wenn sie selber als Dinge in ihrem Wesen gelassen werden. Wie geschieht das? Dadurch, daß die Sterblichen die wachstümlichen Dinge hegen und pflegen, daß sie die Dinge, die nicht wachsen, eigens errichten. Das Pflegen und das Errichten ist das Bauen im engeren Sinne. Das Wohnen ist, sofern es das Geviert in die Dinge verwahrt, als dieses Verwahren ein Bauen" (GB 107).

[9] Cf. Froment-Meurice 302-314; sowie Graf 289.

[10] Martin Meyer verweist in diesem Zusammenhang auf die "natura naturans" als das "hervorbringend[e] Prinzip" in der Natur (natura naturata; [Meyer 255]).

[11] Wahr ist dieses Geschehen insofern als das Wesen der Wahrheit "begriffen und gegründet" ist als "lichtende Verbergung" im Spiel der Schwelle oder im Spiel der *physis* als An-wesen; Heidegger, Beiträge zur Philosophie (Vom Ereignis) 189.

[12] Cf. Derrida, "Différance" (Margins 1-27), sowie Hoesterey 101-120.

[13] Zum Zusammenspiel von Farbe und Fläche in den Bildern Cézannes siehe Fédier 338-40, sowie Hoesterey 106.

[14] Dies bedeutet aber auch, daß das Bild selbst nicht zu einem sakralen Gegenstand wird, in dem das Göttliche vergegenständlicht wird. Worauf es ankommt, ist weder die Präsenz des Göttlichen oder Wahren, noch die Unterwerfung unter eine Wahrheit, sondern letztlich das Wahrheitsgeschehen an sich, und das heißt zugleich eine ent-sprechende Begegnung mit diesem Geschehen. Siehe dazu die Interpretation aus theologischer Sicht bei Graf.

[15] Heidegger, Unterwegs zur Sprache 31-33. Siehe auch Die Geschichte des Bleistifts: "Zu Hyperions sich wiederholendem Satz vor der Natur: 'Mein ganzes Wesen verstummt und lauscht': das verstummende Wesen hat tatsächlich mit 'Lauschen' zu tun, nicht mit 'Schauen.' Und das Farbensehen (besser noch: das Lichtsehen) entspricht dem Lauschen." (GB 234). Handke nennt daher auch seinen Protagonisten in Der Chinese des Schmerzes "Loser," der Griechischlehrer ist und nebenberuflich als Schwellenkundler arbeitet. Siehe auch Handkes Bemerkung in Zwischenräume: "Ich kann nicht das Denken in eine Folge bringen, das erscheint mir einfach nicht . . . ist auch nicht mein Spiel. Also ich muß etwas be-denken" (Z 60-61; Hervorh. von mir).

[16] Heidegger, "Zeit und Sein." Zur Sache des Denkens 6.

[17] Siehe dazu Stent, bes. Kapitel 6, "The End of the Arts and Sciences", 97-121.

[18] Insofern ist es wohl kaum möglich, im Hinblick auf Handke von einer Suche nach einer "kanonischen Grundlage" zu sprechen, "die ihm die Wiederholbarkeit der Offenbarung so sicher garantiert wie dem gläubigen Bibelleser die Bibel" (Pikulik 240).

[19] Siehe Heidegger, "Die Frage nach der Technik." Vorträge und Aufsätze I, 5-36.

Narrative Beginnings: Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra* and Fontane's *Effi Briest*

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Also sprach Zarathustra, Nietzsche's enigmatic tale of the prophet, contains certain conventional narrative properties that criticism has often overlooked. In recent years theoretical works on Nietzschean narratives have appeared,[1] but none has examined in detail those cohesive elements, the narrative nuts and bolts, holding *Zarathustra* together. Also, any connections between Nietzsche's *magnum opus* and other nineteenth-century German narratives, especially the novel, have usually been dismissed as merely speculative or inconsequential. In doing so, critical assessments of *Zarathustra* have failed to recognize its close ties to literary tradition and the literature of its day. Despite some initial and perhaps obvious incongruities, in comparing it with Fontane's *Effi Briest*, one of his more "factophile" novels,[2] I will illustrate common links *Zarathustra* has with the narrative canon. Also, at the narratological level, one must examine first and foremost those features that catch the reader's attention initially--namely, narrative beginnings and their relationship to both works as complete and coherent entities.

Beginning with "rules of notice," Rabinowitz's interpretive pragmatics focus on salient narrative features while exposing textual strategies. How noticeable textual features are is determined by their preferential treatment; thus, "[a]ll art is a matter of choice, and the most fundamental choice. . .is the choice of where to direct. . .attention" [3]and "[i]nterpretations start, at least, with the most noticeable details," since "[c]ommunication can exist only if author and receiver agree beforehand about what is worthy of notice." [4]Such conspicuously noticeable features include titles, beginning sentences, and last sentences. Despite its simplicity, Rabinowitz's rule of notice can answer critical disputes by providing support for one reading over another, since privileged positions help to reveal narrative structure and consistency.[5] The relative importance of each detail to the whole depends on how much a detail is privileged and how well its significance can be interpreted. More important still, a narratological supposition only attains validity when reader response can enlist textual features, especially the most noticeable ones, to explicate larger thematic concerns.

Starting with the title makes obvious sense, since one usually commences interpretatively by asking about a title's thematic and structural function. Despite its privileged position a title does not always facilitate the interpretative enterprise. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, for example, does not reveal its meaning until over half the novel has been told.[6] In contrast many narrative titles directly name the main character--e.g., *Madame Bovary*. Though representatives of this titular type are legion, at least as common are titles focusing on thematics--e.g., *Le Rouge et le Noir* or *Crime and Punishment*. As with Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, Nietzsche's title introduces both the major character and the theme. The immediate image of a speaking prophet establishes the major theme as communication, or better as Zarathustra's teaching. This title gains its narrative significance through its frequent reiteration within the text: "also sprach Zarathustra" closes some fifty-four chapters or sections of chapters; also, variants such as "also sang Zarathustra" occur seven additional times within the narrative. The full title consists of two parts--*Also sprach Zarathustra* and the subtitle, *Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen*. This bipartite structure has compelled some critics to view communicative problematics as the work's overriding determinant.[7] For, if the title's periodic repetition accentuates communication by establishing a strong, textually rhythmical refrain, this focus is undermined by the subtitle. The undeniable paradox therein creates a distance between the author and his audience, between narrative theme and the reader's expectation.[8] For, just as Kristeva delineates in her analysis of La Sale's *Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, one can also posit for *Zarathustra* two looping trajectories--the narrative and the discursive--which simultaneously open and close the work.[9] The bipartite division in *Zarathustra's* title sets the recursive trajectories into motion: the first part cues one to the narrative, while the subtitle accentuates discursive problematics. The latter appears as both a challenge to the reader to comprehend the book and a statement about the reader's inability to achieve any true knowledge of the work.

Narrative opening lines are privileged conventions that can reveal tone, plot, theme, characterization, and setting. Zarathustra's tale, as told through the medium of a third-person narrator, begins very much *in medias res*, or more exactly *in mediam vitam*:

> Als Zarathustra dreißig Jahre alt war, verließ er seine Heimat und den See seiner Heimat und ging in das Gebirge. Hier genoß er seines Geistes und seiner Einsamkeit und wurde dessen zehn Jahre nicht müde. Endlich aber verwandelte sich sein Herz, – und eines Morgens stand er mit der Morgenröte auf, trat vor die Sonne hin und sprach zu ihr also:
>
> Du großes Gestirn! Was wäre dein Glück, wenn du nicht die hättest, welchen du leuchtest!
>
> Zehn Jahre kamst du hier herauf zu meiner Höhle: du würdest deines Lichtes und dieses Weges satt geworden sein, ohne mich, meinen Adler und meine Schlange....”[10]

Comparing this section with earlier versions of the Persian religious leader's story illustrates some subtle and important alterations. Two of the philosopher's earlier narratives make use of historical facts: the 1881 mention of Zoroaster in a sketch for the never-completed work *Mittag und Ewigkeit*,[11] and, in *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, a text occurs, curiously entitled “Incipit tragoedia,” which is remarkably similar to *Zarathustra's* exordium.[12] *Zarathustra* has but the prophet's name in common with biographical data on him; for example, any geographical reference to lake Urmi, Zoroaster's birthplace in Aria, is excluded in *Zarathustra*. Extant knowledge of Zoroaster's biography also points to many discrepancies between his life and that of Nietzsche's hermit. Thus, unlike the image found in either the *Gathas* or the *Zend-Avesta*, the portrait sketched in Nietzsche's opening lines resembles rather the latter stages of life in the Hindu law book, *Manu Smriti*, in which the righteous man of knowledge becomes first a hermit, then a wanderer.[13] Also, Zoroaster became a priest at fifteen, the traditional age for maturity in ancient Iran, spent thereafter many years wandering in aimless pursuit of wisdom, and then, at the age thirty, he experienced an afflatus with the great god Ahura Mazda.[14] Moreover, Zarathustra's heraldic animals would have been anathema to the real Zoroaster, since eagles and snakes belonged to *khrafstra* or “noxious animals.” It was only through the combination of conquest and heresy that a sun symbol with an eagle's wings and serpentine body became sanctioned in Zoroastrian iconography.[15] Admittedly, Nietzsche's knowledge of Zoroaster's life was limited, but any “mistakes” made were due more to the imperfect state of Avestan studies during the nineteenth century than to his own ignorance.[16] The anachronisms are significant, however, since a historically accurate portrait was not Nietzsche's goal for *Zarathustra*.

Indeed, what can be gleaned from *Zarathustra's* opening passage is meager: simply the passage of time (without a specified era) through a rudimentarily designated space (without a specified area). Nowhere are detailed temporal or spatial descriptions given; at no time are objects or landscapes depicted realistically. In contrast to Nietzsche's minimalism stands the opening paragraph of Fontane's *Effi Briest* which provides an intricate description of the heroine's bourgeois *Herrenhaus* and garden and employs sunlight and shadow for chiaroscura. Fontane adds numerous architectural and vegetative details, thereby painting so as to fill his narrative canvas:

> In Front des schon seit Kurfürst Georg Wilhelm von der Familie von Briest bewohnten Herrenhauses zu Hohen-Cremmen fiel heller Sonnenschein auf die mittagsstille Dorfstraße, während nach der Park- und Gartenseite hin ein rechtwinklig angebauter Seitenflügel einen breiten Schatten erst auf einen weiß und grün quadrierten Fliesengang und dann über diesen hinaus auf ein großes, in seiner Mitte mit einer Sonnenuhr und an seinem Rande mit Canna indica und Rhabarberstauden besetztes Rondell warf. Einige zwanzig Schritte weiter, in Richtung und Lage genau dem Seitenflügel entsprechend, lief eine ganz in kleinblättrigem Efeu stehende, nur an einer Stelle von einer kleinen, weiß gestrichenen Eisentür unterbrochene Kirchhofsmauer. . . . Fronthaus, Seitenflügel und Kirchhofsmauer bildeten ein einen kleinen Ziergarten umschließendes Hufeisen, an dessen offener Seite man eines Teiches mit Wassersteg und angeketteltem Boot und dicht daneben einer Schaukel gewahr wurde, deren horizontal gelegtes Brett zu Häupten und Füßen an je zwei Stricken hing – die Pfosten der Balkenlage schon etwas schief stehend. Zwischen Teich und Rondell aber, und die Schaukel halb versteckend, standen ein paar mächtige alte Platanen.[17]

The antithesis between this passage and Nietzsche's sketch can be seen on the syntactical level where hypotaxis supports Fontane's elaborations, while parataxis underscores Nietzsche's descriptive simplicity. With its floral and arboreal luxuriance the Briest's family garden becomes a middle-class variation of the *locus amoenus*,[18] or the biblical *hortus conclusus*[19] (Song Sol. 4:12) as a metaphor for hymeneal love. Zarathustra's secluded, elevated haven recalls sites for a selected few in the Old Testament–Ararat (Gen. 8:4), the mountain range whither Abraham led Isaac (Gen. 22:2), and Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:18-21).

Despite stylistic extremes separating these two openings, both establish textual determinants for ideological positions embodied in the title figures. The isolated landscape in *Zarathustra* exemplifies that perspectivistic "Pathos der Distanz" [20]in relation to the common folk from whom he came and whom he will soon confront. As Pautrat rightly points out, the lofty mountain corresponds naturally to Zarathustra's special heroic virtue, his chosen *Einsamkeit*,[21] and, as a psychological topography, it sets a standard against which all subsequent settings, characters, and events will be measured. In contrast, the Briest's home garden presages later conflicts: a wooden swing's posts stand askew, denoting weakness; two plane trees, partially hiding that swing, evoke the image of staid parents and an emotionally vacillating offspring.[22] Moreover, the moral differences contained in these two images foreshadow future problems in Effi's adult life; for in light-hearted, seemingly inconsequential conversation with Hulda, Effi playfully dismisses any charges that she was transgressing the Fourth Commandment with her fanciful thoughts of extramarital love (ch. 1). And, when Baron Gert Innstetten and Effi are engaged (ch. 3), Herr Briest reinforces the symbolic botanical imagery by comparing his daughter to delicate ivy (*Efeu*) encircling a stem (*Geert*). Of course, the father could not envision how unstable his daughter's fidelity would later become.

Temporal and landscape metaphors of narrative coherence will be reintroduced at the end of both works. Arising again at dawn, Zarathustra greets a new "sign," a lion whose head is encircled by a ring of doves, and decides to repeat this descent *unter Menschen*. Previously his isolation has been disrupted by the higher men, for whom he has taken on the burden of pity (*Mitleid*). As expressed in the *Rede* "Von den drei Verwandlungen," the lion represents overcoming the spiritual overcoming of the camel, a beast of burden, and the lion's appearance marks yet another transformation–the child.[23] Thus, dawn serves as the appropriate setting for just such a renewal. In contrast to those concluding events, night (death) falls on the Briest home, as Effi looks sorrowfully upon the same scene described at the beginning (now minus both swing and ivy). In that rueful moment a light rain (her tears) falls on the two old plane trees, while she desires but "Ruhe, Ruhe." Zarathustra's final attempt at teaching remains narratively open, but Effi's death closes the novel with the symbolical gestures of removing the sundial and replacing it with a marble cross bearing her name.[24] Both Nietzsche and Fontane provide in these passages symbolic elements of figure-specific wish fulfillment.[25] As objects of desire within ideological and narrative frameworks, both the Briest's garden and Zarathustra's cave signify positions of security and innocence, though in radically different ways. Zarathustra's cave is his sanctuary from others, and there his self-overcoming occurs (Part III). Unfortunately, Effi's breach of bourgeois morality precludes her returning to the security of childhood innocence. Her fate is not the felicitous one Zarathustra experiences at his children's approach.

Both *Zarathustra* and *Effi Briest* exploit a classical *topos* in using the sun for literally shedding light upon their respective subjects. The difference between them lies in the fact that Fontane's novel begins at midday and terminates at night, while *Zarathustra* opens at daybreak and closes with the *großer Mittag*. For Nietzsche this imagery arose from etymological interpretations of the prophet's eponym: "Heute lernte ich zufällig, was ‚Zarathustra' bedeutet: nämlich ‚Gold-Stern'. Dieser Zufall machte mich glücklich. Man könnte meinen, die ganze Conception meines Büchleins habe in dieser Etymologie ihre Wurzel: aber ich wußte bis heute nichts davon." [26]That interpretation was sadly incorrect, but does not diminish the metaphorical significance of the sun for his narrative. Many novelistic openings recall Helios's driving his fiery chariot drawn across the sky, even when the mythological image has been lost and replaced by realistic description. Concluding his study of such adaptations of this classical opening, Klotz aptly summarized its consequences for the modern novel as "geradeso wie im Falle des Musenanrufs und des heraldischen ‚arma virumque'-Emblems."[27] Indeed, the Helios-*topos* enjoys a long history as a novelistic convention, seen even in contrastive *Sonneneingänge*. Beer's *Die kurzweiligen Sommer-Tage* set the stage for indolent merriment as the summer sun pleasantly diverts people from normal affairs,[28] whereas Wieland's *Agathon* creates a dark mood at dusk.[29] Schlegel's *Lucinde* unfolds with a subtle reference to the vitality inherent in vernal sunshine,[30] whereas the autumnal sun's absence in Chandler's *The Big Sleep* bodes ominously for Philip Marlowe.[31] Despite the symbolic and thematic use of solar imagery in these narratives, none retains the classical apostrophe found in *Zarathustra*.

In a manner similar to Fontane, however, Nietzsche exploits further images taken from the world of nature. Following the heliotropic image, Zarathustra's words turn to the saturated state of his knowledge and then his irresistible desire to share that wealth of wisdom: "Siehe! Ich bin wieder meiner Weisheit überdrüssig, wie die Biene, die des Honigs zuviel gesammelt hat, ich bedarf der Hände, die sich ausstrecken. / Ich möchte verschenken und austeilen, bis die Weisen unter den Menschen wieder einmal ihrer Torheit und die Armen wieder einmal ihres Reichtums froh geworden sind."[32] The mimetic text calls upon the classical parable of the productive honeybee, the so-called "Bienengleichnis" found in Seneca's *Epistulae morales*.[33] There Seneca plays on an etymological pun between *colligere* (to gather) and *legere* (to read), in stating that bees may be both collectors and creators of their honey.[34] In Zarathustra's case, Nietzsche ushers in a thinly veiled metanarrative on literary creativity.[35] Zarathustra proves himself to be a collector of external wisdom through his allusions to classical and biblical sources, while simultaneously remaining the creator of bold images and thoughts. The creative element will come into play as Zarathustra makes a present of his wisdom. The image of the overflowing cup ("den Becher, der überfliessen will")[36] makes clear that the time is ripe for such a prophetic donation, while also alluding to the "calix meus inebrians quam praeclarus est" in the twenty-third Psalm.[37] The botanical connotation of *Becher* (calyx) connects the two strands running within the apian simile. And, in doing so, the prophet prepares himself to become human again ("und Zarathustra will wieder Mensch werden"). Following this introductory monologue, the narrative's plot takes on its significant form in the underlying perspectivistic duality of "Zarathustras Untergang." Nietzsche refers again to the *Bienengleichnis* in the opening chapter of Part IV, "Das Honig-Opfer,"[38] thereby sustaining interconnections between the narrative's opening and conclusion in reminding the reader of Zarathustra's initial idealistic desire to impart his wisdom. Furthermore, after the leonine sign of the "ich will" has appeared with the rising sun, Zarathustra is once again "ripe" for his final, but untold *Untergang*, the last journey on which he will renew his ties with his "Kinder."

Contrasting the structural and thematic functions of *Zarathustra's* and *Effi Briest's* opening lines demonstrates the narrative uniqueness of the former, even as parallels are evinced with the realistic narrative conventions of its counterpart. That Nietzsche's prophet is proffered a chance at redemption as he convalesces at dawn from the once disabling notion of eternal return (Part III) is consistent with the narrative's temporal metaphors.[39] That Effi Briest must be denied a second chance becomes evident by recognizing that her fall coincides with that of night. Also, Nietzsche's use of a classical *topos* to begin his only sustained fictional narrative reflects less his erstwhile philological interests than his understanding of how to exploit narrative commonplaces to bracket deeper meanings, just Fontane did. Despite their differences, both nineteenth-century narratives illustrate a primary concern on the part of the authors to structure their narratives with symbolic resonances. And, finally, as Rabinowitz makes clear, it remained encumbent upon the reader to respond to the given textual means so as to derive their thematic ends within each of the narratives.

NOTES

[1] Kathleen Marie Harris, *Nietzsche's Zarathustra* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1987); Gary Shapiro, *Nietzschean Narratives* (Bloomingrton: Indiana UP, 1988).

[2] Erdmann Waniek, "Beim zweiten Lesen: der Beginn von Fontanes *Effi Briest* als verdingliches *tableau vivant,*" German Quarterly 55.2 (March 1982): 164-165.

[3] Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987) 51.

[4] Rabinowitz, 53.

[5] Rabinowitz, 62-64. Here he also indicates that not all genres and subgenres necessarily privilege the same elements for the same reasons. Also, with every hierarchy of privileged positions, levels of generic uniqueness and conventionality establish themselves.

[6] After the allusion to Burns, the reader is reminded that its importance rests in an unconsciously incorrect reading, characterizing Holden Caulfield's great failing - his devastating ability to misread other's actions. J. D. Salinger, *The Catcher in the Rye* (New York: Bantam, 1964; ^{1}1951) 173: "She [Phoebe, Holden's 'kid sister']was right, though. It *is* 'If a body meet a body coming through the rye.' I didn't know it then, though."

[7] Anke Bennholdt-Thomsen, *Nietzsche's* Also sprach Zarathustra *Als literarisches Phänomen. Eine Revision* (Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum, 1974) 57.

[8] On the artist's opinion of his own work versus that of his audience's, see Peter Pütz, *Kunst und Künstlerexisitenz bei Nietzsche und Thomas Mann. Zum Problem des ästhetischen Perspektivismus in der Moderne* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1963) 40-41.

[9] Julia Kristeva, "The Bounded Text," trans. Thomas Gora and Alice Jordaine, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia UP, 1980) 57-59.

[10] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also sprach Zarathustra, Werke in sechs Bänden*, ed. Karl Schlechta, vol. III (München: Carl Hanser, 1980) 277 ["Zarathustras Vorrede," 1]. All references to Nietzsche's works will be given as the volume and page number in this edition.

[11] The exact dating (26 August 1881, Sils-Maria) is provided in Massino Montinari, "Zarathustra vor *Also sprach Zarathustra,*" *Nietzsche lesen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1982), 81. First mention of the Persian prophet was made in connection with Heraclitus in "Die Philosophie im tragischen Zeitalter der Griechen," 1; V, 354. See also, Ruhi Muhsen Afnan, *Zoroaster's Influence on Greek Thought* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1965) 75-88.

[12] Nietzsche, *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, "Viertes Buch: Sanctus Janarius," 342; III, 203.

[13] Nietzsche became familiar with the ancient legal and ethical works of Hinduism through the philosophical works of his friend Paul Deussen, who published a lengthy study of the *Vendanta* in 1883 that Nietzsche held in high regard. See *Nietzsches Briefwechsel, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, vol. III, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967-1981) 339. The stages for the hermit and homeless wanderer are given in condensed form in *The Hindu Tradition*, ed. Ainslie T. Embree (New York: Modern Library, 1966) 90-93.

[14] Mary Boyce, *Zoroastrians: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979) 18-19.

[15] For the effects of the Zurvanite heresy on the depiction of Ahura Nasada at Persepolis, see Boyce, 67-68 and 212-213. For iconographical connections between Egyptian (Horus), Hittite (the *aedicula* of Muwatallis), and Zoroastrian sun symbols (Ahura Mazada), see Josef Bauer, *Symbolik des Parsismus* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1975) 34-35.

[16] Emil Abegg, "Nietzsches Zarathustra und der Prophet des alten Irans," *Nietzsche* (Erlenback-Zürich: Rentsch, 1945) 64-82. It is known that as a professor in Basel Nietzsche checked out Spiegel's woefully inaccurate *Eranische Altertumskunde* (June 1878); see Max Oehler, *Nietzsches Bibliothek* (Weimar: Nietzsche-Archiv, 1941) 55.

[17] Theodor Fontane, *Effi Briest, Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Edgar Groß, vol. VII (München: Nymphenburger, 1959) 171-172.

[18] Ernst Robert Curtius, "Rhetorische Naturschilderung im Mittelalter," *Landschaft und Raum in der Erzählkunst*, ed. Alexander Ritter (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975) 77.

[19] Klaus-Peter Schuster, *Theodor Fontane: Effi Briest - Ein Leben nach christlichen Bildern* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1978) 3-4.

[20] Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, IX: "Was ist vornehm?" 257; IV, 727.

[21] Bernard Pautrat, *Versions du Soleil. Figures et Système de Nietzsche* (Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1971) 339.

[22] Waniek does not wish to make such a direct connection between the swing and Effi; see Waniek 168: "Daß die Pfosten dieser Schaukel schief stehen, keine solide Stütze bieten, soll wierderum nicht zur unmißverständlich intendierten Vorausdeutung von Effis drohendem Fall umgemünzt und verflacht werden." On the other hand, Wanik does not hesitate to recognize the "Efeu" as a "Symbol der Treue und des ewigen Lebens" (167). The caution exhibited about the swing may be understandable but seems unnecessary after regarding the intertwining of symbolic elements.

[23] The *Rede* "Von den drei Verwandlungen" is the first of Zarathustra's speeches following the "Vorrede." It is reintroduced in part at the narrative's close, see Nietzsche, *Zarathustra*, IV, "Das Zeichen"; III, 561. For a concise, but somewhat controversial interpretation of the narractive modernism of the first *Rede*, see Robert Gooding-Williams, "Zarathustra's Three Metamorphoses," *Nietzsche as Postmodernist: Essays Pro and Contra*, ed. Clayton Kolb (Albany: The SUNY Press, 1990) 231-245.

[24] Partial reconciliation with the morality of her parents, if understood as her regret, seems apparent in her last wish (426): "Ich möchte auf meinem Stein meinen alten Namen wiederhaben; ich habe dem anderen keine Ehre gemacht."

[25] Jameson has superbly shown the strong ideological emphasis in the opening paragraph of Balzac's "La Vieille Fille," and his example serves here as a guide. See Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1981) 154-165.

[26] Nietzsche, *Briefwechsel*, III_1. 366 (written on a postcard, 23 April 1883, to Köselitz). His mistaken opinion derived from his intimate knowledge of Greek; yet, the suffix *-ustra* has no relation to the Greek *ástér*, "star." The Avestan ought to be rendered as "camel driver." See Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965) 60, n. 1.

[27] Volker Klotz, "Muse and Helios. Über epische Anfangsnöte und-weisen," *Romananfänge. Versuch zu einer Poetik des Romans*, ed. Norbert Miller (Berlin: Literarisches Colloquium, 1965) 36.

[28] Johann Beer, *Die teutschen Winter-Nächte & kurweiligen Sommertage*, ed. Richard Alewyn (Frankfurt a. M.: Insel, 1985: ^{1}1963), 419.

[29] Christoph Martin Wieland, *Geschichte des Agathon, Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. IV (Leipzip: Göschen, 1939) 17.

[30] Friedrich Schlegel, *Lucinde*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Hausmann'sche Antiquariats-Buchandlung, 1835) 1.

[31] Raymond Chandler, *The Big Sleep, The Raymond Chandler Omnibus*, ed. Lawrence Clark Powell (New York: Modern Library, 1975; ^{1}1939) 3.

[32] Nietzsche, *Zarathustra*, I, "Zarathustra's Vorrede," 1; III, 277.

[33] *Seneca ad Lucilium. Epistulae morales* trans. Richard M. Gummere, vol. II (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920) 276-284. The original Latin reads (278): "nos quoque has apes debemus imitari et quaecumque ex diversa lectione congessimus, separare, melius enin distincta servantur, deinde adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate in unum saporem varia illa libamenta confundere, ut etiam si apparuerit, unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse quam unde sumptum est, appareat."

[34] Jürgen von Stackelberg, "Das Bienengleichnis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen *Imitatio*," *Romanische Forschungen* 68 (1956): 271-293. Moreover, here one needs to keep in mind the Roman aesthetic commonplace of "utile dulci"; see J. Wright Duff, *A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*, 3rd ed., ed. by A. M. Duff (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960) 36.

[35] For the embedding of the metanarratives as narrative codes, see Phillipe Hamon, "Texte littéraire et métalanguage," *Poétique* 31 (1977): 261-284; and Gerald Prince, "Remarques sur les signes métanarratifs," *Degrés* 11-12 (1977): 1-10.

[36] Nietzsche expressed a similar notion in the poem "Der Verächter"; see *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, "Scherz, List und Rache," 10; III, 19.

[37] In contrast to the *Vulgate* and the *Authorized Version*, Luther omits the "calix" and instead substitutes the concept of fullness: "Du salbest mein Haupt mit Öl / und schenkest mir voll ein" (Psalm 23:5).

[38] Nietzsche, *Zarathustra*; III, 480. Here Zarathustra indicates the future of his teaching with the vision of his thousand-year reign, the "Hazar" taken from the Avestan cardinal for one thousand. First reference to the Persian concept of the *hazar* occurred in 1884; see Nietzsche, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe der Werke*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, vol. VII_2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 49.

[39] Nietzsche, *Zarathustra*, III, "Der Genesende"; III 461-467.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This article represents a revised version of part of one chapter from my book Nietzsche's Philosophical and Narratives, which has recently appeared in Peter Lang's series *North American Studies in Nineteenth-Century German Literature*, edited by Jeffrey L. Sammons.

In Search of a Lost Friend:
Death and Absence in Bettine von Arnim's Günderode

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Nineteenth-century German writer Bettine Brentano von Arnim (1785-1859) defied literary convention to develop a fictional *oeuvre* which is marked by her subjective search for an understanding and redefinition of her self and her relationship with others. Arnim's creative revisions of her correspondence with family and friends are difficult to categorize and impossible to place into one literary period. While they bear some similarity to the eighteenth-century letter novels in the tradition of Samuel Richardson and Sophie La Roche, the open form, loose structure, and self-reflective prose of her epistolary fiction are reminiscent of the Romantic novel. Von Arnim's works bridge the gap between fiction and fact and characterize her as an innovator in the realm of epistolary writing.[1]

Bettine von Arnim chose experiences encountered in her late teens and early twenties as the subjects of her first three epistolary novels: *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde* (1835), *Die Günderode* (1840), and *Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz* (1844). The last of her personal epistolary works, *Ilius Pamphilius und die Ambrosia* (1848), is based on her correspondence with the student Philipp Nathusius from 1835-41. Bettine von Arnim's first publication, *Goethes Briefwechsel*, created a tremendous sensation and brought her immediate fame. Reviewers and the public received it as a genuine correspondence, however, complicating future criticism of the work as a literary composition (Drewitz 159). After the misunderstanding was discovered, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars discussed primarily the authenticity of von Arnim's epistolary work and her personality and rather than the artistic value of her fiction.[2]

In the past 10 years, a new generation of scholars such as Edith Waldstein, Marjanne Goozé, Konstanze Bäumer and Ursula Liebertz-Grün has at last begun producing studies devoted mainly to a literary analysis of her works.

Like the eighteenth-century epistolary novels by Samuel Richardson, Sophie La Roche, and Choderlos de Laclos, Bettine von Arnim's letter novels mimic a genuine correspondence. The absence of a cohesive plot, however, provides a framework for a freer exchange of ideas between the fictional Bettine and her letter partners. Although Bettine's epistolary fiction resembles the definition of the Romantic novel as conceived by Friedrich Schlegel and Novalis, her works were not accepted as legitimate contributions to the genre in the nineteenth century (Waldstein 102-05; Goozé 2-5).

Bettine von Arnim's epistolary works are difficult to analyse in a systematic fashion, since they appear "formless" and the structure seems uncontrolled and unwieldy. The author obviously considered theme, literary expression, and character portrayal to be more important than chronological order or verbatim use of the genuine letters. *Die Günderode* (1840) is particularly interesting among von Arnim's three earliest epistolary compositions because it is the work which most closely approximates a dialogue between equals; it also the only one of her novels which centers entirely on her discourse with a woman. Despite its apparent lack of structure, the novel is actually skillfully constructed to reveal Karoline von Günderrode's wisdom, maturity, and talent as well as to demonstrate the significance of their friendship for Bettine's development.[3]

Although they encompass only one aspect of a many faceted novel, death and absence play a significant role in *Die Günderode*. These themes provide one key to interpreting the author's construction of the text. Von Arnim structured the novel so as to recapture the essence of a friendship that was in reality soured by rejection and suicide. She did so by emphasizing their mutual affection and Bettine's efforts to "save" her friend from melancholy and death. In effect, von Arnim's work represents a rescue of Karoline von Günderrode from literary obscurity; she contributes to her immortality by bringing a fictionalized version of her friend back to life in the text.

Karoline von Günderrode was five years older than Bettine Brentano, and lived in a protestant home for unmarried noblewomen in Frankfurt. Karoline had no money, but an abundance of time, which she devoted to her writing and to the study of philosophy and history. She and Bettine met in 1801, and they cultivated a close friendship that lasted until shortly before Karoline's death. Bettine later discovered, however, that Günderrode concealed important aspects of her personal life from her friend, especially her relationship with Friedrich Creuzer, a classical philology scholar and historian at the University of Heidelberg. A few months before her death Karoline abruptly drew away from Bettine, most likely due to the wishes of Creuzer. In 1806, Karoline von Günderrode took her own life at the age of 26, a fact that is foreshadowed in the novel, but never mentioned.

In an innovative fashion, the author reworks their letters in order to create anew the memory and perception of their intimacy and friendship. Bettine's relationship with Karoline, although characterized by admiration, is marked by a mutual appreciation of the other's talents and peculiarities (Wolf 313; Waldstein 51-55). The interplay between the two women, the absence of plot, and the reflection of the two friends in each other's letters limit the impression of a dominant narrative voice in the novel, despite Bettine's strong presence in the work. In contrast to J. J. Rousseau's *Julie ou la nouvelle Heloise* and Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa*, the letters in *Die Günderode* do not focus on the life and problems of one central heroine, nor are the voices of the two friends subordinate to a preconceived story line.

Although Bettine's letters far outnumber those by Karoline, von Arnim allows her title character to speak through her poetry and prose as well as via the revised correspondence. The two characters express their own experiences, thoughts, ideas, and feelings in a form that often resembles a discussion between two equal partners. The loose structure of the novel enables the author to shift rapidly from one subject to another, to create a conversation in written form on nature, music, poetry, God, death, and the spirit. The strength of Karoline's voice in her letters and poetry prevents Bettine from maintaining a dominant position in the narrative.

Bettine von Arnim's effective adaptation of the subjective epistolary form and her integration of Günderrode's poems and dramatic sketches into the novel engage the reader in discovering the individual characters and desires of women who inwardly rejected the restrictions applied to their sex. Each asserted her independence and longing for freedom and knowledge in a distinct way, Karoline through her lyrical compositions, and Bettine through her unconventional behavior and interaction with nature, as well as her musings on heroism, on religion, and on poetry. Karoline's melancholy, her preoccupation with death and love, and her search for the essence of life are revealed in the literary selections which von Arnim included in the text.

Symmetry and form are provided in the novel mainly through the relationship of various themes, motifs and characters. Bettine's adoration and affection for Karoline seems at times to place her friend in a position of greater authority than herself. The fictional Karoline consistently rejects this position while attempting nevertheless to convince Bettine to develop her mind and learn more about history and philosophy. One theme in particular offers von Arnim the opportunity to develop Bettine's character and to define her as an equal partner to her wiser, more mature and better educated friend; that is Bettine's reaction to Karoline's desire to die young and her fascination with death.

The subject of death pervades the beginning of the novel. Bettine mentions a conversation with Karoline about who of the two will die first, and Karoline writes of a dream in which Bettine had died and she was overcome with grief. That letter is followed by Günderrode's fictional dialogue, "Die Manen", in which a teacher and his pupil discuss spiritual existence after death and communication between the living and the dead. Significantly, death does not represent the primary theme of this prose piece, however. More importantly, "Die Manen" highlights ways in which the dead survive in the consciousness of the living, especially in those willing to open their inner sense to spiritual energy. The pupil's question in "Die Manen:" "So lebt denn ein großer Mensch nicht nach *seiner* Weise in mir fort, sondern nach der meinen...?" is pertinent to von Arnim's text, in which the author recreates her lost friend according to her own memory and assumptions (225).

Although she is fascinated with "Die Manen," Bettine is baffled by "Ein apokalypisches Fragment," another prose piece inserted into the novel. The fictional Bettine is perplexed at Karoline's desire to transcend earthly boundaries by relinquishing her mortal human existence, symbolized by images of dissolving into the dew, joining a rainbow, and following the moon (233-35). Since Bettine expresses resistance to confining boundaries through unconventional behavior in this life, it is difficult for her to accept Karoline's abstract longing to be released from the restrictive barriers of her earthly being.

Her critique of Karoline's apocalyptic fragment reveals Bettine's fear of losing her friend and illustrates her rejection of ideas that she considered dangerous and disruptive. "Du bist herablassend, daß Du vor mir solche Dinge aussprichst, die ich nicht nachempfinden kann und auch nicht mag, weil sie unsern engen Lebenskreis überschreiten, in dem allein mir nur lieb denken ist" (235). Von Arnim's inclusion of Karoline's fragment and Bettine's response prefigure the separation that threatens their friendship and Bettine's struggle throughout the novel to keep her friend interested in life on earth and in enjoying the pleasures of their companionship.

Bettine encloses in this letter an essay that Karoline mentions finding in a volume of work by the Dutch philosopher Frans Hemsterhuis as she was straightening her friend's disorderly room. The essay was actually a portion of a letter Bettine wrote to Max Prokop von Freyberg in 1809, after Karoline's death. (Goozé 281) Focusing on the relationship between human beings, God, time, and eternity, Bettine denounces suicide here as the will of destruction that represents a choice of the transitory over the eternal (239). Bettine attempts to express in the essay a definition of transcendence that empowers human beings to recognize the appearance of God in themselves and that seeks a triumph of eternity over temporal earthly existence through reason and the development of the human spirit.

Although the fictional Bettine dismisses the value of the essay in a letter to Karoline, its inclusion in the novel demonstrates its significance for the work as a whole. Von Arnim seems to offer the ideas presented there as an alternative to her friend's wish for a transcendence which Bettine interprets as a disdain for life on earth and a desire to literally become one with nature, to return to the source of life.

Bettine's recitation of passages from Karoline's poem "Darthula nach Ossian," in a letter written from the spa Schlangenbad reiterates the theme of death and loss that recurs throughout *Die Günderode*. The poem celebrates the heroism and death of Darthula, a young woman who goes to battle after her brother is killed and dies at the hands of the enemy king. The verses that Bettine cites in the text stress the heroism of Darthula and her lover Nathos as well as the tragedy of the heroine's death. Bettine's recollection in the book that Karoline wrote the poem in her presence emphasizes not only the significance of Günderrode's poetry for their relationship, but also their mutual interest in the topic, which defined women as heroes, as steadfast as men.

Bettine's admission, however, that she associated her friend with Darthula, described in the poem as Colla's daughter, links the general theme of death to an event never directly delineated in the text: the dissolution of their friendship and Karoline's death. "Ich kann mir unter Collas Tochter immer nur Dich denken; denn sie schläft, der Frauen erste! — Und so hab ich in mancher Stunde mit Tränen Dich besungen; denn ich kann das nicht singen, ohne daß es mein Herz so stark bewegt, . . ." (272). Von Arnim seems to speak with a dual voice in this lament, that of the young fictional Bettine as well as her own, still experiencing grief over thirty years after Günderrode's suicide.

Karoline's melancholy plays an increasingly greater role as the novel progresses, prompting Bettine to gradually shift her position from admiring pupil to protective, concerned friend. Rejecting Günderrode's statement, repeated at several points in the text, "Viel wissen, viel lernen, . . . dann jung sterben," Bettine offers to share Karoline's pain and continually attempts to save her friend from despair (354; 469; 504). Bettine's efforts to help her friend overcome her depression in the novel evoke a metaphorical desire of the author to rescue Karoline from her final self-destructive act.

After reading the poem "Alles stumm und leer" that Karoline sent for Clemens, Bettine tries to cheer her friend by reminding her of the past winter which they spent in Karoline's room engrossed in imaginary travels to India and Asia. Bettine believes melancholy to be caused by boredom, unfulfilled thirst for life experience and thwarted opportunities. "Ich dachte, daß wir Gedanken haben, so rasch, und daß die Zeit hinten nachkommt und mag nichts erfüllen, und daß die Melancholie fließt aus dieser Quelle des Lebensdranges, der sich nirgend ergießen kann" (367). Although she does not mention it in this passage, it is clear that gender roles in nineteenth-century Germany were in part responsible for Bettine and Karoline's feelings of constraint and inactivity. While their male relatives embarked on their customary tours of Europe or England, these two young women were compelled to restrict their travels to their fantasies within the confines of their four walls.

In Bettine's proposal of love and empathy as an anchor to help Karoline conquer her despair, von Arnim seems to be reflecting not only on their friendship, but on what it might have been, on the lost potential of their companionship and love.

> O verzweifle an mir nicht, denn ich war in meinen Briefen auf einsamen Wegen gegangen, ja, zu sehr als such ich nur mich selbst, das wollt ich doch nicht, ich wollte *Dich* suchen, ich wollt vertraut mit Dir werden, nur um mit Dir die Lebensquellen zu trinken, die da rieseln in unserm Weg. — Ich fühl's wohl an Deinem Brief, Du willst Dich mir entziehen — das kann ich nicht zugeben, die Feder kann ich nicht niederlegen.... (355)

In the second part of the novel Bettine gradually gains in stature, feeling her strength and courage not merely as fearless, reckless daring, but as the ability to survive, to accept adversity and still want to live and love. She devotes ever more energy to advising her mentor and urging her to give up the desire to die young. In the last quarter of the text Bettine couples her worries about Karoline's reticence and melancholy with exhortations to embrace life with enthusiasm and to continue striving toward her ideal. "Ich fühl's, wie kann man zu was Höherem gelangen, als daß man sich allen Opfern, die das Leben auferlegt, willig hingebe, damit der Wille zum Ideal sich in das Leben selbst verwandle — wie kann man *Selbst* werden als durch Leben?" (504) Von Arnim's lectures on the value of life and old age suggest an attempt to recreate a dialogue with a friend whose suicide seemed misguided and incomprehensible.

Whether to live or die are not the only questions discussed in the novel, of course. *Die Günderode* presents a many faceted dialogue between the two friends, despite Karoline's somewhat long silence due to her sister's illness in the latter part of the novel. In the second half as in the first, the two exchange ideas on poetry, nature, God, thought, and knowledge, and Bettine stresses the direction Karoline gives to her confused thoughts.

Nonetheless, convinced that she is right in her belief in the significance of courageously facing life, Bettine's voice seems stronger at the end of the novel, while Karoline shows little development, since she evoked maturity, wisdom, and purpose from the outset. The change in Bettine's character warrants the designation of the work as a novel. Since the letters in the text are not in chronological order and were heavily revised and augmented, this reveals a conscious construction to create a literary work that demonstrates character development.

As in any artistic production, the gaps and silences are nearly as important as the written words. *Die Günderode* is marked by a notable exclusion mentioned above. Karoline's estrangement from Bettine and suicide in the summer of 1806 are visibly absent, although von Arnim described in detail her remembrance of the story in her first epistolary work, *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*. These events are intimated near the end of *Die Günderode*, when the illness of Karoline's sister prevents her from writing and Bettine fears that her friend has deserted her for some unknown reason. Bettine's letters from this period represent the culmination of her anxiety and worry about Karoline's silence and bouts of melancholy; they offer a subtle reference to the pain Bettine must have felt when Günderrode actually ended their friendship in 1806. Absence is thus symbolized in *Die Günderode* on two levels, evident first in Karoline's temporary silence near the conclusion and secondly in von Arnim's deletion from the text of Karoline's rejection of her friend and subsequent suicide. To anyone familiar with Günderrode's life story, the omission of her estrangement from Bettine and her suicide is striking. The absence of these events in *Die Günderode* allows von Arnim to end the story of their relationship with hope rather than despair and grief.

Bettine's admonishment to herself in a letter near the end of the text to continue thinking about Karoline, to keep her awake within herself so that she will not die, describes in essence one of the functions of this novel, the reconstruction of a friendship based on mutual respect and admiration without its true ending in rejection and death. In fact, von Arnim's work succeeded in drawing attention to the long-forgotten writings of Günderrode, and in that sense Bettine saved her friend from the eternal death of literary obscurity.

In the concluding letter of the text, von Arnim is able to overcome the foreboding sense of death, absence, and rejection that pervades the last part of the novel. Bettine ends this letter with an account of her final visit to the Jewish merchant Ephraim before a short trip to Kassel. Her description of her friendly departure from Ephraim, who had taught her mathematics in Marburg, seems to signify the parting she longed to experience with her friend Günderrode before her death.

The revised correspondence presented von Arnim with the opportunity of granting their friendship a new emphasis and a new ending, one stressing harmony, love, hope, and immortality. Bettine's repetition of the image of roses as well as Ephraim's final words to her, "Alles Werden ist für die Zukunft," shift the focus of the narrative from the past, death, and loss to the future, becoming, and love (533). The concluding passage evokes a cyclical connection to the dedication at the beginning of the text, expressing hope springing from the coming generation, symbolized at the end by students and roses.

Ephraim had given Bettine a rose tree which she had returned to him upon her departure from Marburg. Referring to his wish to give roses to those students who visited him, von Arnim uses the roses as a metaphor for the connection between thinking, critical human beings: the ideas, love, and creative works exchanged among friends and across generations. "Und eben sah ich noch die Studenten ins Kolleg gehen, und sie waren recht verwundert, daß der Rosenstock nicht mehr da war.... — Wartet nur, ihr werdet ihn bald ausfindig machen, und dann werden die Artigsten unter euch meine Rosen in der Weste tragen dürfen" (533). She addresses the final sentence of her novel to the students, whom she had identified in the dedication as the torch-bearers of a new era, as flowers, and as the budding hope for Germany.

Von Arnim's focus on German university students in the dedication relates to the role of students and professors in the struggle for democratic reform and unification of the German states in the 1830's and '40's (Schmitz 1127-28). Thus, although the novel ends with an emphasis on becoming and transcendence of time that recalls Romanticism, its address to the students and their connection to the wise old teacher Ephraim signifies a bridge between past, present, and future that is more practically oriented toward political change, indicative of the artistic and political views of the mature Bettine von Arnim.

Bettine's focus throughout her life on the strength of friendship as well as the power of personal and intellectual exchange between two people corresponds to her choice of an epistolary form which granted her poetic license and liberation from the traditional structure and rules of the literary establishment. Years after her friendship with Karoline von Günderrode had ended, von Arnim allows herself the freedom in this reworking of their correspondence to experiment with language, to expound her philosophical ideas, and to rediscover and rewrite her youthful self. Von Arnim's novels are creative adaptations of epistolary fiction which can be interpreted as contributing to a female tradition in German literature in their connection of the personal, the public, and the political in a unique form of self-expression.

NOTES

[1] On women's role as letter writers in eighteenth-century German literature and culture, see Becker-Cantarino and Nickisch.

[2] On the reception of von Arnim's work, see Konrad 1: 546-48, 557-60; 2: 728-41; Schmitz 1: 1022-39, 1112-27; Bäumer, 2-4; and Goozé, 222-27.

[3] Karoline von Günderrode's name has been spelled with either one or two r's. When referring to the historical Günderrode, I spell her name with two r's, as she seemed to prefer.

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The Search for One's Voice:
The Discovery of Languages in Gavino Ledda's *Padre Padrone*

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It is almost a constant characteristic of the Taviani brothers' films to focus on ordinary people, on the oppressed, it is not surprising therefore that in 1977 they decided to produce a film focusing on Sardinia and, in particular, its linguistic relations to Italy.

It is to the credit of the student movement in 1968 to have brought the attention of the public opinion to the fact that the culture perpetuated by the official school was in favor of the dominant class. Those who did not conform were excluded from the participation and organization of the cultural enterprise (by which I mean excluded from the direction and organization of the social, economic and political life of the country). Language was the means to preserve this state of things. The use of the Italian language was not something obvious, easily available for everybody, independently from the region or the social class of origin, but it was a right reserved only to some groups, privileged for regional or social origin. Ignoring the fact that most Italians (80%) still at the beginning of the sixties were speaking regularly dialect in their every day life and only 60% of them could use Italian properly,[1] the official school penalized the students who could not speak and/or write correctly in Italian, by considering them as second class citizens. If the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies marked the attempt of linguistic homogenization of the Italian population (particularly of the younger generation) with the help also of the media (radio, TV, cinema and press), the second half of the seventies manifested a new attention to the question of "dialect versus Italian" as part of the struggle for cultural identity. Writers, anthropologists, sociologists offered theoretical material to a new generation of linguists - among them Tullio De Mauro is one of the most influential on a whole generation of linguists concerned with social change - who approached the question of the language in a more political way, by looking at language as a "social process" and not as a "natural act". In *Linguaggio e società nell'Italia d'oggi* (1978), *L'Italia delle Italie* (1979), *Lingue e dialetti*(1979) De Mauro underlines the differences among Italians due to the multiplicity of their cultural traditions, of which plurilinguism stands as a factor of major importance, questioning the traditional notion of "culture" and proposing:

> a profound critical and also self-critical rethinking of both theoretical- scientific and political-social presuppositions of the question of the linguistic minorities.[2]

That culture and language are strictly connected was the legacy of Gramsci:

> ...an aspect of the political struggle has always been what is called "the question of the language" that from this point of view becomes interesting to study.

This quotation from Gramsci is the motto at the beginning of the work by Lo Piparo *Lingua Intellettuali Egemonia In Gramsci* (1979) that sheds light on the relation between Gramsci's theory of hegemony and his linguistic studies.

Related to these discussions on the centrality of the question of the language is "The International Congress of Studies" that takes place in Cagliari in 1977.[4] The various essays presented at the conference on the theme "The dialects and the languages of the minorities in relation to Italian" focus on the marginal cultures, among which the linguistic and socio-linguistic situation of Sardinia represents undoubtedly a very interesting case.

The Taviani brothers' film *Padre Padrone*, presented at the Cannes Film Festival in 1977, is adapted from the homonymous autobiography by Gavino Ledda (1975). The media had made Ledda's story a famous case a few years before: a Sardinian shepherd, illiterate until he was twenty years old, had received a university degree in linguistics. In addition, he was also able to write about his experience, describing the struggle to free himself from a cultural condition based on submission. The protagonist's rebellion against his father/master is presented as a quest for language and expression, both the social and personal experience.

Gavino Ledda's book is a document about a subaltern[5] culture written in Italian, the official language. The book's appropriation by members of the hegemonic culture, in this case the Tavianis, who translate it into the language of film, gives Gavino's story a chance to be known by the wide audience of cinema and television. I am convinced that most of the viewers (I include myself) were led to read the book after having seen the film.

The audience rediscovers an aspect of the life of Sardinia that is usually ignored or underplayed by the media. The population of the interior of Sardinia, usually excluded from the common view of the island as an exclusive tourist resort, finally acquires a recognizable face and a voice. No longer invisible, the locals confront the colonizers (those who built hotels and private beaches and who enjoy their vacations on the coast) with the reality of their cultural emargination and economic hardships.

The central issue is marginality[6] as related to the acquisition of language. Gavino's marginality has multiple manifestations. He is physically marginalized by his father and thus he is not even able to participate fully in his own culture (for example to live in the village or to have friends is prohibited to him). The few moments of contact with the official culture show his "inferiority" as inability to understand or to communicate correctly. In the use of the official language which he learned as an adult under hostile circumstances, he is not equal to the others who learned it as children and as expression of their own culture.

His testimony of his father's language of violence and the ethic that is produced by it starts the day his father comes to school to take him away. The scene sets the tone for the relationship between father and son. The father challenges public authority by claiming his ownership of the child. For the father, the son has primarily an economic value that he feels entitled to "use" because of the economic mechanisms of the society in which he lives. He justifies himself in front of the teacher by accusing the State:

> The boy is mine. Does the government want my other kids to die of hunger so Gavino can go to school? No, I'll take the boy and use him because I have no choice. I'm not in trouble. The Law is in trouble. It wants to make school compulsory. Poverty - that's what's compulsory (5).

What begins for Gavino after he leaves the school is a period of apprenticeship into a cultural system of praxis. The paradox of this cultural apprenticeship is that it, in turn, imposes a system which is external to the subject. There is no respect for the subject's needs or desires; there is no choice for the subject to be an integral part of his own cultural development.

Gradually, the father transmits all his knowledge to his son, engaging him in a series of trials to make him a complete human being (which, according to his standard, means a good shepherd). With the father-son relationship regulated by work and survival, the son becomes a slave, an object to be exploited. The balance between nature and culture, bestiality and tameness is compromised. The father becomes the master and expects absolute obedience from his subject. If the son fails to accept his role, the father regresses to a primitive level of behavior, an almost bestial condition. When the father becomes aware that his authority is in question, animal force and brutality prevail in his reactions and behavior. He beats Gavino into submission.

To understand the mentality of the father it might be helpful to mention what Michelangelo Pira writes about the balance between "nature" and "culture" as a value of the shepherds' society:

> An excess of the first on the second made the rural man intractable, asocial, bestial, not Christian, inhuman; an excess of culture produced a weak man, decadent, unfit for the hard life of the fields, where the man had to accept to live for long periods alone like a wild beast. The woman was physically weak to face the harshness of nature. She had any how periods of weakness, those of pregnancies and maternities, in which she needed protection. In this manner culture was like the result of admitting the weakness of man towards nature; culture was a thing of women, a womanly quality (382).

Language becomes a means to reaffirm and emphasize hierarchy. The father's belief in his role as master depends necessarily on a respect for social hierarchy. He, in turn, is ready to become a subordinate when confronted with those he recognizes as superior. Exemplary in this sense is the scene in which the father is selling the olive harvest. The buyer's son, an accountant (and the person with the highest degree of education in the group), uses a technical language which sounds artificial and inappropriate for the situation, to convince Gavino's father to sell his products at a low price. Accepting the unfair offer, Gavino's father implicitly accepts his role as subordinate. As a further tribute to the established order of things, he, in turn, exercises his power on his subject: his son. When, during the transaction, Gavino questions the fairness of the trade he is silenced by his father with violence.

Gavino attends two linguistic schools, the unofficial school of his father, by which he undergoes a process of enculturation and the other, the military school, by which he undergoes a process of acculturation.[7] They are both imposed cultural systems, based on the authority of a master whose power expresses itself through the humiliation of his subjects. Leaving them in a state of ignorance is a way of keeping them subordinate. As in shepherd society, in the military the goal of education is to train the privates to internalize concepts of authority and discipline so that they can obey first and, later, become themselves those who command. Although they have much in common, especially the violent ways by which they perpetuate authority, these processes are also in conflict with one another with respect to linguistic identity.

Faced with the opportunity to stay in the army, Gavino realizes that to do so would be to pass from the role of pray to that of predator. In the only letter to his father Gavino tells him of his intention to leave the army since accepting the rules of the military system would mean for him to speak with the tongue of others: You yourself, from the time I was a child at Baddevrustana, kept talking to me about lambs and lions. Well, now I know exactly who they are. You spoke to me about the lions as though they were happy people: here they are, in fact, beginning with the smallest carnivores, the sergeants. I, however, according to your ethics, should be at least a fox, surrounded by flocks and henhouses. Instead I feel like a herbivore forced to eat meat (208).

The father's reaction shows that for him it is important to have the power to dominate, no matter to which culture's advantage this power functions:

If you leave the army, you'll go from being a hunter to being a the prey, and anybody can shoot you. I order you not to come back (208).

The language of sexual practice also reflects the isolation imposed by his father's culture. For the young shepherds, sexual life centers on masturbation, which is a daily practice. Before knowing the body of a woman, most of them have sexual relations with their animals.

As Michelangelo Pira observes:

The shepherds' culture had raised the sheep to great honor throughout the centuries, anthropomorphizing it, comparing it always with the beloved woman (319-320).

In folk-songs, the woman is often portrayed as a white and beautiful sheep:

My lamb is a white, candid . . . Say "pretty" to my little lamb (320).

In this culture the woman, reduced to the level of a domesticated animal does not play an active role. Gavino's mother, as a woman, is denied the use of the language of "physical" strength or even of expressing opinion. She is in the book one of the many invisible women living in their husbands' shadows, always ready to help and to serve them when they come back from the sheepfold or the fields. There is no space for women at the forefront of patriarchal society.

The decision of the other young shepherds to emigrate gives Gavino an opportunity to free himself from his father/master and seek a personal moment of expression. At twenty Gavino is still dominated by his father, who keeps him obedient by humiliating him, taunting him for his ignorance. In Porto Torres, in the office where Gavino's documents are examined, Gavino learns that his father did not sign the documents and that he cannot expatriate without his consent. With the disappointment comes also the humiliation of Gavino to admit that he cannot either read or write. Gavino is lost, he is not even able to understand what the Italian employee of the emigration office says. The reality of the first confrontation with the official culture is quite bitter. Even before leaving Sardinia he feels as if he were already in a foreign country.

Back to the sheepfold Gavino has two alternatives to escape from his forced labor: to become a bandit or to volunteer for the army. Gavino decides to take the legal road, but he needs the elementary school diploma.

Gavino takes private lessons and passes the examination but, as he writes in the book:

> The board gave me the gift of promotion. Certainly not just to please me. The school authorities had an order to pass shepherds who were eligible for the army even if they were illiterate. In this manner the nation was combating illiteracy on paper, and creating a base of eligible enlists for the defense of the country (163).

For most Italians, in particular for university students, the mandatory military service is a dismal - sometimes unbearable - experience. It is significant that, for people like Gavino, the same experience, while also unbearable, coincides, nevertheless, with a moment of "independence" and discovery. His story is representative of that of many peasants and members of the lower classes for whom the military service provides a unique opportunity to evade oppressive circumstances. For the first time they are exposed to some kind of external world and have a chance to know a more diversified way of life.

Gavino Ledda notices that, among the difficulties he encounters in the new environment, language is the main problem. The uniform integrates Sardinians with the other soldiers from the South only in the eyes of the higher-ranking officers. But, in reality, there is a real barrier of language between them. He writes in his book:

> The Calabrians, the Sicilians, the Neapolitans, our cultural equals, managed to express themselves in their own dialects, and make better impressions than we did. The national language was more remote from Sardinian than it was from any other dialect (178).

He discovers, at his own expense, the problem that the lack of a national language creates among the Italian population. When Italy was unified (1870) the government tried to solve the problem by "imposing" one language (Manzoni proposed the Florentine) to be taught in schools. The project failed as a consequence of the colonizing attitude the North exerted towards the South. It generated strong opposition from the periphery against the "civilizing" impositions of the dominant classes. The period Gavino Ledda is talking about goes from 1944 to 1962. Only in the second half of the sixties did the process of linguistic homogenization begin, most notably through the influence of mass-media (radio, television and cinema).

The acquisition of the Italian language enables Gavino Ledda to communicate the existence of his world and to represent it. Since the Italian language is for him almost like a foreign language, he acquires a more detached perspective that allows him to interpret and theorize his experience. Despite the conflict that he lives personally between the two linguistic identities, "Italian identity" versus "identity of dialects", he manages to distance himself enough to narrate his cultural experience in the Sardinian dialect with the Italian language.

His book offers a negative view of the power relations within a subaltern group, as well as a revolt against a society which enslaves its own people. Raised to respect a position of assigned subordination to his father's culture, marginalized for his dialect and the limitations of his life as a shepherd by the members of the official culture, he gives, thus, a testimony from within.

Michelangelo Pira criticizes Ledda's description of the shepherds' society. He says that Gavino's father/master is not typical of the category, that nobody would accept him as a father, unable, as he is, even to arouse respect, admiration, and affection of a son/child. About Gavino he writes:

> ...and as far as this son is concerned, convinced that only the acquisition of a degree can make a real man, here in Barbagia he would be defined as a man of little value, ready as he is to sell his soul (i.e., to disregard the culture that expressed him and therefore deny and lose his identity) (265).

Although I do agree with Pira in considering Gavino's father a negative representation of shepherd culture, nevertheless I see him as a victim himself of a system of values which is against "history as change". Further I have difficulties in accepting Pira's critical opinion of Gavino Ledda's cultural experience. By going back to live in Sardinia, in his village and by writing his thesis on the Sardinian dialects - the language of the shepherds - Gavino Ledda manifests a desire to widen the knowledge of his culture. He studied the Italian language to escape his isolation. In this manner, he not only does not betray his culture, but makes it an object of knowledge for others. (See similar experiences in: Elisabeth Burgos, *I, Rigoberta Menchù* and Ferdinando Camon, *The fifth State*.)

Ledda uses the mechanisms of the dominant culture to interpret his own reality without renouncing it, even if this means to be in conflict with himself. This is a destiny that many intellectuals share today, in a world where multiculturalism and plurilinguism coexist not only within one society but even in one single person at the same time. The challenge of our times is to overcome a sense of split personality and to see one's position between different cultures as an advantage: the acquisition of a broader perspective. As inhabitant of different worlds, one may then participate in their social and cultural reality.

I conclude with two quotations from Gramsci that seem appropriate:

"Who speaks only dialect or understands the national language in different degrees, necessarily shares an insight of the world more or less restricted and provincial, fossilized, anachronistic . . . "[8]

On the other side Gramsci was in favor of the use of the dialect, as he expressed in a letter to his sister Teresina. (March 26, 1927):

"...let your children suckle all the Sardism they want and develop spontaneously in the natural environment in which they were born: this will not be an obstacle for their future, quite the opposite".

With today's interest in multiculturalism, Gramsci's opinions find a larger sphere of application beyond the Italian context. In fact, many writers in what has come to be called "cultural studies" make a reference to Gramsci's works, among them Stuart Hall, Cornel West and Gayatri Spivak. However, in order to understand fully the implications of a Gramscian analysis, one must begin by assessing its value in the sphere that engendered it, namely the relationship between Sardinian culture and "national" Italian culture.

I think that a solution to the question "dialect versus language" (or "minority language versus dominant language") could be the acquisition of a conscious bilinguism in order to avoid both the purely folkloric conservation of the culture and the language that are unjustly called "subaltern", and their total destruction in a process of global alienation.

NOTES

[1] De Mauro, Tullio. *Linguaggio e società nell'Italia d'oggi*. Torino: ERI, 1978, p.11.

[2] ______. L'Italia delle Italie. Firenze: Nuova Guaraldi Ed., 1979, p.21.

[3] Lo Piparo, Franco. *Lingua Intellettuali Egemonia in Gramsci*. Roma: Laterza, 1979, p.13.

[4] Albano Leoni, Federico. *I dialetti e le lingue delle minoranz di fronte all'italiano*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1979.

[5] I use the term "subaltern/subordinate" as it appears in Antonio Gramsci's writings. This does not just mean oppressed, although that may be the case, but lacking autonomy, subjected to the influence or hegemony of another social group, not possessing one's own hegemonic position.

[6] By "marginality" I mean the cultural discrimination of the subaltern groups performed by the official culture. In the case of Sardegna the geographical position furthered its isolation from the mainland, with a consequential disparity of tempos and directions of historical development, accentuated by the difference of their respective economic forms.

[7] See Cirese, 86-90. "Enculturation" is the operation through which the new generations are integrated in the culture of the group (character of pressure or collective coercion). If the transmission occurs with a change from a socio-cultural group to another one different from the first, what results is the phenomenon of a shift in the social dimension which can be defined as "acculturation".

[8] Gramsci, Antonio. *Quaderni dal carcere*. Torino: Einaudi, 1975, vol.II, 1377.

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Macunaima: When Failure Succeeds

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Literature often serves to reveal psycho-social content to individual and collective consciousness, allowing glimpses into the dark, unclaimed elements of our psyches. Macunaima, Mario de Andrade's "hero without any character," gives us just such a glimpse. Mario's primary goal was to devise an idiom so inherently Brazilian that it could not be mistaken for a pastiche of European models and patterns of expression, and, through that language, to fashion a character so globally Brazilian that it would summarize the entirety of the Brazilian national self. After the book was published, he wrote in a letter to Manuel Bandeira that he had produced a failed work.[1] Calling it a failed work implies that what is called his folkloric rhapsody did not succeed in capturing the portrait of Brazilianness; but critics agree that Mario did succeed in producing an expression linguistically unique to Brazil (Martins, 192). It is my position that Mario's attempt was successful on both counts, because what he has created in Macunaima is a brief view into unconscious and unclaimed attitudes not only in Brazilian culture but in all of Western culture. These attitudes exemplify an ego-centric, male-dominant culture that glorifies the differentiation of self from Other to such an extreme that our very existence on this planet is put into jeopardy.[2]

Written in the twenties, Macunaima has become a popular hero, as Mario predicted he would in the first chapter of the book. His appeal reaches deeply into Brazilian collective awareness: the "hero without any character" is now a widely known cultural phenomenon, showing up as a theme for the Portela samba school in Rio in 1974, in a play by the same name in 1977, and in a highly awarded movie version that came out in 1968 and remains popular today.[3] He does qualify as a standard Western hero[4] although he falls short of achieving any kind of synthesis of the differentiated "I" and the Other, the task of the modern hero (Campbell, 387-391). The most obvious failure to synthesize or integrate the Other is found in his relationship to the feminine. By this term is meant everything that is perceived to be feminine, from individual women, to the earth, to any non-rational part of life that is out of the purview of the masculine, rational, ego consciousness. From a psychological point of view, the feminine would include the undifferentiated matrix from which the ego must separate. It is the hero's task, once having separated, to reunite with this matrix while still retaining consciousness as a separate individual. In Macunaima, this failure to synthesize the masculine with the feminine is seen time and again as he attempts to dominate the Other by force and destruction, or else by succumbing to inertia.

Mario was concerned that his hero would be seen in a limited role as a stereotype, like a *caboclo* or a *carioca*, but Martins believes that "Macunaima is not a character [a stereotype]; he is a symbol" (192). He can also be seen as a kind of literary Rorschach ink-blot test that allows us to see psycho-social self revelation rising up out of the collective unconscious into conscious states. Though Macunaima's behavior patterns may be chaotic and unpredictable, seen as symbolic, they lead us to archetypal interpretations that point to underlying, universal organizing patterns governing human behavior.[5]

Macunaima enjoys no normal childhood: he is born adult but does not speak for six years except to utter his identifying phrase, "Aw! What a f....ing life!," or "Oh, how tired/lazy I feel!," hardly a promising sign of maturity. He spends his childhood avoiding work with no evidence of having any energy except for a precocious sexual libido—a pattern he follows throughout his life as he alternates between lethargy and aggressiveness. Foreshadowing his later attitudes toward females, he occupies himself by playing around with and seducing his brother's wives in his various shape-shifted forms. The hero's first dealings with women other than his mother exhibit a generally characteristic male attitude that reifies females, converting them to sense-gratifying playthings. I have chosen to use the following four episodes to illustrate relationship patterns that disclose the underlying attitudes toward women and the feminine that Macunaima exemplifies and that Mario, knowingly or not, embedded in the behavior of his characterless hero: first with his mother; then with Ci, the Mother of the Forest; with Capei, the Moon-Water Goddess; and finally with Vei, the Sun.

Macunaima's behavior with his mother, the most influential female in his early life, provides an example of some immature factors in his attitude toward her and the feminine as Mother. As a youngster, for example, he repeatedly forgets to urinate before bedtime and inevitably does so in his hammock, which is directly over his mother's. She takes this nightly drenching passively. During a time of drought and famine, with his magical abilities he transports his starving mother to a place of plentiful food, but just as quickly spirits her back when she wants to share some of it with the rest of the family. His mother cries out in frustration and the family members all continue "groaning with hunger" (10). In doing this he deprives his mother of needed nourishment motivated by ego-centric spitefulness. Macunaima again reveals unconscious misogynist behavior when he kills his mother who is under a spell, transformed into a doe that had just given birth. He grabs the fawn and torments it to make it bleat; the doe comes in search of her distressed newborn and Macunaima dispatches her with an arrow, only to find that he has killed his mother (Chapter 2). Symbolically killing the parent may be a necessary task of the child to achieve separation and to assume his or her place in the adult world but here the act is uselessly externalized and does not transform Macunaima into adult ego consciousness. One sign of this truncated personality development is indicated by the fact that he goes through life with a child's head on an adult body (Chapter 2). The early childhood behavior gives evidence of severe devaluation of his human mother. In a more archetypal sense, the act of killing her symbolizes a violent rejection of and separation from the Mother, but without the benefit of the desired corresponding psychological maturation that ideally accompanies the separation.

The next example occurs when he moves out into the adult world after mourning his mother's death. He discovers the love of his life: Ci, Mother of the Forest, whose withered right breast reveals that she is an Amazon (Chapter 3). Macunaima approaches her as she sleeps in the forest and throws himself on her to rape her. When she recovers from the surprise and is getting the best of him in the ensuing struggle he calls to his brothers for help; they club her and hold her down so he can complete the rape. The birds fly up and gather overhead to "salute Macunaima, the new Emperor of the Virgin Forest" (17), signaling the recognition of the violent masculine domination of the feminine, man's control of nature by force, and the usurping of the power of nature for his own use. Ci and Macunaima produce a red-skinned baby that dies after an owl delivers an omen of death and the Black Serpent poisons both mother and baby. Ci passes on to Macunaima her alligator-shaped magical greenstone amulet before she ascends to the heavens as Beta Centauri, a star in the Southern Cross.

Ci clearly represents the divine aspect of nature, the sacred, life-giving forces that for over two millennia have suffered at the hands of civilizations that were instructed by religious dogma, civil policies, and cultural demands to dominate and use those natural forces for their own ends. At the collective or archetypal level of meaning, this relationship between Macunaima and Ci indicates that the offspring or the results of the violent domination of nature/the feminine is destruction, death by poisoning, which is precisely what is still happening worldwide. The owl and the serpent, both highly charged feminine symbols, are, respectively, the harbinger and agent of death.

The third episode involves Capei, the "Moon Water-Mamma" (Chapter 4). Macunaima and his brothers discover that Capei has trapped an Indian maiden in a waterfall. They learn from the girl that she had been designated as the virgin to be sacrificed to Capei, the moon/water goddess, but that a warrior of her tribe overcame her virginal resistance on the eve of her sacrifice and had raped her. Both then fled the goddess but Capei caught them and, enraged that the maiden was no longer a *virgo intacta*, i.e., no longer appropriate for the sacrifice, turned the girl into a waterfall and her warrior into a water hyacinth in the water below her. Macunaima champions her cause, beheading Capei in the fight. The head then endeavors to become his servant and chases him endlessly, but inexplicably he is now afraid of it and flees, losing his magic stone, the source of some of his power, in the chase.

If we accept that the Indian maiden is serving an important symbolic function in primitive society by living out the archetypal role of ritual sacrifice to the Goddess, it becomes clear that she is frustrated in this by the warrior who rapes her and tries to flee the powerful moon/water goddess, a transcultural, collective symbol of the divine feminine. The warrior acts out of a contemporary justification for exploitation and rape of the maiden, "an archetypal figure that holds great meaning for the modern psyche, especially in the context of a civilization so maiden-hating in so many ways."[6] Macunaima uncharacteristically becomes a traditional Western hero in attempting to rescue the damsel in distress by challenging Capei and managing to slice off the moon/water goddess's head. Now separated from its body, the head wants to become his servant, but Macunaima contradicts himself, his cowardly side takes over, and he runs from it, forfeiting the reward that comes with the hero's rescue of the maiden. That would be a sign of integration of the feminine into a mature personality. The body of the goddess, i.e., the rainforest, the land, is forgotten or devalued but the head, realizing that it will only be exploited, decides to become the moon—a symbol of cyclical, dark, unconscious feminine nature as opposed to the conscious, enlightening masculine.

In the fourth episode, Macunaima promises Vei, the Sun, that he will remain celibate for a day in exchange for marriage to one of her daughters: a highly valuable alliance that he immediately voids by spending the day in bed with a Portuguese immigrant fishwife. Thus he shows himself clearly unreliable and incapable of deferring gratification even briefly to achieve an advantageous position with the Sun, the source of life and light. Again he operates out of an immature ego attitude of self gratification without consideration of the consequences, prefiguring a current short-sighted attitude of justification for exploitation of the environment to gratify our excessive wants. He sacrifices a beneficial alliance with the life-enhancing powers of the sun to the immediate satisfaction of his desires.

Contemporary awareness allows us to evaluate the effects of this *Zeitgeist*: destruction of the rainforest, major degradation of the environment, and radically disturbed social elements of a male-dominant culture where women are routinely and legally deprived of their rights. Since Macunaima can only react to his surroundings with behavior that alternates between destructive aggressivity and generalized lethargy, he does not show the required integration of ego and Other to help resolve the problems of a society made up of disparate elements, subject to varying influences, and undergoing radical change. He can only exacerbate the problems. He is alienated from himself, particularly from his feminine self that would give him the wisdom and sensitivity necessary to achieve balance between the ego-inflated, male-dominant characteristics that he exhibits and his cyclical periods of inertia.

Mario's failure succeeds. In his mind his hero may have failed to embody all the elements of Braziliianness but Macunaima successfully lives out the same ego-gratifying motives that fueled the invasion of the New World by European conqueror heroes and that, in modern times, have prompted policies of economic development inherent in the Brazilian motto "Order and Progress," policies that have wrought massive degradation of the once-pristine Brazilian landscapes. *Macunaima* prophesies the unworkable world view that condones destructive exploitation of the feminine and of nature for ego gratification purposes. This successful portrayal lays out a scenario for ecological and social disaster as a result of Macunaima's (and our) failure to integrate the ego and the Other.

NOTES

[1] Wilson Martins, *The Modernist Idea, A Critical Survey of Brazilian Writing in the Twentieth Century*, trans. Jack E. Tomlins (New York University Press, New York, 1970), 193. I am using *Macunaima*, Mario de Andrade, trans. E. A. Goodland, Random House, New York, (1984), for the quotes.

[2] Morris Berman, *Coming to Our Senses: Body and Spirit in the Hidden History of the West*, (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1989), explains the concept of the Other as arising from the individual's awareness in early childhood that s/he is separate from the environment, i.e., at the moment when "...the ego crystallizes out of an amorphous and undifferentiated matrix.... Coming to consciousness means a rupture in that continuity [with the external environment], the emergence of a divide between Self and Other" (25). Following Jungian practice I use lowercase "self" to denote ego and uppercase "Self" to denote the archetypal, central organizing principle that is aligned, ideally, with the ego in the healthy psyche.

[3] Renata R. Mauter Wasserman, "Preguica and Power: Mario de Andrade's *Macunaima*," *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 21.1 (1984), 101.

[4] Among various traditional heroic elements, the following apply to Macunaima: he is born under magical circumstances as an adult,

he experiences the traditional initiation rituals, a magical event gives him an adult body and a child's head, he is a shape shifter from the start, he goes on a hero's quest to recover his amulet, he twice undergoes dismemberment and reassembly, and, finally, he is apotheosized as a constellation - Ursus Major. For a complete discussion of the traditional hero, see Joseph Campbell, *The Hero With a Thousand Faces*, (Bollingen Series 17, Princeton University Press, second edition, third printing, 1973).

[5] The term "archetype," used here in its Jungian sense, in Classical Greek times meant "prime imprinter" to refer to an original manuscript that served as a model for later copies. More specifically now, a "...form, image, prototype, model, order, and norm, ...in the figurative, modern sense, 'pattern underlying form.' ..." Jolande Jacobi, *Complex, Archetype, Symbol*, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1959), quoted in: Anthony Stevens, *Archetypes, A Natural History of the Self*, (Quill, New York, 1983), 47.

[6] Robert H. Hopcke, *A Guided Tour of the Collected Works of C. G. Jung*. (Shambhala, Boston & Shaftesbury, 1989), 111.

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Turgenev—A Conventional Nineteenth Century Writer? His *incipit* Devices

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When, in the twenties, Maurice Baring wrote that "Turgenev's works were dated" he did not mean that Turgenev actually used a sort of dating device in his writings, but that he represented life in Russia before the emancipation.[1] It may occur to anyone who pays attention to Turgenev's style that the author had a certain predilection for beginning his prose works with references to dates, seasons, descriptions of weather, and main characters. Some critics believe that this artistic device, used so often by Turgenev, was intended to reflect historical, chronological and socio-cultural realities of the time.[2] The indication of a date, location, situation, or a particular place or region at the beginning served to unify the action of his novels.[3] In addition, Turgenev often acquainted the reader with salient facts concerning the protagonists in the form of their family background, past histories, biographical excerpts and introductions.[4] From the point of view of the author this information would add a ring of authenticity to his plots.

This article is an attempt to study this particular literary technique of Turgenev against the background of its earlier usage in novel or story genre to ascertain if and to what extent the method was borrowed or developed by the author himself. The result should be of some significance in adding new documentation to the existing evaluation of Turgenev's art and literary devices by various critics.

As has been the case with many famous authors, there exist numerous, sometimes discordant, views regarding Turgenev's talent and inventiveness as an artist. Thus, Guy de Maupassant states: "Malgré son âge, Tourguéniev avait sur ses livres les idées les plus modernes et les plus avancées, rejetant toutes les vieilles formes de roman...."[5] On the other hand, William Harkins says: "Turgenev is perhaps the least modern in spirit of the great Russian writers.... His manner, consciously artistic, has sometimes been accused of being 'arty'."[6] To the historian of Russian literature, Dmitri Mirsky, Turgenev "was a Victorian, a man of compromise, more Victorian than any of his Russian contemporaries."[7] The reader is thus made to understand that being "Victorian" means, presumably, something negative, some lack of originality. To the contrary, among his Western critics, the belief was that "... Europeans and Americans of the last century loved Turgenev for his moderation, his conformity to the rules of Victorian art, and his lack of irritating and disturbing Russian national traits."[8]

The earliest European narrators, the authors of fairy-tales, used a certain device of dating which would add credibility to the events which they recounted. Everybody recognizes such a beginning as, e.g., "Once upon a time, in a certain kingdom, there lived," etc. Later, when the genre of narration was crystallizing in Western Europe, their authors used similar devices, e.g., Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), in his *Decameron*: "There was in olden days a certain Marquis of Saluzzo, Gualtieri by name, a young man ..." etc.[9] Over the centuries, it was actually the Bible itself and other religious and pseudo-religious works that provided budding authors with samples of how to write, including stylistic and literary devices. Early novelists used the *incipit* device similar to the one of more modern times. *Daniel Defoe* (1660-1731), was especially fond of these devices. His classical novel of adventure, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), begins as follows: "I was born in the year 1632, in the City of York, of a good family, tho' not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull." His other novels: *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (1720); *Moll Flanders* (1722); *Colonel Jacque* (1722); or *Roxana* (1724); adhere to this device as well. *George Roberts*, a novel first published in 1726, begins as follows: "In the year of our Lord 1721, on the 14th Day of September...." Actually, the overly long titles of the novels themselves were the life stories of their protagonists in a nutshell, as an example from the 17th or 18th century, circulated in Eastern Europe, shows: "The Very Marvelous Tale of What Happened in Ancient Times and Years to Thomas Grudtsyn, Merchant of Great Ustyug, His Son Savva, How He Gave a Deed Against His Person to the Devil and How He Was Delivered Through the Compassion of the Holy Virgin of Kazan."[10] The authors felt, then, that they had to introduce their characters to the reader.

The other Western novelists of the 18th and the early 19th century did not necessarily adhere to this device. It is, for instance, absent in the works of Henry Fielding (1707-1754), and only very marginally present in the novels of Tobias Smollett (1721-1771), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) or Friederich Schiller (1759-1805). The great novelist, Walter Scott (1771-1832), was fond of starting his Waverley Cycle with short poems, songs, quotations or other epigrams. Among the Russian novelists of the time, Turgenev's childhood favourite, Michael Zagoskin (1789-1852), did use a sort of device in his works, as the following excerpt illustrates: "The uncle of my friend Zarutski, Ivan Alekseevich Asanoff, was a most kindly old gentleman. I shall never forget the few days spent by me under his roof on the banks of the Hopyor, in the government of Saratoff, toward the end of the autumn of 1806, as I remember."[11]

From among the novelists or prose writers who were Turgenev's seniors or his contemporaries, some occasionally used the device. Notable in this respect are some works of George Sand (1804-1876). The *incipit* of one of her novels, *Les Maîtres Sonneurs* (1853), sounds almost "Turgenev-esque": "Je ne suis point né d'hier, disait en 1828, le père Étienne. Je suis venu en ce monde autant que je peux croire, l'année 54 ou 55 du siècle passé." Some of Victor Hugo's (1802-1885) novels have a similar beginning: *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831), or *Les misérables* (1830's): L'an dernier, par une belle matinée de mai, un passant, celui qui raconte cette histoire, arrivait de Nivelles et se dirigeait vers La Hulpe." Charles Dickens (1812-1870) occasionally used dates as the *incipit* device in his novels, whereas his contemporary, William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863), did not. One encounters a variant of this *incipit* technique only once in Berthold Auerbach's (1812-1882) *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten* (1843).

The above names have been mentioned because in his formative years Turgenev had read some of their works. Later on he met personally with Sand and Thackeray. At the time of his literary beginnings Turgenev did study some literary techniques of authors like Shakespeare, Schiller, Byron, Bettina von Arnim (1785-1859), and the above mentioned Sand and Auerbach.[12] In his study, *Turgenev's Early Works*, Walter Smyrniw writes that "throughout the early period Turgenev not only continued to read the works of many Western authors, but eventually derived from them various compositional techniques."[13] He also quotes the critic Freeborn: "Richard Freeborn described Turgenev's literary evolution as his 'literary apprenticeship' when he was most eager to learn from other men of letters. Turgenev did not hesitate in emulating the works of other writers."[14]

There were, of course, masters in Russian literature whose works young Turgenev read avidly, among them Pushkin and Gogol. Pushkin's prose, like Scott's, is in many cases prefaced by epigrams and quotations. In Pushkin's individual narratives we do find a kind of "dating" device, plus the introductory descriptions of the protagonists, but these follow the epigrams. As examples, the following works of Pushkin may be listed here: *The Captain's Daughter*, *Dubrovsky*, "Mistress into Maid" and "Egyptian Nights". A sample from "The Snowstorm" will illustrate Pushkin's use of the device. The narrative is prefaced with a stanza from Zhukovsky's poem. Then follows the first sentence: "Toward the end of the year 1811, a memorable period for us, the good Gavrila Gavrilovich R- was living on his estate of Nenaradovo ..."[15], after which there comes the description of the main character, his wife and daughter. Among Gogol's prose, only one instance of the device may be observed which is somewhat reminiscent of Turgenev's usage. The case in question is the beginning sentence of the story "The Nose": "An incredible thing happened in Petersburg on March 25th."[16]

The adherence to the type of *incipit* technique is quite pronounced in Turgenev's works. It is already evident in his earliest literary creations. The introductory stanza of the poem entitled "The Landowner" (1844), reads as follows:

> At a tea-table, in the spring,
> Under the linden trees, at ten o'clock,
> There sat a nobleman,
> Wearing a quilted dressing gown.
> (my translation)

The following is a list, in chronological order, of Turgenev's prose works in which the device, or its variant, is actually used.[17]

"The Duellist" (1846): "A regiment of cuirassiers was quartered in 1829 in the village of Kirilovo, in the K- province."

"Pyetushkov" (1847): "In the year 182- ... there was living in the town of O- the lieutenant Ivan Afanasiitch Pyetushkov. He was born of poor parents, was left an orphan at five years old ..."

A Sportsman's Sketches (1847-52).

"Raspberry Spring": "At the beginning of August the heat often becomes insupportable."

"The District Doctor": "One day in autumn ..."

"My Neighbour Radilov": "For the autumn, woodcocks often take refuge in old gardens of lime-trees."

"Bezhin Prairie": "It was a glorious July day, one of those days which only come after many days of fine weather."

"The Counting-House": "It was autumn."

"Death": "I have a neighbour, a young landowner and a young sportsman. One fine July morning I rode over to him ..."

"Piotr Petrovich Karataev": "One autumn five years ago ..."

"The Tryst": "I was sitting in a birchwood in autumn, about the middle of September."

"Chertopkhanov and Nedopyuskin": "One hot summer day ..."

"The End of Chertopkhanov": "It was two years after my visit ..."

"The Rattling of Wheels": "'I've something to tell you', observed Yermolai, coming into the hut to see me ... it was somewhere about the 10th of July ..."

"The Two Friends" (1853): "On one spring day in the forties of last century, a young man of six and twenty called Boris Andreyitch Vyazovnin arrived at his home, an estate lying in one of the provinces of the central region of Russia."

"Yakov Pasinkov" (1855): "It happened in Petersburg, in the winter on the first day of the carnival."

A Correspondence (1855): "A few years ago I was in Dresden."

Rudin (1856): "It was a quiet summer morning ..."

"Asya" (1857): "At that time I was five-and-twenty, began N.N., —it was in days long past, as you perceive."

A House of Gentlefolk (1859): "A bright spring day was fading into evening .../Second paragraph/ In a handsome house in one of the outlying streets of the government town of O- (it was in the year 1842) two women were sitting at an open window; one was about fifty, the other, an old lady of seventy."

First Love (1860): "I was sixteen then. It happened in the summer of 1833."

On the Eve (1860): "On one of the hottest days of the summer of 1853, in the shade of a tall lime-tree on the bank of the river Moskva, not far from Kuntsovo, two young men were lying on the grass. One, who looked about twenty-three .... The other ... was three years older than his companion ...."

Fathers and Children (1862): "'Well, Piotr, not in sight yet?' was the question asked on May 20th, 1859, by a gentleman of a little over forty, in a dusty coat and checked trousers, who came out without his hat on to the low steps of the posting station at S-."

Smoke (1867): "On the 10th of August 1862, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a great number of people were thronging before the well-known 'Konversation' in Baden-Baden."

"An Unhappy Girl" (1868): "I was living at that time (the winter of 1835) in Moscow, in the house of my aunt, the sister of my dead mother. I was eighteen ..."

"A Strange Story" (1869): "Fifteen years ago—began H.— official duties compelled me to spend a few days ..."

Knock, Knock, Knock (1870): "We all settled down in a circle and our good friend Alexander Vassilyevitch Ridel began as follows: 'I am going to tell you a story, friends, of something that happened to me in the 'thirties ... forty years ago as you see'."

The Torrents of Spring (1871): (Stanza from a ballad) " ... At two o'clock in the night he had gone back to his study."

"The Dream" (1876): "I was living at that time with my mother in a little seaside town. I was in my seventeenth year, while my mother was not quite five-and-thirty."

"Father Alexey's Story" (1877): "... Twenty years ago ..."

Virgin Soil (1877): "At one o'clock on a spring day of 1868, in Petersburg, a man of twenty-seven, carelessly and shabbily dressed, was mounting the back stairs of a five-storied houses in Officer's Street."

Poems in Prose (1878-83).

"The Country": "The last day of July."

"The Rose": "The last days of August ... Autumn was already at hand."

"Hang Him!": "It happened in 1803 ..."

"Old Portraits" (1881): "About thirty miles form our village there lived, many years ago ..."

The Song of Triumphant Love (1881): "In the middle of the sixteenth century ..."

Clara Militch (1883): "In the spring of 1878 there was living in Moscow, in a small wooden house in Shabalovka, a young man of five-and-twenty, called Yakov Aratov. With him lived his father's sister, an elderly maiden lady, over fifty, Platonida Ivanovna."

The above examples indicate that not all the *incipit* sections are of a standard type; some of them could have been used by any writer in similar circumstances when describing certain events and characters. The evidence here collected is not at all conclusive that Turgenev, during his apprenticeship as a writer, or in his later years, was under any particular influence of native and foreign writers in respect to this particular device — the *incipit*. Actually, during his early period, Turgenev had been on record as criticizing the conventional 19th century device of beginning a novel with long descriptive introductions of the main characters. This fact was pointed out by Smyrniw,[18] in reference to Turgenev's review article of 1852, concerning the novel of Evgenia Tur, entitled, *The Niece*. Unfortunately, Turgenev was often himself guilty of this very shortcoming.[19] S.E. Shatalov indicates that Turgenev usually gave a detailed description of his protagonist, sometimes embracing a whole page. As examples of this "genealogical" treatment Shatalov singles out the following novels: *Virgin Soil*, *A House of Gentlefolk* and *On the Eve*.[20]

Among the great contemporaries of Turgenev, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy tried to avoid making long detailed descriptive introductions of the protagonists in their novels. Both of them and Dostoevsky especially, preferred to concentrate more on the psychological analysis of their protagonists rather than on their external description.[21] However, the *incipit* method, used by Turgenev and a number of West European as well as Russian writers, is not uncommon to Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. Several of Dostoevsky's novels have a sort of Turgenev-esque "dated" beginning, notably *The Idiot*, *Crime and Punishment*, *The Insulted and Injured*, and *The Double*. Also, Tolstoy's great epic, *War and Peace*, after a short introductory dialogue in French and Russian, begins with a date: July of 1805.

We know Turgenev predominantly as a great novelist and story teller. But he was also a poet, an essayist, a literary critic, a translator and a playwright.[22] In connection with the latter, André Maurois made a comparison of Turgenev's structure of novels with the construction of a play. Turgenev's novels reveal a certain theatrical pattern and quality indicating the three unities of time, place and action.[23] Richard Freeborn supports this view in stating that

> ... the temporal unity is almost as important as the unity of place and location — so many of his novels are 'months in the country'... his novels give the appearance of being tableaux of a theatrical variety ... each episode in the action is like one scene upon a stage ...[24]

If one is to accept these opinions one could come up with an interesting hypothesis concerning the origin of Turgenev's *incipit* device: his predilection for dates, localities and names in his works surfaced because he was a dramatist at heart and used the traditional dramatic approach in his novels and stories. To answer the question posed in the title of this paper one could say that Turgenev was a conventional 19th century writer but only in his *incipit* technique and only insofar as such usages were required by rules of classical drama. This study reveals that there is no indication that he consciously derived this usage from samples of works of other authors, especially during his early creative years, the period which ends in 1856 with the publication of his first major novel, *Rudin*.

NOTES

[1] Marc Slonim, "Introductory Essay" in, Rissa Yachnin and David H. Stam, *Turgenev in English* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1962), p. 12.

[2] V.V. Golubkov, *Khudozhestvennoe masterstvo I.S. Turgeneva* (Moskva: Uchpedgiz, 1960), p. 145.

[3] Richard Freeborn, *Turgenev: the Novelists' Novelist. A Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 53.

[4] Golubkov, *Khudozhestvennoe masterstvo I.S. Turgeneva*, p. 145.

[5] André Maurois, *Tourguéniev* (Paris: Éditions Jules Tallandier, 1952), p. 219.

[6] William E. Harkins, *Dictionary of Russian Literature* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), p. 413.

[7] D.S. Mirsky, *A History of Russian Literature* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 197.

[8] Slonim, "Introductory Essay", p. 10.

[9] Giovanni Boccaccio, "The Patient Griselda" in, *The Heritage of European Literature* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1948), v. I, p. 615.

[10] See: N.K. Gudzy, *History of Early Russian Literature*. Translated from the Second Russian Edition by Susan Wilbur Jones (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 455.

[11] Mikhail Nikolaevich Zagoskin, *Tales of Three Centuries*. Translated from the Russian by Jeremiah Curtin (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1891), p. 1, "An Evening on the Hopyor".

[12] Golubkov, *op.cit.*, p. 18. Henri Troyat, *Turgenev* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1988), p. 106.

[13] Walter Smyrniw, *Turgenev's Early Works. From Character Sketches to a Novel* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1980), p. 10.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 8. See also: V. S. Pritchett, *The Gentle Barbarian. The Life and Work of Turgenev* (New York: Random House, 1977), p. 86.

[15] *.The Poems, Prose and Plays of Alexander Pushkin*. Selected and Edited, with an Introduction by Avram Yarmolinsky (New York: The Modern Library, 1936), p. 488.

[16] Nikolai Gogol, *The Diary of a Madman. And Other Stories*. Translated by Andrew R. MacAndrew (New York: New American Library, 1960), p. 29.

[17] All the quotations are from *The Novels of Ivan Turgenev*. Translated from the Russian by Constance Garnett (London: William Heinemann, 1920-1922).

[18] See Smyrniw, *Turgenev's Early Works*, p. 141.

[19] S.E. Shatalov, *Khudozhestvennyi mir I.S. Turgeneva* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1979), p. 71.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

[22] Leonard Schapiro, *Turgenev, His Life and Times* (Oxford, Toronto, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 76.

[23] Maurois, *Tourguéniev*, p. 206.

[24] Freeborn, *Turgenev: the Novelists' Novelist*, pp. 53-54.

Federico García Lorca and *Cante Jondo*: Beyond Genius to *Duende*

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> Guitarra como luna.
> ¿Es la luna o su sangre?
> Es un mínimo corazón que ha escapado
> y que sobre los bosques va dejando su azul música insomne.
>
> —Vincente Aleixandre

At 3:15 in the morning, on August 18, 1936, outside the Civil Government building in Granada, a young friend of Federico García Lorca screamed, "Murderers! You're going to kill a genius!" (Gibson 464). The anguished cry was justified, for the internationally renowned poet was being led to his place of execution by those who viewed him as subversive. And yet, more than a half-century after the rendering of that dark scene, the light of Lorca's genius remains, impossible to extinguish. Perhaps the most distinct indication of that artistic genius is its broad versatility. Although best known as poet and dramatist, Lorca is also remembered as a talented pianist whose playing both impressed the maestro, Manuel de Falla, and entertained many at social gatherings around the world. Lorca was furthermore a composer and an accomplished guitarist, favoring the *cante jondo*, the traditional music of his native Andalusia, although he studied the music of other Spanish regions as well as classical music. It has even been said that if Falla had arrived in Granada a few years earlier "when Lorca was hesitating between music and literature, the balance might well have been tipped in favour of the former" (Gibson 108). In light of Lorca's musical background, it is far from surprising to find such titles among his literary works as *Poema del cante jondo*. But this apparent imprint on Lorca's writing raises many more questions than it answers. This essay is intended as an exploration of the relationship between *cante jondo* and Lorca's poetic creation. Following an explanation of the nature of that connection, some of the specific themes and motifs involved will be addressed.

Testimony to Lorca's affinity for music may be found in the dedication of his very first book to his revered music teacher, Antonio Segura Mesa. Segura had nurtured Lorca's love of creativity, and according to the poet had "initiated him in the science of folklore" (*OC* 1:1167). Lorca's friendship with Manuel de Falla served to intensify the musical experience begun with Segura. Even if Lorca had never published a single poem his name would be linked with *cante jondo* because together with Falla and others, he organized the famous "*Concurso de cante jondo*," which took place on the grounds of the Alhambra in 1922. The festival was conceived as a way of preserving the true folkloric musical tradition, which was of great intellectual, emotional, and above all artistic importance to Lorca. In his lecture "El primitivo canto andaluz" he refers to *cante jondo* as, "El tesoro artístico de toda una raza" (*Conferencias* I 50). Lorca and other Spaniards were engaged in a debate about the validity of *cante jondo*, and criticized what they viewed as a period of decadence in the art form since the middle of the previous century, the "*etapa de los cafés cantantes*," because it was then that the intimate performances typical of small private gatherings, began taking place in disreputable public situations. During the latter half of the 20th century the explosion of tourism in Spain has led to many very inauthentic representations of *flamenco*, some even as seamy nightclub spectacles. The aversion still expressed by hispanists and musicologists toward *flamenco*, versus the more serious and increasingly obscure art of *cante jondo*, originated in the debate leading up to Lorca's time. The poet himself insists on the essential difference between the two musical forms by referring: ". . .a la antigüedad, a la estructura, al espíritu de las canciones" (*Conferencias* I 51). He goes on to describe various genres of *flamenco* as mere derivatives of *cante jondo*, then sums up the disparity succinctly: "Color espiritual y color local, he aquí la honda diferencia" (52). The preservation of the true artistic medium then, was central to the motivation of Falla, Lorca and the others who planned the *Concurso*. It is ironic that they carried out fastidious preparations for an event intended to encourage a genuine outpouring of *duende*, since this ineffable power is by definition spontaneous. Nevertheless, Lorca seems to have been driven by his own demon/angel, for it was during his involvement in the arrangements for the *Concurso* that he began writing his *Poema del cante jondo* (Gibson 109). His own participation in the *Concurso* included readings from this collection. Lorca's love of performing suggested a predisposition toward the spirit of *cante jondo*. "The joining of singer, dancer, musician, and public approached the ideal composite art form for which he sought expression all his life" (Stanton x). It was during the time period surrounding the *Concurso* that Lorca expressed his personal knowledge and opinions on the subject (greatly motivated by those of Falla) through his celebrated *Conferencias*. My references to the lectures are intended to contextualize various motifs common to *cante jondo* and Lorca's poetry. No effort will be made to equate the technical aspects of Lorca's works with those of *cante jondo*. Critics including Edward Stanton and Ian Gibson, caution against any such endeavor:

> In these compositions Lorca makes no attempt to imitate the words of the often illiterate *cante jondo* singers, as so many poets had done in the nineteenth century and even well into the twentieth. Nor does he write in the ubiquitous first person of the songs. What he attempts to do, rather, is to create in the mind of the reader--or the listener, for Lorca is a minstrel and conceives of poetry principally as oral communication—the sensation that he can 'see' the primitive sources (those 'remote lands of sorrow') from which wells up the anguish of *cante jondo*, and to follow the song imaginatively from the first note until the voice of the *cantaor* ('singer') dies away (Gibson 110).

Gibson and the others echo the poet himself through such statements. Lorca felt that the vital unaffected quality of the songs was lost in the endeavors of formally educated poets. He set apart the carefully crafted songs of poets like Manuel Machado, from those of the people in terms of: "¡La diferencia entre una rosa de papel y otra natural!" (*Conferencias* I 71). Lorca's greatness is demonstrated by his own deft poetic allusion to *cante jondo*. He conjures impressions of the Andalusian land and people by an original approach, which nevertheless frequently employs images associated with the traditional music genres.

Lorca's lectures present Falla's idea that *cante jondo* is a primitive form of music, whose original sources are sounds in nature such as bird songs, or the sound of rushing water (*Conferencias* I 53). This theory evokes a primal world which is very much in keeping with the intuitive, subconscious images in Lorca's own poems. Since the music has developed through an oral tradition, its presentation and its composition/redaction are nearly synonymous. Therefore, its most characteristic interpreters, the Gypsies, are considered at length. Falla felt that some similarities between *cante jondo* and Hindu chant may indicate the Gypsies' emigration from India. Among the features common to *cante jondo* and its possible Eastern forerunner Lorca notes: "el empleo de un ámbito melódico tan recluido que rara vez traspasa los límites de una sexta, y el uso reiterado y hasta obsesionante de una misma nota" (*Conferencias* I 56).

Love and death, generally regarded as two of the great literary themes, are ever present in both *cante jondo* and the works of Lorca. Ian Gibson notes the twin themes of love lost and despair of achieving amorous fulfillment in Lorca,-- as manifested by characters whose endlessly fruitless search for love is the driving force in their lives (69). Regarding the genre *seguiriya*, Lorca mentions the Gypsy cry which begins the song, and its tie with death (*Conferencias* I 54). True despair in the hermeneutics of love literature since the Middle Ages, has always signified the nearness of death. In the Andalusian song, the torturous suffering of *pena negra* becomes graphic. There is often copious blood and/or tears as if to prove by physical evidence the exceptional degree of emotion. This pain from the depths of the soul is the very depth of *cante jondo*, or "deep song." An illustration from the traditional genre *soleares* (*soledades*) would be the following verses. Their nocturnal setting is typical of Lorca's own poetry. In fact the poet expresses the idea that in the Andalusian song it is the only setting possible (*Conferencias* I 70). The darkness denotes the above mentioned depth:

> Cuando se te haga de noche
> y despierte tu corazón
> llorarás abrazaita
> a la palabra perdón.
>
> Pa qué me pides perdón
> después de lo que m'has hecho
> mañana vas a tener
> lágrimas hasta los huesos. (Grande 718)

Nearly tangible suffering is even more evident in the genre of *saeta*, the ideally impromptu praises and atonements sung by witnesses of the famous *Semana Santa* processions of Andalusia. Considering the

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meticulous detail of the *Semana Santa* floats, with their *Dolorosas* of crystal and pearl tears, and their graphically suffering *Cristos*, it is logical that the accompanying *saetas* would be equally vivid. In its purest form this type of song, although expressive of sacred devotion rather than erotic love, is the result of true *duende*. There is a sensual love of suffering, related to a blurring of the boundaries between love and death. This distinctively Spanish characteristic according to Edward Stanton (11-12) is confirmed by Lorca's observation that whereas other Europeans with their muses flee from death, the Spaniard with his *duende*, a force distinguished by its dark side, revels in his open wounds. In his lecture "Juego y teoría del duende" Lorca demarcates the exterior energy of the muses from the Spanish inner force which originates: "en las últimas habitaciones de la sangre" (*Conferencias* II 94).

Carlos Feal affirms that the unity of love and death is a particularly Lorquian theme: "Muerte y amor están, en Lorca, íntimamente relacionados, como en el título del célebre romance. La muerte sella el fracaso o imposibilidad del amor" (*Eros* 111). The graphic features of *cante jondo*, true to the spirit of Lorca's literature, indicate a poetry of extremes. According to the *Conferencias*: "El andaluz o grita a las estrellas o besa el polvo rojizo de sus caminos. El medio tono no existe para él" (*Conferencias* I 69) This polarity is indispensable to a definition of tragedy in Lorca. In his commentary on the interior tension between "lo apolíneo y lo dionisíaco," Feal explains that: "La dialéctica de los opuestos — orden-caos, vida-muerte o plenitud-falta de ser (la lacaniana *manque à être*) —articula efectivamente las tragedias y dramas estudiados aquí, una de las cimas del teatro universal" (*Tragedia y mito* 18). This agonizing tension is rooted in the poet's own *pena*. Ian Gibson approaches the issue from the standpoint of Lorca's sexual conflict and its incongruity with his Catholic upbringing:

> Darío's attempt to effect a synthesis of the Apollonian and the Dionysian, the pagan and the Christian, had a particular relevance for Federico, struggling as he was against the shame and guilt generated by a religion that rejected the flesh (68).

Although Feal's study focuses on Lorquian theater, and Gibson's work is biographical, Lorca's emotional struggle is noted in both cases as integral. Such an element must be a determining factor in the work of Lorca the poet as in Lorca the playwright. An examination of the fundamental nature versus culture theme indicates the coinciding use of nature in Lorca's poetry, with that of the traditional songs. Natural phenomena in Lorca's work and in *cante jondo* are only metaphors for the emotions of *pena negra* which are the real foci. Lorca actually names this quality in the title of one poem in his collection *Romancero gitano*. "Romance de la pena negra" is as representative as any of Lorca's poems of the features in common with *cante jondo*, yet no simulation of the songs is in evidence. The correlations are thematic more than formal. First and foremost in the poem to be cited is the sense of *pena negra*, the desperation of unfulfilled love coupled with death. Edward Stanton asserts personification as a standard way that emotion is depicted in *cante jondo* (35). In this poem *pena negra* itself is personified in the form of a cruel woman who shares her name, "Soledad," with a genre of *cante jondo*. The employment of this device in his poem parallels Lorca's description of Woman in *cante jondo*: "La mujer, corazón del mundo y poseedora inmortal de la 'rosa, la lira y la ciencia armoniosa', llena los ámbitos sin fin de los poemas. La mujer en el 'cante jondo' se llama Pena ..." (*Conferencias* I 72). The use of nature to express sentiment, rather than to describe it for its own sake is certainly present throughout the poem. Two elements frequent in the *jarchas*, or Mozarabic poetry of the 11th through 14th centuries, which Lorca and Falla considered as a possible source of *cante jondo*, manifested in "Romance de la pena negra," are its sensual imagery and its nocturnal setting. Examples of sensuality include the metaphor of "yunques ahumados" for Soledad's breasts, the use of the vulgar term "pechos" rather than the more refined "senos," and the olfactory image, "huele a caballo y a sombra." The action takes place at dawn, the transitional hour between dark and light, which according to Edward Stanton is the most characteristic hour of death in Lorca's poetry (35). Not incidentally, Stanton's pronouncement is a chilling reminder of the seemingly prophetic in Lorca's treatment of the death theme, since he himself may well have been taken to die at dawn (Gibson 466). In "Romance de la pena negra" the poet surpasses mere combination of the love and death themes. Boundaries between love and pain, love and death, or ultimately life and death are practically nonexistent. The presence of the *gallos* in the poem's first line, considering their link in Christian mythology to the death of Christ and betrayal of Saint Peter, is an instant presentiment that death is to be the outcome:

> Las piquetas de los gallos
> cavan buscando la aurora,
> cuando por el monte oscuro
> baja Soledad Montoya.
> Cobre amarillo, su carne,
> huele a caballo y a sombra.
> Yunques ahumados sus pechos,
> gimen canciones redondas. (*Antología poética* 137)

As in much of Lorca, death is accompanied by suggestions of cyclical rebirth, the exaltation of eternal resurgence of life from the earth. The inseparability of pain and joy as well as the catharsis of new birth are magnified in the final lines:

> Por abajo canta el río
> volante de cielo y hojas.
> Con flores de calabaza,
> la nueva luz se corona.
> ¡Oh pena de los gitanos!
> Pena limpia y siempre sola.
> ¡Oh pena de cauce oculto
> y madrugada remota! (138)

The motif of cyclical life renewal is underscored by a return to the original time setting of the "madrugada remota." And yet with the words, "pena de cauce oculto," and the description of an ambiguous dawn, the poem ends on a note of dark yearning.

Félix Grande notes that *cante jondo* is not without its share of humor and irony. The following poem by Lorca demonstrates a satirical humor through the employment of the copious tears so typical in the traditional songs. The poem is so completely different from the lyrics of the Andalusian song, that it clearly illustrates the point of Lorca's influence by *cante jondo* rather than any mimicry of it:

> El lagarto está llorando
> La lagarta está llorando.
>
> El lagarto y la lagarta
> con delantalitos blancos.
>
> Han perdido sin querer
> su anillo de deposados.
>
> ¡Ay, su anillito de plomo,
> ay, su anillito plomado!
>
> Un cielo grande y sin gente
> monta en su globo a los pájaros.
>
> El sol, capitán redondo,
> lleva un chaleco de raso.
>
> ¡Miradlos qué viejos son!
> ¡Qué viejos son los lagartos!
>
> ¡Ay! cómo lloran y lloran,
> ¡ay! ¡ay! cómo están llorando! (*Antología* 108)

Various elements of *cante jondo* like the tears shed for unrequited love, converted by Lorca in this instance to humorously paradoxical "alligator tears," thus serve as points of departure in his work.

Lorca's masterpiece, "Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías," is one of those closest in form to *cante jondo*. Edward Stanton tells us that it may have been consciously modeled on the form of the Gypsy lament. He also mentions qualities that recall the sound of Andalusian guitar including changes in tempo and intensity, and in the second part, the characteristic of increased urgency in verse movement until cut by the sharp "No" of the refrain, much like the increasing tempo which in such music may culminate in an abrupt final stroke (44). Nevertheless it is once again the spiritual core of *cante jondo* which emerges most clearly. This is reflected in the commentary of C. Christopher Soufas. His socio-ideological approach to the poetry of Lorca includes no mention of *cante jondo*. But ideas associated with *duende* such as intuitive revelation, and a mysteriously infinite vitality, even in the process of a funeral lament are clearly expressed:

> "Llanto," Lorca's most profound meditation, is almost a manifesto on the possibilities of existence and his response through art to their destruction. If life is equated with being able to see, then Sánchez Mejías, like a number of Lorca protagonists who embody the desire to affirm life and being in the face of a more powerful adversary, goes to his death with his eyes open .... (198)

Of all the convergence between the essences of Lorca's poetry and those of *cante jondo*, it is that deeply enigmatic power, *duende*, which most seems to permeate the work, as well as the legend of its creator. Lorca's description of his own poetry as "un cohete inteligente de luz oscura" demonstrates his awareness of an almost mystical gift (Trend 23). His love of live performance echoes the oral traditions of the distant past wherein the various roots of *cante jondo* lie buried and obscured. Lorca's intensity still captures the imaginations of those who read his work, or marvel and agonize by turns over the uniquely Lorquian life and death of the poet/musician. The *duende* upon the artist may be sensed, though it can never be defined, through a certain remaining aura, a compelling nuance which comes from beyond the printed word or the recorded music, to illuminate his extraordinary legacy. Though the voice of the *cantaor* has long since died away, the genius of Federico García Lorca lives.

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El collage narrativo y la verosimilitud en *La importancia de llamarse Daniel Santos*

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La obra del escritor puertorriqueño Luis Rafael Sánchez, publicada en 1988, bajo el título *La importancia de llamarse Daniel Santos*, presenta un collage narrativo muy difícil de abordar. El escritor se inventa el mundo de su "fabulación," lo crea y lo recrea en una forma que rompe con todos los cánones literarios tradicionales. Esta "falsa biografía," como la denomina Efraín Barradas "se promiscúa con otros géneros y nos habla de una de las cumbres del 'camp'puertorriqueño."[1]

Una y otra vez, a través de la narración, nos recuerda el narrador/escritor, que lo que estamos leyendo no es real, que es todo pura invención; sin embargo la credibilidad narrativa nos envuelve de tal manera que no podemos evitar creer todas y cada una de sus palabras.

> Yo los invento a todos... Yo corrijo su predicación... dios que oprime la tecla de impresión si la escritura en la pantalla de la "Silver Reed" japonesa le parece eficaz, merecedora de mostrarse... Lector, ¡Oiga estos fantasmas explayarse (13)! [2]

Creemos, porque el autor nos ha creado la necesidad de creer. Sánchez inventó un personaje en el que vemos nuestra propia imagen y un mundo con el que nos identificamos. El ha creado el espejo mediante cuyo reflejo nos vamos inventando. Para conseguir esta credibilidad ha recurrido a una gran variedad de técnicas narrativas. Este trabajo estudiará el manejo de algunas de esas técnicas.

¿En qué consiste la verosimilitud de un texto literario? Para los estructuralistas, la verosimilitud de una obra se acerca más a lo probable que a lo real.[3] Según Gerard Genette, las bases de lo artísticamente probable o verosímil se encuentran en la opinión pública y la ideología del sentido común. La verosimilitud no se interesa por lo accidentalmente real, sino por lo que debiera ser. "What would be called today an ideology, that is a body of maxims and presuppositions which constitute at once a vision of the world and a system of values."[4]

Seymour Chatman señala que de acuerdo a los estructuralistas, las normas de la verosimilitud son establecidas por los textos anteriores, por ser éstos portadores del considerado comportamiento apropiado en una sociedad.[5] Esto quiere decir que la verosimilitud se rige por normas preestablecidas. Consecuentemente, el lector se acerca a una obra literaria con unas expectativas fijas que no pueden ser ignoradas por el autor.

Luis Rafael Sánchez también se pronuncia muy claramente, en el presente texto, sobre la verosimilitud:

> Porque la vida parece literatura, artificial organización de espacios y fingimientos, embuste madurado por el trabajo fabulador y sus rigores, parecería que necesita mirarse en el espejo que es espejismo que se despeja. Por ejemplo, que la señora del tirano Somoza se llamara Hope y que fuera la Primera Dama de un desesperanzado imperio de trapacería supuso una flagrante broma de las que dejan mal parada la vida.... ¡Hope como un bautizo que, canallamente, negaba lo que afirmaba! Si "parece literatura," hubo que convenir. Como si sólo la literatura fuera capaz de producir tanta burla, tanta exasperación, tanto exceso y desorden. No obstante, a la literatura se le exige que dosifique el descabellamiento que, a diario, la vida multiplica, que minimice la casualidad. También se le requiere evitar las conductas que no se motivan si bien la vida incurre en desfachateces a las que les falta motivación, un ápice de sentido. También se le desaconseja la exageración como si la vida no fuera una fuerza exageradísima. También se le frena con la cadena corta de la lógica y la cordura que, a diario, la vida desdeña (153-154).

Sin embargo, a pesar de lo antedicho, Sánchez tiene que claudicar y dar a su obra, el orden, la lógica y la verosimilitud esperada, aunque lo haga en una forma que rompe totalmente con los cánones de la literatura tradicional. Las técnicas más importantes usadas por el autor para conseguir su propósito en esta "fabulación" son varias.

Luis Rafael Sánchez toma el nombre de un personaje real, un ídolo del texto de la vida latinoamericana y lo convierte en el héroe de su mitología. Este nombre también aparece en el título de la obra, lo que quiere

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decir que el lector a partir de ese título ya posee una ideología con la que acercarse al texto escrito.

Daniel Santos, es el nombre con el que ha sido bautizado un popular cantante latinoamericano. Este nombre, por pertenecer a una persona de carne y hueso da credibilidad al personaje de ficción que lo porta, concretizando su existencia. Sin embargo, también podría restar verosimilitud a la narración, si ésta rompiera drásticamente con el mito preconcebido en la mente del lector antes de haberse acercado a la obra. La verosimilitud la logra Sánchez al crear un héroe que tiene sus raíces en el mito popular, es una continuidad de aquél. El autor, mediante la divulgación de sus aventuras, intensifica su mitificación. Mediante la creación de nuevas leyendas, hace que este mito se diversifique y crezca hasta lo infinito, pues sus límites solamente los establece la imaginación de cada lector.

El Daniel Santos de la ficción textual, es un cantante que nace en un barrio, es pueblo y como tal sirve de portavoz de las ilusiones, los sufrimientos y las inquietudes de ese pueblo. Siempre se comporta de acuerdo al mundo en el que se desenvuelve,[6] los clubes, los cabarets, las cárceles, las grandes fiestas. De su vida privada no sabemos nada, pues ésta carece de importancia en cuanto a la creación del mito. No llegamos realmente a conocer a Daniel Santos directamente. Todo lo que sabemos de él pertenece a la leyenda que en torno a su persona se ha creado. El "Anacobero" es el sueño de su público.

> ... el mito se escenifica en el gran teatro de las simpatías afines. Las miradas convergen en la imagen destinataria de los sueños públicos. Sueños que cobran apariencia y rezuman crédito en la satisfacción de ser parte de la multitud que vitorea (74-75).

Intercaladas entre las líneas de la "fabulación", aparecen los títulos y la letra de las canciones cantadas por el Santos real. Estas canciones forman parte del saber popular de la América Latina, son historia y por serlo reafirman la credibilidad de la ficción. Estas canciones son también historia en otro sentido. Cada una de ellas lleva encerrada una leyenda, una realidad propia que, aun siendo propia, no puede separarse del intérprete. Las canciones han contribuido a la mitificación del personaje real, antes de haber sido creada su biografía y forman parte de las técnicas usadas por Sánchez en la mitificación de su héroe narrativo. Daniel Santos es sus boleros y sus boleros son él mismo. La realidad de Daniel Santos, dentro y fuera del texto literario, es la realidad de su música. De acuerdo a William F. Thrall y Addison Hibbard:

> The depicting, in writing, of clear images of a person, his actions and manners of thought and life. A man's nature, environment, habits, emotions, desires, instincts: all these go to make people what they are, and the skillful writer makes his important people clear to us through a portrayal of these elements.[7]

Nosotros, a través de los boleros y de las historias divulgadas sobre el bolerista, tenemos unas imágenes muy claras sobre su persona, sus modales, sus acciones, sus hábitos, sus emociones, sus deseos, sus pensamientos y sus instintos. De Daniel Santos sabemos todo lo relacionado con la gestación del mito.

Las canciones no constituyen la única referencia histórica presente en la obra, también nos encontramos con la Cuba pre-Fidel, de Fidel y la Cuba de los que salieron por el Mariel. Ante nuestros ojos se desdobla la bella Nicaragua que se disputan los somozistas y los sandinistas. Tampoco faltan los clanes y los generalotes que sangran y ultrajan la América Latina. El desfile de los destripadores de turno se extiende a todo lo largo del cuerpo narrativo contribuyendo con ello a que la ficción se haga realidad, al verse esta última en el espejo de la primera reconocida.

> Fulgencio Batista cae de hinojos a las plantas de la "Inmaculada Concepción." Fermentando en exvotos del "Corazón de Jesús" el Generalísimo Alfredo Stroessner recibe una delegación impúber de "Hijas de María." Napoleoniza la negreacencia por los penachos del casco el Generalísimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina impetra bendiciones vaticanas. En la rechoncha compañía del General Marcos Pérez Jiménez procesiona las calles de Caracas el "Cristo Clavado en la Cruz." Después de apuñalar su propia sombra el general Augusto Pinochet oficia otra "Ultima Cena." Fingiéndose comedido y pío el General Jorge Videla renuncia al bife de chorizo los días de guardar. Como si el reír, con segundas, fuera la arma suplente de los hijos, los nietos, los bisnietos de quienes se pudren en las tumbas sin nombre; los hijos, los nietos, los bisnietos de los fusilados y los desaparecidos (110).

Luis Rafael Sánchez quiere asegurarse de que la caracterización de su héroe esté bien clara y para ello recurre a la intertextualidad de la ficción, comparando el mito creado con Don Juan en la segunda página de la narración. Al establecer esta comparación, no solamente ha dado a su protagonista todas las posibilidades de ser un don juan, sino que la comparación establece también unos ideales, un sistema de valores y un antecedente en cuanto a la clase de comportamiento que se espera de este personaje. Daniel Santos a través de la comparación hereda automáticamente la reputación del mito español.[8] Esto quiere decir que por muy descabelladas que sean sus aventuras, no serán cuestionadas. Su precursor le ha trazado el camino. Sus acciones no serán nada más que lo esperado de un don juan que rompe todas las reglas, desafía la autoridad, deshonra mujeres, busca aventuras y ama el peligro.

> ...se dice que a don Juan le salió el primo en América; primo de linaje silvestre y tatuaje por blasón. La misma talla de libertino, la misma prepotencia para hacer munición con el verso, semejante porfía. Parecido como estar en la hostería y la taberna, en el fogón de tres piedras y la terraza en donde se encuentra la crema de la intelectualidad, en el come y vete todo vociferación y prisa. Parecido saber lograr la hipnosis obediente de un rostro de mujer. Parecido saber lograr el vasallaje de una legión de hombres. Parecido saber magnetizar la muchedumbre (10).

Para dar más verosimilitud a su héroe y al mundo en el que se desenvuelve, Sánchez lo sitúa en una geografía concreta. Los espacios en los que se mueve son reales. Visita lugares conocidos, canta en cabarets de fama internacional y siempre está rodeado de gente popular en el mundo del espectáculo hispanoamericano. Una peruana le siguió a Costa Rica. Actuó en el Tropicana de La Habana. Un artículo suyo salió en el periódico *La Nación*. Era el artista preferido del General Torrijos.

> Arbitrariamente, un entusiasta decreta que Caracas era una fiesta cuando él cantaba en el "Passpoga." ...El General Torrijos se mejoraba el humor si lo oía emplazar un bolero. ...Se presentaba a oírlo Felipe Pirela. ...Venezuela toda era suya. A la Virgen de Coromoto le rezaba. ...La multitud del teatro "Blanquita" enmudeció cuando vio aquel cuadro de religiosa mundanidad. Un varón pidiéndole perdón a su mamacita! ... ¿Después? Bailaba el gran Resortes. Actuaba Vitola La Que Se Defiende Sola. Comiqueaban Viruta y Capulina. ... Radio y teatro de variedades trabajaba en México todo lo que quería. Y si Juan Orol y Ramón Peón estaban filmando una épica con hombres necios que acusáis a la mujer sin razón para el lucimiento de María Antonieta Pons o Rosa Carmina se le ofrecía una actuación especial. ... Bolerista número uno de ayer, de hoy y de siempre. Pulmón y sinceridad eran sus sellos de garantía. Todo un clásico de cabaret. La concurrencia señorial y de primera - porque en el "Tropicana" de aquellos tiempos no entraba cualquier... (38-47).

Como podemos ver en la cita, Daniel Santos, no solamente se concretiza al compartir con el lector una geografía determinada, sino que comparte con él el sentir vital de esa geografía. Celebra la noche pero también reza a la Virgen del Coromoto, patrona de Venezuela. Es escuchado por Felipe Pirela y él escucha a Viruta y Capulina. La ideología de este héroe es la misma que la de su pueblo.[9] La comunicación que existe entre el pueblo y el cantante, es la misma que existe entre el texto y el lector. La historia de Daniel Santos, es la historia de la América Latina. Los personajes con los que se relaciona reafirman su existencia y engrandecen su arte, al mismo tiempo que reafirman la propia existencia y la fama, al quedar fijados sus nombres en la obra literaria.

Además de estos recursos literarios, que yo llamaría de identidad, mediante los cuales Luis Rafael Sánchez bautizó a su héroe, le asignó un papel y lo situó en un tiempo y un espacio determinados, existen otras técnicas narrativas que el autor ha usado magistralmente para lograr la verosimilitud en su obra. Estas técnicas tienen que ver con la relación narrador-escritor-lector.

El narrador, según Norman Friedman, representa un punto de vista, una perspectiva desde la cual se nos relata la acción y además una técnica mediante la cual se logran ciertos efectos en la percepción del lector.[10] Todorov clasifica los narradores en tres grupos: igual al héroe, dominado por el héroe y el que desplaza al héroe.[11]

El narrador global de *La importancia de llamarse Daniel Santos*, quien a veces se identifica como el escritor, es un narrador que desplaza al héroe. Este narrador comienza su relato con una narración impersonal que va cambiando a través de la obra a una tercera persona, a una primera persona, se mezcla con otras narraciones de testigos, reportajes radiofónicos, entrevistas, memorias, comentarios, etc... "Otros escándalos se citan... También se alude... Hay prueba abundante" (9). Esta impersonalidad, que resta importancia al héroe, que lo distancia, por ser usada al comienzo de la obra despierta la curiosidad del lector y deja espacio para el crecimiento del mito. Esto quiere decir que la fantasía del lector empieza a rellenar los vacíos porque nada ha sido concretizado. Todo lo que se dice de Daniel Santos carece de pruebas, pertenece al chisme, al rumor, a la leyenda. Son historias creadas por las imaginativas mentes de los "fans" del cantante.

Esta impersonalidad no resta verosimilitud al texto literario, aunque así lo parezca, sino que la añade. Permite decir todo lo que se quiera sobre el héroe, sin ser cuestionada su veracidad. No hay nadie en particular responsable por lo narrado en este tipo de narración, es la voz anónima del pueblo, por lo que el registrador de los datos, el escritor, se lava las manos en cuanto a la información proveída. Nos convence de que está contándonos la historia según se la contaron, sin seleccionar, intervenir o interpretar, cuando en la realidad está usando el manipulador "discurso"[12] narrativo. Las imágenes que llegan a nosotros son las previstas por el "autor implícito,"[13] aunque éste haya sido capaz de convencernos de su imparcial objetividad.

Como reafirmación de que lo dicho por el narrador es verdad, Sánchez usa el comentario.[14] Dando lo dicho por verdadero, comenta sobre él y añade más información. A veces le habla al lector directamente con una narración en primera persona. "Lector, ¿cúal le digo? Que las mujeres que él anudó con el placer que distrae la razón son más de varias. ... Le digo una peruana" (11-12). Otras veces hace comentarios impersonales, "Uno deja de inventar porque ha doblado la esquina de la tortuosidad sin el garante de un prestigio" (167). Otros comentarios son sobre otros escritores, políticos y hasta sobre el arte de narrar. Todos ellos en mayor o menor escala contribuyen a apoyar la ideología del texto.

Otro punto de apoyo para las palabras de los narradores, son las pruebas que el autor implícito aporta. Los rumores, las leyendas y los mitos creados en torno al personaje, se convierten en hechos consumados al existir pruebas que los sostengan. "No todo es bochinche, chisme, rumor. Tampoco lo son sus doce hijos legítimos, procedentes de todas las comarcas de esa nación febril que es el Caribe. Menos lo son las siete esposas acatadas ante cura o ante juez" (96). Las pruebas de sus esposas y sus hijos, son pruebas físicas, tangibles, de las cuales el lector no puede dudar. También hay otras fuentes de información usadas por Sánchez que son igualmente dignas de confianza. Los personajes narran su propia historia, la historia de la que han sido protagonistas. Estas narraciones por ser en primera persona, tienen una gran fuerza de convicción. Nadie puede dudar del ejecutor de una acción, sobre la veracidad de ésta. Las alocuciones o los "speech acts"[15] de los personajes son muy diferentes a los de los narradores. Chatman asegura que: "Even when a character is telling a story within the main story, his speech acts always inhabit the story, rather than the primary discourse."[16] Esto quiere decir que lo por él presentado es "story" no "discourse," forma parte de la narración central, no del modo de presentación. Consecuentemente apoya o contradice lo expuesto por el narrador o los narradores.

Las vivencias relatadas por los propios protagonistas, con sus expresiones personales, giros y entonación, establecen una ilusoria comunicación directa con el lector. Este cree estar recibiendo la historia tal y como la relató el que la vivió. "Como nadie come en la calle lo que come en su casa yo le daba de comer lo que en su casa no le daban. Y le arrancaba los gritos que ni él sabía que guardaba" (14).

Los relatos de estos personajes también adquieren verosimilitud por corresponder a personas que no tienen ninguna razón para mentir. En su mayoría, son personas mayores, lo que automáticamente hace que el lector sienta respeto hacia ellas.

> Ahora que la jeringa de la insulina me convenció de quitarme de los hombres, ahora que el cabello me escasea, ahora que el cansancio es lo único que no me cansa... recuerdo el diciembre que fui al club Esquife a enamorarlo (13-14).
>
> Si esto que le cuento le sirve para ese libro que está planeando, pues bien y más. Si no le sirve pues bien y más también. Desenchufle el cachivache que ya mismo una monjita me tiene que pinchar con insulina (17).

En la segunda cita además de la edad, tenemos otros dos elementos que contribuyen a infundir confianza en el lector. Primeramente señalaremos que el autor al transcribir las palabras de la hablante directamente de la cinta magnetofónica, también ha incluido aquellas dirigidas a él personalmente, que nada tienen que ver con la historia narrada por la anciana sobre su experiencia con Daniel Santos. Esto da la impresión de que todo ha sido transcrito de la cinta sin ninguna alteración. El otro elemento que contribuye a la credibilidad es la indiferencia que muestra el personaje en cuanto a la inclusión de su relato en el libro. Debido a que lo mismo le da, que su historia forme o no forme parte de la fabulación, no creemos que haya mentido o cambiado los hechos con el propósito de impresionar.

En los relatos en los que el narrador se dirige directamente a la audiencia va mucho más allá del simple comentario. Hay una especie de diálogo directo con el "implied reader."[17] Esta comunicación confidencial con el lector, por parte del narrador, es como una confesión, pues el lector no le contesta. No es un diálogo, pues va en una sola dirección, pero su forma de presentación es la del diálogo:

> No le cuento la película de la actriz cómica que enfermó de amor por él pues usted querrá dormir una horita antes de írsenos para Guatemala. Aquella actriz cómica era la mujer más insegura que preparó Dios. La pobre se tomó en serio los requiebros pasajeros que él le prodigó las flores. Y oiga usted, Camará, la desgracia acontecida (21).

En esta cita el narrador llega a mostrar una gran sensibilidad ante el cansancio del oyente/lector. El "implied reader," a quien yo llamaría "implied listener"[18] creado por el "implied author" es una persona por él conocida, va a irse a Guatemala y el narrador lo sabe. El hecho de que el narrador y el receptor se conozcan da veracidad a lo narrado, ya que no es muy común mentir a conocidos. El tono en el que el narrador presenta la información, relatando como quien no tiene deseos de hacerlo, ir dejando caer o rodar las palabras sin ninguna aparente intención, también añade credibilidad a la narración, al nivel del "implied reader" y del "real reader."[19]

Hay momentos en la narración, en los que el acercamiento entre narrador y lector es tal, que los dos parecen estar movidos por los mismos intereses, la misma curiosidad, desean encontrar respuestas a las mismas preguntas:

> Lector, ahora Marisela retira del fonógrafo el disco en que Daniel Santos canta "Fichas Negras"... Maracucho toma el disco... que Marisela devolvió a la mesa y lo miraba lo suficiente como para tener que morderse el labio por dentro... Después guarda el disco... bajo la registradora. ¿Más preguntas quiere oír el Lector? Lector, tenga. ¿Guardó el disco bajo la registradora para no tener que venderlo? ¿Guardó el disco en la repisa bajo la caja registradora para devolverlo a la mesa, mañana por la mañana, de manera que Marisela reencuentre en el bolero "Fichas Negras" el curso de las lágrimas?... Hasta mañana no se sabrá si a Marisela le pasó el dolor... tendremos que esperar hasta mañana. Si no vuelve es porque el bolero "Fichas Negras" cantado por Daniel Santos ya es una ficha más en el recuerdo. Si vuelve es porque el bolero "Fichas Negras"... todavía la desangra (168-169).

En este episodio el narrador tiene que esperar para poder seguir el curso de los acontecimientos, pero igualmente tiene que esperar el lector. Narrador y lector esperaran juntos, por eso dice el narrador: "tendremos que esperar hasta mañana." Narrador y lector están en el mismo punto, los dos saben lo mismo y esperan hasta el próximo día para conocer el desenlace de la historia de Marisela.

En otras ocasiones el narrador le habla directamente al lector para aconsejarle cómo acercarse al texto. Le dice que tome su fabulación como lo que él quiere que sea, "suscitadora de placer" (13). Le incita a que no trate de entender, de razonar, de explicar lo narrado. Quiere que forme parte de ese mundo ficticio sin cuestionarlo. "No se descuajaringue más la cabeza, Camará. Sembrando y ninguna otra es la palabra. ... No" (17). Toda la narración apela a los sentidos, no al raciocinio, es totalmente vital, carnal.

Como ya hemos dicho, al principio de este trabajo, el narrador/escritor le recuerda al lector que lo que está leyendo es pura invención. Esta advertencia dentro de la totalidad del texto, es como una tomadura de pelo, pues como él mismo dice en una ocasión: "Ya se hizo tardísimo para la rectificación y la enmienda" (25). Luego más adelante añade: "Para que la verdad no lo hiciera harto dudoso lo fundí con mentiras livianas" (139). Lo que quiere decir que la verdad de la vida es menos creíble que la ficción. También este mismo narrador, nos explica que es imposible llegar a la verdad del ser humano, conocer el mundo que le habita. "Lo difícil es calcular las cosas que viven con un hombre sin apenas él saberlas" (76).

NOTAS

[1] Efraín Barradas, "La importancia de llamarse Luis Rafael Sánchez o permiso para un leve sobresalto crítico-literario," *La Torre: Revista de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 2, No. 5 (1988), 203.

[2] Luis Rafael Sánchez, *La importancia de llamarse Daniel Santos* (Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1988). Todas las citas referentes a este texto vienen de esta edición.

[3] Jonathan Culler, *Structuralist Poetics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975).

[4] Gérard Genette, "Vraisemblance et motivation," *Communications* 11 (1968), 6.

[5] Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 50.

[6] Los lugares en los que se desenvuelve Daniel Santos son lo que llama Seymour Chatman "spatial markers," o señales del espacio, porque ellos marcan sus movimientos, determinan sus acciones. Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 168.

[7] William F. Thrall and Addison Hibbard, *A Handbook to Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1936), 74-75.

[8] Julia Kristeva, *Semiotik's: Recherches pour un semanalyse* (Paris: Semil, 1969), 127-128. La intertextualidad cultural para Julia Kristeva consiste en el resumen del conocimiento que hace posible el significado. La comparación de Daniel Santos con don Juan trae a la mente del lector instantáneamente todo lo que este personaje significa dentro de la cultura que le ha dado nacimiento. Daniel Santos es todo lo que ha sido su modelo además de lo que su creador Luis Rafael Sánchez le añada.

[9] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 334. "The ideological position of the epic hero is meaningful for the whole community and for the whole epic world." Daniel Santos es, como todo héroe, un fiel representante de la ideología de su pueblo. Es el espejo de su mundo. El existe a través de su pueblo y éste existe a través de él.

[10] Norman Friedman, *The Novel, Modern Essay in Criticism* (Englewood Cliffs: NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969), 162.

[11] Tzvtan Todorov, *The Poetics of Prose* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 27-28.

[12] Chatman 146. "Every narrative—so this theory goes—is a structure with a content plane (called 'story') and an expression plane (called 'discourse')." Esto quiere decir que la forma de presentación es el "discourse". "The expression plane is the set of narrative statements, where 'statement' is the basic component of the form of the expression, independent of and more abstract than any particular manifestation" (146).

[13] Chatman 148-149. "The implied author establishes the norms of the narrative... He, or better, it has no voice, no direct means of communicating. It instructs us silently, through the designs of the whole, with all the voices, by all the means it has chosen to let us learn."

[14] Chatman 228. "Speech acts by a narrator that go beyond narrating, describing, or identifying will resonate with overtones of 'propia persona'. Such pronouncements are best labelled comments (though they range an entire gamut of speech acts). Commentary, since it is gratuitous, conveys the overt narrator's voice more distinctly than any feature short of explicit self-mention."

[15] Chatman 161. "... accounts of speech, thought, and physical action in general, since in verbal narrative, these are all the audience can utilize to decide whether it is a narrator or a character speaking, thinking, or acting. ... 'speech act' theory ... is not linguistics in the strict sense. It is not concerned with the grammatical composition of sentences in a language, but rather with their role in the communication situation, as actual acts by speakers."

[16] Chatman 165.

[17] Chatman 149-150. "The counterpart of the implied author is the 'implied reader'—not you or I sitting in our living rooms reading the book, but the audience presupposed by the narrative itself.... The 'you' or 'dear reader' who is addressed by the narrator.... When I enter the fictional contract I add another self: I become an implied reader."

[18] En esta cita, en el nivel más cercano al hablante tenemos un oyente, no un lector, un "oyente implícito" o "implied listener."

[19] Chatman 150-151. "... real readers (parties extrinsic and accidental to the narrative).... The real author and real reader are outside the narrative transaction as such."

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SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 14, 1993

Journal of the

NCFL

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

The 1993 volume has benefitted from the expertise and commitment of many editorial consultants. The Editor of *SELECTA* extends his sincere appreciation to the following colleagues, as well as to a number of others, who have been of significant assistance in the preparation of this volume:

Frans Amelinckx
A. David Barry
Ernest Behler
David P. Benseler
Dina Blanc
Valentini Brady
Gisela Brude-Firnau
Kent Casper
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Peter N. Thomas
William Thompson
Johannes W. Vazulik
Johanna Watzinger-Tharp
Edith Welliver
Timothy Wong.

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANCE

A special word of appreciation is due Linda Bricker for much of the word processing and editorial assistance attendant to this volume of *SELECTA*.

SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 14, 1993

Edited by
Craig W. Nickisch
Idaho State University

Journal of the
NCFL

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

The Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages is a non-profit organization of language professionals dedicated to improving opportunities for learning foreign languages at all levels in the United States and Canada. Founded in 1950, through its annual conference, the *PNCFL Newsletter, HANDS ON Languages* and *Selecta*, the PNCFL provides a forum for the dissemination and promulgation of information on the teaching and acquisition of foreign languages, cultures and literatures. The PNCFL has been active in prompting unity and cooperation between many language associations.

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Selecta is an official journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages. *Selecta* publishes scholarly articles on all aspects of language pedagogy, linguistics, foreign cultures, and comparative, classical, and foreign (Asian, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, Slavic, Spanish, and Spanish-American) literatures. *Selecta* is published yearly and is based exclusively on a representative number of papers given at the annual meeting of the PNCFL.

Correspondence on subscriptions, advertisements and exchanges should be directed to: Ray Verzasconi, Executive Secretary PNCFL, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97331-4603.

ISSN 0277-0598

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Low German Versus Standard German: Failing Diglossia in a Northern German Community Affected by Post-War Population Movements

Ursula M. Erdmann
Edmonds Community College

The following study is an investigation of the maintenance of a West Germanic dialect threatened by loss through assimilation to modern High German in a traditionally diglossic speech area. It investigates the fate of Low German in an area located in the eastern part of the country district of Lüneburg, in the state of Lower Saxony, Germany. The exact geographic location is defined by the school district of Dahlenburg-Bleckede, interconnected school centers serving the towns and villages of an area of approximately 180 km^2. The target district begins about 20 km east of the city of Lüneburg and stretches east to and along the river Elbe. In this district Low German in its North Saxon version has been the indigenous language since its earliest documentation in the 9th century literary text, the Heliand, written in the ancestral variant, Old Saxon. A gradual shift from Low German to Standard German began with the onset of mandatory public education at the beginning of the 19th century. The shift gained momentum through urbanization, industrialization, and mass communication.[1] The present study, however, attempts a more detailed analysis of the displacement of Low German in a geographic area where language shift has been triggered by a massive population movement after World War II.

The target district has shown some insular characteristics since 1945 when it lost its hinterland on the east side of the river Elbe. Until 1990 the river had formed an impenetrable border between the then German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. For 45 years the district's location in this border zone prevented major industries from moving here. The predominantly rural state of this district might have supported maintenance of the vernacular. However, the failure of the Low German component of the diglossia can be observed, and the following factors are of particular importance for an investigation of this language shift: In the Dahlenburg-Bleckede district language maintenance of Low German has been especially threatened since 1945 by forced relocation of a large number of inhabitants from the former eastern German provinces. This massive population shift occurred between 1945 and 1950 in accordance with the Allied agreements of Yalta and Potsdam that granted Poland territorial rights over the former eastern German provinces of East Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia and expelled and relocated 12 million Germans.[2] This population movement affected all of western Germany, but it resulted in a disproportional increase in the population in the target area where the population figures almost doubled.[3] They are as follows: 1 September 1939, population 10,116; 29 October 1946, population 16,880; 13 September 1950, population 18,649; 1 January 1952, population 17,866; 30 June 1984, population 17,442.

I have intimately known the geographic area in question and its linguistic environment since 1945, and have thus had an opportunity to study language shift directly not only in apparent but also in real time. In this study I conducted an investigation into the nature of the observed language shift. The question of maintenance of the vernacular, Low German (called LG from here on), was compared to the degree of assimilation to Standard German (called StG from here on). The project was approached empirically. However, theoretical approaches by contemporary scholars to related questions were taken into consideration and have been corroborated by findings of this study. Until 1945 the targeted speech community had displayed signs of a stable diglossia of LG and StG in the sense of Ferguson's definition:

> a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation."[4]

With the sudden relocation of non-LG speakers almost equal in number to the indigenous population of LG speakers, the former diglossic balance of the district received a severe jolt.

I hypothesized that a sudden shift from LG to StG in a formerly stable diglossic speech community had been triggered by an unprecedented massive population movement from eastern Germany into the target area immediately following World War II. I further hypothesized that loyalty to LG has been superseded by total assimilation to StG in the young speaker generation as a result of their elders' language shift after 1945. In order to investigate these questions I took three steps:

First: In 1984 a sociolinguistic survey was conducted by questionnaire, randomly targeting 340 families and producing a sample of 218 families covering three speaker generations. Second: In 1985 and 1987 personal interviews on linguistic behavior and geo-linguistic as well as social background were conducted in 26 families of the sample population, three speaker generations were represented in each family. Third: In 1987 a language attitude test was conducted with 13 informants of the second speaker generation. This paper, however, will deal only with the survey and interview data.

Two independent characteristics, geo-linguistic background and social status, were considered at each step and language behavior was measured against those characteristics. The two most important groups of each of the two parameters are discussed here: the native and the immigrant groups as geo-linguistic characteristics, and farmers and craftsmen as social characteristics.

Until the summer of 1945 I had observed that the speech community in question presented a stable diglossia on all social levels. The indigenous population simply considered LG their native tongue and used StG only in official public functions. StG was applied in the schools, in public administration, and in legal procedures, although, according to my informants, even some courts of law occasionally conducted hearings in LG. The diglossic situation was such that StG or its local reflex was used in a limited public domain, whereas LG was the language of an extended private domain that partly infringed on the public domain. The dominant role LG occupied in the target district, and in other parts of northern Germany for that matter, had been supported by an administrative decree in 1919, according to which schools were to foster competence in LG by introducing LG literature along with that of StG.[5] Introduction of elementary readers in LG was officially favored by National Socialist school authorities and supported by a number of teachers in the target district.[6]

Such was the linguistic situation when a large number of immigrants was suddenly and forcefully relocated in this speech community. The new arrivals could not speak the local variety of LG and in most cases not even understand it. The traditional diglossia was superseded by a state of plurilingualism where differing speech groups formed a community, each group representing a different diglossia. The only common linguistic denominator for all the speech groups was the standard language, although even this one differed in its everyday realization in each group. However, each reflex of everyday StG (Umgangssprache) was mutually intelligible. It follows that a colloquial reflex of StG was now used as means of communication between the various speech groups. It became the most frequently used speech form, since language contacts between natives and immigrants were not limited to public or occasional encounters. The newcomers had no individual households, and each indigenous household was required to give shelter to one or more expellee families. The most frequent encounters were at work or in the shared household and had to be conducted in StG. It can generally be stated that this unprecedented and sudden population influx severely disturbed the social structure of the target district, and the question arises whether the linguistic impact was equally high.

As early as autumn of 1945 it became evident that a language clash was taking place. Refugees represented the major workforce on the farms during harvest time of that first year after the war. Refugees also replaced some natives in trades and crafts because the British Military Government removed everyone from his/her position in public life who had been a member of the National Socialist party.[7] For the same reason community administrators, postal workers, and railway personnel were replaced, as were a number of local teachers when schools opened again in 1946. If an observer had had to define linguistic domains at that particular time, s/he would have noticed that not a gradual shift of domains had taken place over a period of time but a rather abrupt shift of language use in almost all domains formerly governed by LG. I witnessed this process, and my informants attested to it during the family interviews.

In 1984 the surveyed district had a population of 17,442 with a total of 4,058 households. The 218 families participating in the sociolinguistic survey accounted for parents, children, and grandparents in extended households and added responses from 128 grandparents in separate households. Thus, the survey sample represents 8.6% of the total household population, comprising 536 first generation speakers, ages 61-83, 436 second generation speakers, ages 33-52, and 585 third generation speakers, up to age 19.

The questionnaire elicited data to the point that traditional loyalty to LG has been superseded by a high degree of assimilation to StG in all speech domains. In evaluating the survey data, active and passive competence in LG was measured by three grades: zero, low, and high.[8] The data show that only 3.7% of the total sample maintain high active LG competence. The percentage is only slightly higher when LG competence is measured against the geo-linguistic characteristic of indigenous North Saxon descent. In this group 7.7% qualify for high grade active use of the vernacular, whereas in the group of mixed marriages and the eastern German group zero active use of LG is recorded. Only 2% of third generation speakers, six children in two families, claim high active competence in LG, but 98% declare that they cannot speak the vernacular at all.

Interview data elicited from 26 families of the total sample of 218 supported my hypothesis that a language shift in the indigenous population had been initiated by the first speaker generation as early as 1946, in other words by the grandparents of the youngest speakers in my sample. Since the native population represents the original landowners in the area, it was of special interest to measure language maintenance in the group of farmers. They represent the oldest recorded North Saxon group of inhabitants in the target district. The total of 4,058 households in the district comprises 136 fulltime farms. With 17 farming families in the sample, 7.8%, the survey represents an average number of this social group. Only three of these families qualify for high grade active competence in LG, implying that first and second generation speakers still converse in the vernacular, although only occasionally and not at all with the third generation. As the findings indicate, most of the indigenous speakers did not pass on the vernacular to the next generation. Interviews regularly elicited the answer: "After the refugees came we hardly spoke Low German any longer." The loss of the vernacular's communicative function is overtly claimed as the reason for abandoning it, a claim that supports my hypothesis that the massive immigrant wave triggered the displacement of LG.

However, underlying this reasoning may have been the tacit fear that the farming group's traditional position of power in the community was threatened by the unprecedented invasion. Harold Schiffman, in his studies on diglossia in Alemannic Switzerland and in other multiglossic language areas, alludes to an inherent instability of diglossic situations "due to an imbalance of power between two or more language varieties within a diglossic community".[9] The case in question, the farmers' shift from the vernacular to the standard language, may help illustrate Schiffman's thesis. Before the massive influx of non-LG speakers, the farmers' prestige lay with loyalty to the vernacular as a symbol of their group's identity. They were the most influential group on account of prosperous landownership and active involvement in community affairs. It follows that their North Saxon LG variety served not only as group identifier but also as language of local power. LG enjoyed a power status in this district similar to the status StG claims in urban areas.

This situation changed with the arrival of a large number of non-LG speakers. At the same time the post-war period offered new promises of upward-mobility for the farming group. These challenges required deserting tradition and group identity in favor of influence beyond the native group manifesting itself linguistically in an increased use of StG. Faced with the loss of an influential position, more families in this group than in any other social group in the target district recognized a need for higher education which comprised a widespread displacement of the vernacular. Informants of the first speaker generation covertly attest to this attitude when they point out that they ceased using LG with their children after the population influx because these children had to compete with the refugee children in school. Those children spoke High German exclusively and were not hampered by interference errors in oral or written language use in contrast to the indigenous children who came from predominantly LG speaking homes. The farmers felt that usage of LG would disadvantage their children, since most of the post-war teachers were newcomers from the east who frowned upon LG interference errors that native students regularly made in the standard language. Educational goals for the sake of preserving a powerful position inside and outside the community became most important for the families in the farming group. Those indigenous families have succeeded in their endeavors, but a failing diglossia has resulted from this attitudinal shift in the most influential group in the region.

This attitudinal shift is in line with William Labov's findings in his study of language change on Martha's Vineyard.[10] There educational or economical interests led to predominant use of a standardized speech variety in one group of residents, linguistically expressing a mainland oriented, off-island attitude. The opposite applied to an on-island attitude that supported maintenance of the non-standardized speech version generated by the Chilmark fishermen who were proud of being different from the mainlanders. This latter attitude, as described by Labov, was expressed in my survey by part of the group with the social denominator of craftsmen and laborers. Data elicited from this group provided a surprise insofar, as the highest percentage of LG maintenance was found here. The sample of this group, 90 families, reflects the population average.

Labov introduced the notion "covert" prestige in opposition to the prestige that overtly defines class or societal values.[11] The data of this study's survey and interviews support Labov's findings. They reveal that the North Saxon vernacular, although abandoned by most other groups, enjoys a special covert prestige status in the construction trade. Of the sample of 90 craftsmen 54 (60%) qualify for active competence in LG. Of those informants 43 are in the building trade, and they stressed that the vernacular is used exclusively on their construction jobs. Data elicited from the social group of entrepreneurs confirm these findings: The owners of construction firms are the only entrepreneurs who actively use LG with their employees. The question arises whether all these construction workers competent in LG happen to be native to the district. Significantly the answer is "no". The sample of 43 construction employees contains only 24 who are native to the area, 14 have an eastern German background, and five originate from other parts of Germany. It is thus remarkable that the total construction workforce preserves the vernacular as a means of communication on the job. LG enjoys the highest prestige in construction, even with descendants of the refugee group. Membership in this social group supersedes allegiance to any other group. Informants of refugee descent stated that they had to learn LG on the job in order to be accepted by their peers. It must be recognized, however, that almost all these competent LG speakers of this social group do not use the LG vernacular with their families.

We have to look beyond the facts and ask two questions: (1) Why is LG preserved in the group of craftsmen but not in the group of farmers? (2) Why is LG preserved as the common linguistic denominator in the building trade but not in other trades?

The findings point to the following answers: (1) The farmers' tacit decision to stay in control made it easier for them to adjust to the newly developing language situation in the community. The farming families embraced the higher prestige of StG for this community directly after the post-war immigration. Their attitudinal shift was emphasized by their early awareness of a need for higher education and thus for extensive outside-community contacts. (2) The craftspeople, on the other hand, although highly trained are generally more conservative, less interested in higher education, less outside-community oriented, and thus more loyal to the vernacular. However, the informants of the first speaker generation nevertheless stated that they ceased speaking LG with their children after 1945 so their offspring would not be disadvantaged at school. In that respect their language attitude agrees with that of the farming group. Why then is LG preserved today as the common linguistic denominator in the building trade but not in other trades? And why do the same speakers of LG not support the vernacular at home?

Interview answers to these questions can be summarized in the following way: LG has such a strong standing in the construction trade of the target district because here it bonds an exclusively male workforce in brotherhood. The findings of this study in relation to the building trade compare favorably to Labov's study of a sound change on Martha's Vineyard.[12] The linguistic peculiarity developed by the Chilmark fishermen had signaled male group membership and had also symbolized an attitude of independence that was strongly on-island oriented. A comparable attitude prevails in the building trade in the target district. The usage of LG is a linguistic expression of solidarity with a male group that goes hand in hand with a strong in-community orientation. The target district is not an island, as in Labov's study, but its partly isolated location over 45 years may have favored an insular attitude in a group so decisively in-community minded. The fact that most of these male speakers do not use LG in their private domain proves the theory that they regard the vernacular exclusively as a status symbol for their male job brotherhood. Some members of the construction work force even give visible testimony to their job status by wearing the traditional uniforms of the northern German (Hamburg) carpenter guild.

Apart from this one social group, this study has found corroborating evidence in the Dahlenburg-Bleckede district that a shift from balanced diglossic use of LG and StG to predominant use of a StG reflex was triggered by the massive population shift from the former eastern German provinces into the target area immediately following World War II. The shift happened in the first speaker generation when the formerly diglossic speech community became predominantly monolingual. Further regression of LG is evident in the second speaker generation, and a far reaching loss of the vernacular marks the third speaker generation.

Notes

1. Klaus Mattheier. *Pragmatik und Soziologie der Dialekte* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1980).

2. Alfred de Zayas, *Nemesis at Potsdam* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977) XIX-XXV, Bundesarchiv der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Dokumentation der Vertreibung: Ostdokumente (Koblenz: 1965-75).

3. "Veröffentlichungen des Niedersächsischen Amtes für Landesplanung und Statistik, Gemeindestatistik für Niedersachsen," 3 (Hannover: 29. Oktober 1946), pp. 116-121; "Gemeindestatistik für Niedersachsen" 5 (Hannover: 13. September 1950, 1. Januar 1952), pp. 76-81; "Bevölkerung der Gemeinden am 30. Juni 1984," 5 (Hannover: 1985), pp. 38-39.

4. Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," *Word* 15 (1959), p. 336.

5. Dieter Möhn, "Niederdeutsch in der Schule," *Handbuch zur niederdeutschen Sprach-und Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Gerhard Cordes and Dieter Möhn (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1983), pp. 64-67.

6. Bundesarchiv der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, "Erlaß des Reichsministers für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung vom 10. April 1937," (Berlin: Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, 1937).

7. Heinrich Schäfer, *Die Entwicklung der Schule Dahlenburg von 1571-1964*. (Dahlenburg: Manuscript, estate Heinrich Schäfer, 1973).

8. Low grade active competence implies that mostly first generation speakers have preserved their LG speaking competence in the family while, at best, only one second generation speaker uses LG occasionally. High grade active competence implies that the first generation speakers' loyalty to the vernacular was extended to the second generation and may have some language maintaining influence on the third generation.

9. Harold Schiffman, "Swiss German Diglossia: Who Holds the Decisionmaking Power?", *Language and Society Papers: Linguistic Decisions*, 3. (U of Washington P, 1990). See also Schiffman, "The Balance of Power in Multiglossic Languages: Implications for Language Shift," *Language and Society Papers: Linguistic Decisions*, 4. (U of Washington P, 1990), p. 1: The thesis of this paper is that diglossic situations tend to be unstable, and that their lack of stability is due to an imbalance of power between the two (or more) varieties of a language that constitute the diglossic complex. This instability often leads to language shift, i.e. displacement of one variety by another, or even by a third variety.

10. William Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1972), pp. 28-29: "This gradual transition to dependence on, and outright ownership by the summer people has produced reactions varying from a fiercely defensive contempt for outsiders to enthusiastic plans for furthering the tourist economy. A study of the data shows that high centralization of (ay) and (aw) is closely correlated with expressions of strong resistance to the incursions of the summer people. The greatest resistance is felt … in Chilmark, the only place where fishing is still a major part of the economy."

11. William Labov, *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966), p. 500 f.: "The preponderance of some stigmatized speech forms among male speakers, despite their clear recognition of the social significance assigned by pressure from above, reinforces the suggestion that masculinity is unconsciously attributed to the unmodified native speech pattern.... The exact description of the covert values associated with the native speech pattern is one of the unfinished tasks which remain for further studies."

12. Labov, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, pp. 23-42.

An Empirical Investigation of the Relationship Between a Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview and the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview

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Since the introduction of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Proficiency Guidelines and the Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), oral proficiency testing has been widely disseminated in foreign language education (See ACTFL). The OPI involves in face-to-face interaction between an examinee and a trained interviewer in order to elicit speech samples that may be rated according to the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. While many professionals in the commonly taught languages were being trained in the OPI procedures, there was concern about the situation in the less commonly taught languages where the economic and organizational realities, at least for the time being, would limit the development and administration of the OPI (Clark).

To deal with this problem, a tape-based, alternative approach to interview-based speaking proficiency testing has been developed by the staff at the Center for Applied Linguistics. This measure has been called the Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview, hereafter abbreviated to SOPI (Stansfield). The SOPI is a type of semi-direct speaking test that models the format of the OPI and is scored using the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines (ACTFL, Stansfield). It elicits speech by means of tape recordings and printed test booklets rather than face-to-face interaction. The SOPI can be administered to a large group simultaneously in a language lab. Tapes recorded at any institution can be sent to the trained individual for scoring. The first SOPI was developed by Clark and Li in 1986, although they called it a semi-direct oral proficiency interview (Clark). Several other SOPIs in the less commonly taught languages such as Japanese, Hausa, Hebrew, Indonesian and Portuguese have also been developed following the first SOPI in Chinese language (Stansfield). This study reports on the validation of one of CAL's SOPIs, the Chinese Speaking Test (CST), which represents a typical SOPI.

Before the CST is widely used as a surrogate for the OPI, regular empirical studies on its validity and reliability should be conducted and replicated on different testers and populations under different contexts. When Clark and Li (1986) developed the CST, they also conducted a validation and reliability study in which 32 subjects were given both the CST and the OPI. Each test was scored by two raters and the scores on the two types of test were statistically compared. The results showed the correlation between the CST and the OPI to be .93. It should be pointed out that the Clark and Li's study has been the only validation and reliability study on the CST so far. It should also be pointed out that while the Clark and Li's work has produced empirical evidence supporting the validation and reliability of the CST, the average proficiency level of the subjects in their study was Advanced-High (Clark, p. 5). Since the average proficiency level of Chinese in a four-year sequence program is Intermediate-Mid, it is conceivable that research should be carried out and duplicated with typical college and university student populations (Ke). One of the main purposes of this study was to investigate whether with the student body representing typical range of levels of proficiency in a typical Chinese program in a college or university, there would be the same kind of high degree of agreement between the two types of tests.

In order for the validity and reliability of the CST to be supported so that the CST can be used as an appropriate and effective alternative measure for the OPI in cases where giving a face-to-face interview is economically and administratively not viable, correlations between the CST ratings and the OPI ratings with different ratings should be high, for two reasons. First, as mentioned above, since both the CST and the OPI were developed and scored according to the same guidelines (the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines), low level of agreement in test performance between the two tests could suggest that the testing methods or types (in this case direct versus semi-direct) can be significant sources of errors. And secondly if the CST renders significantly different scores by different raters, one would suggest that the same guidelines which lead to high level of inter-rater agreement in a face-to-face interview may not be appropriate for a tape-plus-booklet speaking test.

This study was designed to address two specific research questions: 1) Can the CST be scored reliably by different raters? and 2) What is the degree of relationship between the CST and the OPI?

The subjects of this study were 45 students of Chinese from the 1992 Indiana University East Asian Summer Language Institute (EASLI). EASLI is a nine-week intensive program offering four levels of instruction. This group's enrollments ranged from level-one to level-four. Subjects included males and females from a variety of backgrounds. Most of the subjects were American born, but some of them had been raised in a Chinese-speaking household. Subjects were not paid for their participation because it was part of the program requirement.

Based on performance in the face-to-face interview (the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI), each test taker was assigned a single global rating from the OPI scale. The nine levels of this scale, from least to most proficiency, are: Novice-Low, Novice-Mid, Novice-High, Intermediate-Low, Intermediate-Mid, Intermediate-High, Advanced, Advanced-High, and Superior. The rating criteria are divided into five categories: Global Tasks/Functions, Context, Content, Accuracy, and Text Type (ACTFL).

The CAL Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview (SOPI) is a type of semi-direct test which elicits speech by means of tape recordings and printed test booklets rather than face-to-face interaction. The format of the SOPI models that of the OPI as closely as possible (Clark). The CST, which is a typical SOPIs, consists of three components: a master tape containing the test instructions and questions (both in English), a test booklet containing test instructions, pictures, and questions needed in responding, and an examinee's response tape to be recorded the examinee's speech during the test and to be rated after the test. The CST can be administered to a large group simultaneously in a language lab or to an individual using two tape recorders. The CST employs pictures, questions, and situations to elicit speech which is similar to that which would be elicited with the OPI (Clark).

In terms of procedure, all subjects had taken both the CST and the OPI at the end of the EASLI program. The CST was administered three days before the OPI and within a single day. The OPI was conducted within three days. Two ACTFL Certified Testers of Mandarin Chinese conducted the face to face (OPI) interviews. Each face-to-face interview was conducted and rated by one tester, and then the taped face-to-face interview was second-rated by the other tester. The CST was administered at the Indiana University Computer and Language Laboratory by one of the testers. Each tape containing the examinee's response for the CST received two ratings from the two testers. In order to obtain feedback from the subjects concerning their experience with the two tests, informal conversations with the subjects, following test administration, were conducted by the investigator.

Data analysis was conducted by the investigator using the SPSSX statistical package. Basic descriptive statistics (mean, range and standard deviation) were computed for all data. The two research questions in this study primarily required correlational analyses. Thus Pearson product-moment correlations and crosstabulations were calculated for the data obtained from both the CST and the OPI with two ratings. In order to carry out the computations, scores on both the CST and the OPI were quantified as 1-9, corresponding to each rank order on the scale:

ACTFL Level	Coded As:
Novice-Low	1
Novice-Mid	2
Novice-High	3
Intermediate-Low	4
Intermediate-Mid	5
Intermediate-High	6
Advanced	7
Advanced-High	8
Superior	9

The several tables below provide descriptive statistics and inter-rater reliability obtained in the study. Table I gives the descriptive statistics for the scores assigned in this study.

Table I indicates that the range of scores awarded to the subjects was wide (from Novice-High to Advanced-High). The mean scores for each rater of each test were very similar (about Intermediate-Mid), indicating that the raters were almost equal in their degree of severity. Mean scores for the OPI were slightly higher than those for the CST. There are a couple of possible explanations for this. One is that the subjects did perform differently on the two tests but that raters did rate them both reliably. The other explanation may lie in the fact that the subjects took the CST three days before taking the OPI. Their familiarity with a similar oral proficiency test might have played a role here.

Table I
Descriptive Statistics for Scores Levels
Assigned by Raters to SOPI and OPI Tests

Test Form	Minimum Score	Maximum Score	Mean	Standard Deviation
CST (N=4)				
Rater 3	3	8	4.98	1.44
Rater 2	3	8	4.96	1.43
OPI (N=45)				
Rater 1	3	8	5.05	1.54
Rater 2	3	8	5.09	1.41

The frequencies of the scores are presented in the following two diagrams. These diagrams also show the number of agreements between the absolute ratings of the two raters (in bold print along the diagonal).

Table II
Crosstabulations of CST Ratings (N=45)

Rater 1 (down) / Rater 2 (across)							
Frequency	Nov-High	Int-Low	Int-Mid	Int-High	Adv.	Adv-High	Total
Nov-High	**6**						6
Int-Low		**15**					15
Int-Mid			**7**				7
Int-High			1	**11**			12
Advanced					**1**		1
Adv-High						**4**	4
Total	6	15	8	11	1	4	45

Table III
Crosstabulations of OPI Ratings (N=45)

Rater 1 (down) / Rater 2 (across)							
Frequency	Nov-High	Int Low	Int-Mid	Int-High	Adv.	Adv-High	Total
Nov-High	**5**	3					8
Int-Low		**11**	1				12
Int-Mid			**5**	1			6
Int-High			1	**11**			12
Advanced				2		1	3
Adv-High					1	**3**	4
Total	5	14	7	14	1	4	45

Table II presents the ratings of Rater I (down) against the ratings of Rater 2 (across) for the CST. From Table II we can see that the agreement of the absolute ratings was extremely high. There was total agreement in 97.8% of the ratings. There was only one case of disagreement, and the difference was only one step away on the rating scale.

Table III presents the ratings of Rater I (down) against the ratings of Rater 2 (across) for the OPI. From Table III we see that the agreement of the absolute ratings was moderately high (77.8%). Where there was disagreement, it was no more than one step away on the rating scale. Together, Table II and Table III indicate relatively high consistency between the two ratings of the two the tests.

Table IV
Inter-rater Reliabilities

Test Form	Correlation
CST (N=45)	.9946
OPI (N=45)	.9517

* All correlation coefficients are significant at p<.01 (2-tailed).

Table V
Correlations of CST with OPI

Rater/CST	Rater 1/OPI	Rater 2/OPI
Rater 1/CST (N=45)	.9261	.9753
Rater 2/CST (N=45)	.9113	.9708

* All correlation coefficients are significant at p<.01 (2-tailed).

The inter-rater reliabilities are presented in Table IV. Table IV contains the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficiencts based on both the CST and the OPI scores assigned by the two ratings. All correlations in this matrix are significant, with p<.01 (2-tailed). These inter-rater reliabilities are all uniformly high. These correlations show that inter-rater reliabilities were not significantly affected by the format of the two tests. This outcome suggests that the CST elicits a sample of speech as ratable on the ACTFL scale as the OPI.

The degree of agreement in absolute ratings given on the face-to-face interview with ratings given on the same subject's CST are shown in Table VI. From Table VI, we see that there are 77% of the 180 cases (45 subjects x two test forms x 2 ratings) receiving absolute agreement between the CST and the OPI ratings by two raters. For all the variations except one, the difference was only one step away on the rating scale. In one case, an examinee received a rating of Advanced for the OPI, but was given an Intermediate-Mid on the CST. Thus, for 99% of the ratings, the ratings on the face-to-face interview and the ratings of the taped-interview were identical or differed by less than one step on the rating scale. Coupled with the high correlations documented, the absolute values given to the examinees on both the OPI and the CST by two ratings suggest that examinees can have similar performances on these two tests and that raters scored consistently with respect to themselves and the methods.

The main purpose of this study has been to investigate the validation of a simulated oral proficiency interview the Chinese Speaking Test (CST) in terms of its relationship with the OPI. The rationale was if the CST can be a valid measure of oral language proficiency that can be substituted for the OPI, it can be employed in institutions where trained interviewers are not available. Inter-rater reliabilities were examined based on the examinees' performance on both the CST and the OPI. The results of this study, which are consistent with those of Clark and Li's, indicate that the CST can be rated reliably and consistently, and that given the same performance, examinees would get the same rating on either of the two tests.

One major advantage pertaining to the SOPI lies in its practicality. The SOPI can be simultaneously administered to a group of examinees by a single administrator, thus, it is preferable in situations where many examinees need to be tested within a short span of time. However, once the test has been completed, tapes containing the examinees' responses will have to be rated by a trained individual. Though the SOPI tapes can be sent to the trained individual for rating, such practice often is too costly and time-consuming.

Table VI
Crosstabulations of OPI Ratings by CST Ratings

OPI (down) / SOPI (across)							
Frequency	Nov-High	Int-Low	Int-Mid	Int-High	Adv.	Adv-High	Total
Nov-High	20	6					26
Int-Low	4	46	2				52
Int-Mid		8	16	2			26
Int-High			11	41			52
Advanced			1	3	2	2	8
Adv-High					2	14	16
Total	24	60	30	46	4	16	180

Several other aspects related to the administration of the CST should be noted if it is to be used. First, though the examinees' scores on both the CST and the OPI in this study were extremely close, all subjects reported that they preferred the "more natural method," i.e., the face-to-face interview (OPI) to the "talking-to-the-machine" interview. Second, with the OPI it only takes 10-15 minutes if the proficiency level of an examinee falls on or lower than Intermediate; however, such an examinee will have to sit through the whole 45-minute SOPI test in which many of the topics and situations are far beyond the examinee's language ability and personal experience to handle. Third, many subjects reported that there was not enough time given to respond to many of the Advanced- and Superior-level questions and topics in the "mechanically-controlled" interview. Such is not the case in a face-to-face interview where the interviewers normally allow examinees to take their time to finish their answers. Finally, due to its standardized, non-interactive nature, the SOPI does not permit the extensive probing which is necessary when testing at the Advanced and Superior levels. With the OPI, on the other hand, the interviewers can tailor the test to the examinee and subsequently can exhaust relevant topics and subjects based on the interviewees' responses, thus, the range of the language ability can be covered more broadly.

To conclude, though the tape-based interview can be substituted for the face-to-face interview, the face-to-face method is preferable whenever the necessary resources are made available. A tape-based speaking test should be considered as a second choice.

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Literary Canons and the Premodern Chinese Novel

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In premodern[1] China, unlike such canonized genres as philosophical prose and lyrical verse, the novel was looked down upon as a lesser art outside the mainstream of orthodox literature.[2] The status of the classical Chinese novel may well be a good source for the study of certain values and attitudes in the course of Chinese history and literature.

The fact that certain texts are canonized and others are excluded has more to do with the historical conditions than with their alleged timelessness as great works. Literary reputations are made, not born. As Jane Tompkins points out,

> Literary texts, like everything else, are humanly created, historically produced objects, whose value has been created and recreated by men and women out of particular needs, institutional practices, and social arrangements that sustain the canon of classic works (Tompkins 641).

The canon, therefore, is never an innocent selection of the best that has been thought and said; rather, it is the institutionalization of those particular verbal artifacts that appear to best convey and sustain the dominant social order.

Since Confucianism was the official ideology in premodern China, this paper will examine how Confucianism worked within the institutional, cultural, political and literary context to exclude fiction from the canon. The first part will explore the relationship between premodern Chinese fiction and the oral tradition, and how this relationship affects the status of the fiction. The second part will critique the function of educational institutions and especially that of the civil service examination. The third and fourth parts will discuss two aspects of Confucian influence upon literature. One is the idea that historical facts and previous experience should be privileged over the imaginary or the fanciful. The other is the didactic function of literature, whereby it is to serve to propagate Confucian doctrines.

Written mainly in the living spoken language rather than the canonical literary language, premodern Chinese novels had the widest appeal of any form of literature. However, they were considered as altogether unworthy of the name of literature. One of the explanations of this anomaly lies in the fact that fiction grew out of popular origin. It was mainly meant for the consumption of common people, whereas the Confucian scholars represented the aristocracy of letters which, since the Han Dynasty (201 B.C.-220 A.D.), was synonymous with Chinese officialdom.

The Chinese term for the novel, "xiaoshuo," originally meant "small talk."[3] Its etymology implies that Chinese vernacular fiction was closely related to oral tradition. Although little is known of its early history, a picture of storytelling emerged in the Tang dynasty (618-906) from some scattered references to the activities of Buddhist monks and "bianwen" texts.[4] The generally accepted theory of the origin of colloquial fiction in China holds that its earliest examples were early 14th century "pinghua" and mid-16th century "huaben."[5] They derived from the texts of the professional storytellers of the Sung (960-1278) and perhaps the Yuan (1260-1368) dynasties (Lu Xun 141-143). According to most critics, "pinghua" and "huaben" would be directly or indirectly related to storytellers' promptbooks which provided these artists with the outlines of their stories, or sometimes, complete texts. The first typical example of Chinese fiction, the novel *Shui Hu Zhuan* (*The Water Margin*), for instance, reads like the transcript of a storyteller's performance. At every twist and turn of the plot, expressions occur which appear to be derived from the repertoire of rhetorical formulas of professional storytellers. The construction of the novel is strongly influenced by the storytellers' techniques of including one complete episode in each chapter, and of leaving the reader at a critical juncture, so that s/he will have to pay for the next installment.

Storytelling was a commercial entertainment, catering to the taste of urban classes, usually artisans and merchants, who thronged the marketplace or teahouses to listen to its practitioners. These classes arose together with ongoing urbanization during the Sung dynasty and later. As the novel developed, the vernacular language was enriched by the literary language and became a sophisticated medium very different from the tales of the storyteller from which it evolved. However, the printed novels were also intended for the urban bourgeoisie, as opposed to the powerful elite of the landholding gentry and the class of officials that sprung from it.

Since fiction is largely the preserve of the oral and vernacular literature, the unrecognized literature, the prevailing attitude towards novels and short stories was very disparaging in premodern China (Lévy 2). While a vast amount of scholarly energy was devoted to such genres as poetry and philosophical prose, the novels and short stories were ignored by critics and remained largely unstudied and undervalued until the first decades of the 20th century.

Confucian China developed an examination system that supposedly recruited government employees on the basis of ability and minimized the role of political patronage. Its origins can be traced back to the early Han dynasty and it was not abolished until 1905. With knowledge of the Confucian writings as the sole standard in selecting public officials, the examination system "served simultaneously to recruit loyal civil servants of a standard type and to guarantee a thorough indoctrination in the Confucian ideology among the whole educated class, which on its part was the model for the whole population" (Franke 13). It trained generations of literocrats and guaranteed that members of the socially, economically and politically established classes were also those with cultural power (Wang 491). Indeed, the Confucian classics—the paramount canons in premodern China—proved to be oppressive constructs erected to control the texts and hence the values of society.

Preparation for the examinations was an adolescent as well as an adult endeavor. Novels and stories certainly had nothing to do with the reading list. As a matter of fact, one was said to be able to gain God's favor in the examination by burning novels and other heterodox works (Liang Gongchen 20-21).

The significance of the examination system in relation to the novel can be seen on several levels. First, the traditional civil service examination tested individuals in the Confucian classics and a few standard prose and poetry works—all written in the literary language. Since these examinations provided a sure, if not the only, way to fame and position, the study and mastery of the literary language became an urgent task for practically all scholars in old China. Owing to this undue attention to the classics and poetry, the scholars disparaged other branches of literature, the novel in particular, as knowledge in that area did not advance their great end. Second, scholars who had spent years acquiring a mastery of the classical language tended to look down on any form of literature not written in it, and to view such writings as unorthodox and unfit for a man of culture. Third, the "bagu" essay style, a kind of slavish imitation of classical models with long and complex parallel constructions and subtleties of indirect statement, became the official style for examination essays and affected the style of writing tremendously. It helped to consolidate the classical language as the official style and to lower class the vernacular language, in which almost all novels and stories were written. Fourth, the system encouraged the habit of merely memorizing texts without creative thinking and therefore the officials were not trained to think for themselves and produce responses. This is closely related to the Confucian emphasis on facts and historical precedents instead of imaginative or inspired thinking (to be discussed next), which is crucial in fictional writings. It is little wonder that most of the major Chinese novels were written by unhappy scholars who failed in the official examinations.

A sober-minded concept of literature in the orthodox Confucian tradition contributed to the underprivileged position Chinese novels occupied from the very start. The disparaging attitude towards fictional writings was inspired and consolidated through numerous comments attributed to Confucius himself, and subsequently preserved in the works of his disciples as well as by Confucian scholars through the centuries. Karl Kao observes that the fictional narrative was disparaged particularly on two counts: "First, its contents are "xu" (imaginary, fictitious), in opposition to the "xu" (real, factual) of history, and thereby lack referential trustworthiness. Secondly, in part as a consequence of the first weakness, fiction cannot perform the serious, edifying function of orthodox literature—it is frivolous in nature, unworthy of grave responsibilities of moral teaching" (Kao 34).

In his *Analects*, Confucius made it clear that he did not "talk about devils, force, disturbance and gods" (Qian Mu 241). In the chapter "The Morals of the Five Kings" in the *Book of Rites*, one of Confucius' students asked him whether a certain emperor in ancient times could be considered a man since he was said to have lived for three hundred years. Confucius answered:

> He was said to have lived for three hundred years simply because when he was living, the people benefited from his ruling for one hundred years. After his death, the people were afraid of his spirit for one hundred years. And after that people employed his teachings for another hundred years (Li Fang 79 368).

It is obvious that there was a remarkable diminution of the overall role of the imaginative in the mainstream Chinese thought.

Chinese novelists, however, took a different approach. Even when writing specifically historical romances and novels, the method of the novelists is what an expressive Chinese phrase calls "qifen shi, sanfen xu," "seventy percent fact and thirty percent fancy." Just as in ancient Greece, where Clio was a muse for both historians and epic poets, so too were historical facts thoroughly blended with fictional elaborations in Chinese narrative. These historical novels and romances add to the record a wealth of pithy anecdotes and appealing details, suggest motivations, reconstruct conversations, and accomplish the infusion of contemporary life into figures of the past. For the most part the authors made use of older themes, but peopled the setting with new figures taken from their times. In the novels we can find "the 'absolute past' of gods, demigods and heroes 'contemporized': it is brought low, represented on a plane equal with contemporary life, in an everyday environment, in the low language of contemporaneity" (Bahktin 21).

Fictionalized history plays a major role in Chinese literature, supplying one of the most important strands in the development of the novel. *The Water Margin* and *Journey to the West* are famous examples of historical fiction. The former relates the adventures of a band of outlaws who have a stronghold in the marsh country of the lower Yellow River valley. There is some faint historical foundation for the storyline and for the name of the leaders, but the writer of the novel pays little attention to it. The work is set in a social, political and economic milieu marking a declining dynasty shot through with weakness and corruption and increasingly vulnerable to invaders. *Journey to the West* has its historical basis in a pilgrimage to India by a saintly monk, who travelled for seventeen years and brought back 657 Buddhist scriptures from India. Upon his return, he devoted the remainder of his life to translating these texts, establishing a school of Chinese Buddhism. The monk in the novel, however, could not have borne any resemblance to his historical counterpart. Dull of mind and peevish in spirit, he is a coward always in need of his supernatural disciple, Monkey, who makes his journey possible by defeating all the demons on the way. Though the monk is granted Buddhahood at the end of the novel, his behavior does little to merit this exaltation.

Ever since Ban Gu's remark that "xiaoshuo" originated from the "baiguan" (petty or low-ranking officials) of the Zhou dynasty who inquired about the ways and customs of the people, "xiaoshuo" was often referred to as "baishi," i.e., trivial, miscellaneous or unofficial history (Ban Gu 96). Under the influence of the Confucian respect for the factual, this designation had pejorative connotations and "baishi" writings were usually condemned as being distortions of history (see Zhang Xuecheng). As a result, the close connection between fictional and historiographical tradition does not serve to commend fiction: it makes it stand out as bad history.

In addition to the imaginary nature of the fictional narrative, another factor that contributed to the low prestige of the novel was the prevailing Confucian concept of literature as a means to achieve political, social, moral or educational goals.

Every culture makes its own canonical choices about the texts that best express its ideals. Since government by moral influence is a Confucian political ideal, the function of literature is mainly to make comment on social and political affairs, to cultivate moral character and to polish social behavior (Liu Art 65-66).

Expressions of the pragmatic concept of literature can be found in the *Book of Poetry*, which was supposedly compiled by Confucius. Some poets in this anthology made it clear that their intention was to praise or to admonish a ruler. Commenting on the *The*

Book of Poetry, Confucius said "The *Three Hundred Poems* may be summed up in one phrase: 'No evil thoughts'" (Qian Mu 29).

Poetry can serve to inspire emotion, to help your observation, to make you fit for company, to express your grievances, to teach you how to serve your father at home and your prince abroad ... (Qian Mu 274). The extremely pragmatic attitude in these passages is self-evident.

Literature's function and raison d'etre in this perspective were to "carry the Confucian Way" ("wen yi zaidao"). In other words, it must contribute to uplifting people by attracting them emotionally towards the approved ideal. By far the most famous formulation of this moralistic conception of literature is that made by the philosopher Zhou Dunyi in the Sung Dynasty:

> Literature is that by which one carries the Way. If the wheels and shafts (of a carriage) are decorated but no one uses it, then the decorations are in vain. Literature and rhetoric are skills; the Way and virtues are realities (Liu 1965 114).

The novel, however, is associated not only with unofficial language but unofficial thought as well (Bahktin 20).

As far as most storytellers and novelists were concerned, their primary interest was not to perform the desired/desirable functions for the dominant, i.e., to "carry the Confucian Way," or to reflect and reinforce the establishment interest. Since the writers of vernacular stories wrote mainly for the people in the marketplace, the plot was often worked out according to a set pattern which was circulated to gratify the audience and readers with entertainment rather than to promulgate orthodox teachings.

Fiction was not only considered to have a negligible positive moral value, but even to exert harmful influences. The storyteller and novelists were often indecorous and sometimes indulged in subversive satire, sharply criticizing the ruling bureaucracy and at times even the emperor. As pointed out in a seminal article, literary works do not please those with cultural power when "they were seen to undercut establishment interest radically or to subvert the ideologies that support them effectively" (Smith 34).

As we have discussed earlier, the vernacular novel was an expression of the ideals and values of a new urban class, in opposition to the orthodox literature in the classical idiom which propagated the Confucian ideology of the rulers. Some novelistic heroes conform to the established social and ethnic standards; others, however, exemplify the values altogether foreign to Confucian orthodoxy. Some novels took pains to caution the public explicitly against violating the Confucian codes, but in the whole context such moral exhortations appear more often than not as superficial and superimposed, a mere sop to would-be censors.

Many novels were openly subversive works. *The Water Margin* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* serve as examples of such. Set several hundred years earlier in the Sung dynasty, the outlaws in *The Water Margin* display the highest virtue, but are driven to crime by the oppression and injustice of the corrupt and oppressive officials. The author treats these legendary heroes as a potential alternative to the corrupt regime. In *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, there is an abundance of description of strain, stress and tension within the large clan household of the powerful gentry class, which runs counter to the basic precepts advocated by Confucianism: positive functions, cohesion and the importance for the continuity of the Chinese socio-historical system. The novel describes a steadily declining gentry clan, the struggles and fates of its members, the tensions, thoughts, aspirations and aberrations of all of them. Written during and about the splendor of the Qing dynasty on its apex of political influence and power, but already ridden with age-old structures that were going to collapse soon, the novel parallels the fate that would befall the whole of China.

Since the novel fell far from the Confucian moral requirements, there were numerous attempts, futile as they were, by both individual Confucian scholars and the government to prohibit fiction.

As Mikhail Bakhtin points out, "[A]ll genres in 'high' literature (that is, the literature of ruling social groups) harmoniously reinforced each other to a significant extent. . . .But it is characteristic of the novel that it never enters this whole, it does not participate in any harmony of the genres. . . .the novel has an unofficial existence, outside 'high' literature" (Bakhtin 4). This is obviously the case in premodern China. The novel was excluded from the Chinese literary canon not only because it was incongruous with the established genres owing to the Confucian demarcation line between the "high" and "low" literature, but also because it lacked referential trustworthiness according to Confucian standards and because it constituted a subversive force to various social institutions, including the examination system.

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Notes

1. Prior to 1911, when the dynastic system came to an end.

2. Hallberg (p. 1) defines a canon as "what other people, once powerful, have made and what should now be opened up, demystified, or eliminated altogether."

3. Ban Gu (see works cited) divided non-Confucian philosophical texts into ten schools according to contents. Ban Gu ranks the "xiaoshuo" school tenth, and comments that "of ten schools only nine are worth reading."

4. "Bianwen" texts were discovered in Northwestern China in 1899. Sung and performed, these eighth and ninth century stories popularized Buddhist ideas and Chinese history and lore through storytelling, with an emphasis on the unexpected and the supernatural.

5. "Pinghua" designates a group of vernacular narrative texts dealing with an extended period of history. In modern usage "huaben" designates the vernacular short story as a literary genre.

Women Writing Men: Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* and Isabel Allende's *El plan infinito*

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Over 15 years have passed since Leslie Marmon Silko published *Ceremony* (1977), the story of a Laguna Pueblo veteran healed by a Native American ceremony of the psychological trauma he suffered in World War II and its aftermath. With the help of a mixed-blood shaman and a loving woman from another tribe, the protagonist Tayo begins to shake off the witchery that grips white society and its Indian victims. This novel came at an important juncture in our country's history, one marked by the siege at Wounded Knee and by a loss of faith in the liberal social programs of the 1960s. It also heralded a new era in multicultural women's writing for this hemisphere.

Silko began writing *Ceremony* out of homesickness for the Southwest while she was in Alaska in 1973 (Seyersted 25). This same year ushered in Pinochet's reign of terror and repression in Chile, where a U.S.-backed coup took the life of President Salvador Allende. Among the tens of thousands who fled into exile was his niece, Isabel Allende. She began allegorizing those events in *The House of the Spirits* (1982), a novel now considered by many to be the most important feminine rewriting to date of García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (Boschetto 526, Meyer 360). Since that time both Silko and Allende have continued to write important novels, with the appearance in 1991 of *Almanac of the Dead* and *El plan infinito* (The Infinite Plan). Significantly, Silko has now broadened her horizons to encompass Latin America, while Allende for the first time has shifted hers away from Latin America to address multiculturalism within the United States, where she has made her home for the last decade.

In *El plan infinito*, Allende gives us a white male protagonist, Gregory Reeves, who, having been raised in a Spanish-speaking barrio of Los Angeles, tries to shed his Hispanic roots to become a truly melting-pot American. He marries an upper-middle class brat, then flees her to become an unwilling hero in Vietnam. Wounded, Reeves vows never to be beaten again, and rises to social fame but economic failure as a lawyer. Finally, he regains his lost Hispanic soul when he marries the very woman who arranges and narrates, in first and third person, his biography in the novel.

In both plot and theme, *El plan infinito* bears some striking affinities to Silko's first novel, *Ceremony*. While it is not my purpose here to make a case for any direct transmission of literary influence, it seems clear that both novels share a common political aesthetic. Because they succeed in portraying the lives, thoughts, and feelings of male protagonists, both novels exemplify Virginia Woolf's feminist vision of androgynous writing. Specifically, each novel appropriates and parodies the conventional masculine discourse of the *Bildungsroman*. This parody takes as its purpose the overturning of male narratives of education found in novels like *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Tonio Kröger*, or *Remembrances of Things Past*. In these novels, men individualize themselves by rejecting their upbringing in order to embrace a "higher" culture of art, one conceived of as universal and cosmopolitan. Conversely, the men written by Silko and Allende discover that they must reject the cosmopolitan in favor of the communal. Moreover, the rites of passage which reincorporate them into their respective Pueblo and Latino societies are themselves works of art: the healer's ceremony and the novelist's narrative. Consequently, rather than treat art as a vehicle for the salvation of the individual artist, Silko and Allende reassert the value of art as a communal ritual of healing and social identity.

These two novels constitute a magical discourse which seeks to exorcise from American culture the demons of ethnocide, genocide, and ecocide, and substitute for them some of the more positive values and practices of Native American and Hispanic cultures. Thus the power of the spoken word, traditionally regarded as sacred in ritual or "magical" contexts for American Indian and traditional Latin American cultures alike, has found a powerful analogue in so-called "third" or "fourth" world women's novels.

What critic Toni Flores says of Silko holds equally true, then, for Allende: both write from the margins to forge "new and non-exploitative definitions of power" (52). Among the new forms of power explored in these two novels, several stand out. First, both writers dramatize the need to tolerate, indeed, to celebrate, cultural difference and its domestic correlate miscegenation, whether by protecting minority rights or by encouraging interracial relationships. Second, both warn against single-minded economic growth and its wars of expansion. And third, both envision a world in which the feminine voice regains its primordial right to participate in the construction of discourses of power.

Because Silko is part Indian, part Mexican, and part Anglo, she grew up in the margins of Pueblo and Anglo society. She explains: "I suppose at the core of my writing is the attempt to identify what it is to be a half-breed or mixed blooded person; what it is to grow up neither white nor fully traditional Indian" (Seyersted 15). In *Ceremony*, Tayo is a half-breed who suffers the bigotry of Anglos and Lagunas alike. Raised in his aunt's house, he is overshadowed by his cousin Rocky, a full-blooded Laguna hero who seems ready to shine in the white power arena and thereby restore respect to his mother's people. But it is Tayo rather than Rocky who survives the war and who becomes a painful reminder to his aunt of how far her family has fallen, since Tayo's mother, her sister, has prostituted herself to whites and Mexicans alike. Yet the shaman who heals Tayo of his war trauma, Old Betonie, is of mixed blood. And so is Tayo's first lover, the "Night Swan," who reassures him that he should be proud of his interracial ancestry: "Indians or Mexicans or whites—most people are afraid of change. They think that if their children have the same color of skin, the same color of eyes, that nothing is changing." Since change is inevitable, her final judgement on all racial purists is: "They are fools" (100-101). The Night Swan foreshadow Ts'eh, Tayo's Montaño lover and magical consort who embodies the healing power of intertribal marriage. Healed by these representatives of cross-cultural relations, Tayo comes to accept his place between races as a strength rather than a liability.

Like Tayo, Allende's protagonist Gregory Reeves grows up in the margins of white culture. His father Charles runs a travelling medicine show which claims to sell nothing less than "*The Only Truth of the Infinite Plan*" [all translations mine]. When the elder Reeves dies insane, Gregory learns to survive in the barrio by speaking Spanish and becoming street-wise and strong, but he remains caught between cultures: "He had nothing in common with the others; the Mexicans distrusted him, as they did all gringos" (121). After school, he works in a cannery where he finds Cyrus, an old European socialist, who becomes his mentor and substitute father. But when their strikes fail to dislodge the owners, Gregory complains to Cyrus in words that echo strikingly those of the Night Swan to Tayo: "They are afraid. Everyone tends to his own, and nobody else matters" (121). Where Cyrus holds out hope for socialism and the common good, Gregory fears that "the New Man will be born somewhere else" (121). Like Tayo in *Ceremony*, Gregory learns the lessons of racial equality early in life only to fall away and have to relearn them in the end.

Gregory soon turns his back on the Great Society and chooses the path of upward mobility, going to Berkeley on an Army Reserve scholarship. At first he stays in school to avoid active duty in Vietnam. He marries up, but still finds himself in limbo between cultures: "I didn't feel comfortable anywhere, the barrio where I grew up belonged to the past and I hadn't managed to put down roots on the other side" (168). After his socialite wife Samantha sickens him by neglecting their child and staging an orgy in their home, Gregory takes his degree and, like Tayo, enlists for active military service.

I have already said that both writers achieve androgyny of style and vision. This is nowhere more evident than in their respective accounts of the horrors of war. Silko depicts Tayo's memories and nightmares of the "Good War" as terrifying visions in which he:

> saw the skin of the corpses again and again, in ditches on either side of the long muddy road—skin that was stretched shiny and dark over bloated hands; even white men were darker after death. There was no difference when they were swollen and covered with flies. (7)

With similar precision in *El plan infinito*, Gregory describes the ground war in Vietnam, a pit for "blacks escaping misery, poor farm kids who still believe in the

American Dream, a few Latinos sickened with the rage of centuries, those aspiring to heroism, psychopaths, and others like me trying to escape from failure and guilt" (177). His early dream of social equality becomes twisted into a deadly pessimism: "in combat we're all equal, the past doesn't matter, a bullet is the great democratic experience" (177). In a harrowing battle scene, Gregory goes out of his mind when he watches a friend die in his arms: "Nervous crisis, outbreak of psychosis, I don't remember the name they gave it" (182-82). This is the same diagnosis Tayo is given after he sees his brother killed in the war. Later, Allende's omniscient narrator fleshes out the scene for Gregory. The dying man:

> went through his fingers like sand, he crumbled, he became smoke, and when he had the weight of his head on his chest and his hands let go and the last spasm of hot blood bathed his neck, he knew that something inside him had broken into a million fragments of a shattered mirror. (190)

Seized by frenzy, Gregory throws his weapon down and howling carries his wounded comrades to safety one by one under machine gun fire, no longer caring to live himself. But as if by magic, he survives the hail of bullets and finds himself an unwilling hero in the hospital, still wishing for death.

Like Tayo, Gregory falls victim to post-war trauma, but unlike Tayo, Gregory tries to heal himself. He does so by swearing never to allow himself to be beaten again. Consequently, he becomes a successful lawyer who comes to deny the kindness and equanimity of his Latino roots. Although he is a public defendant for the poor, Gregory succeeds by giving in to ambition and conspicuous consumption, to the nervous energy encoded in the genes of his white ancestors, among them horse thieves and imperialists "marked by the same stigma of excitement" (265). Gregory's drive for material success fits the new spirit of the age: "in the country there was incubating the epoch of unbridled greed that would soon come. The loss of the war had left a feeling of stupor in the air, a collective desire to find revindication through other means" (265). It is this sickness of self-serving ambition which the narrator of *El plan infinito* will later exorcise in Gregory.

I have already said that Tayo's disease in *Ceremony* shares the same etiology. At its core, it is the "white thievery and injustice boiling up the anger and hatred that would finally destroy the world; the starving against the fat, the colored against the white" (191). The white doctors who attempt to heal the young Indian veteran can see no further than his symptoms, which are really "only part of something larger, and his cure would be found only in something great and inclusive of everything" (125-26). World War II, viewed from shaman's perspective, becomes yet another instance of whites working "to fill their emptiness; they tried to glut the hollowness with patriotic wars and with great technology and the wealth it brought" (191). So, within the economic expansionism portrayed in both novels lies a narrative of masculine aggression that must be exploded before peaceful coexistence can be achieved.

Tayo's cure is finally effected by Old Betonie and by Tayo's lover Ts'eh, whom Silko identifies with myth, dreaming, and the landscape: "Their days together had a gravity emanating from the mesas and arroyos, and it replaced the rhythm that had been interrupted so long ago" (227). Ts'eh helps cure Tayo by bringing him back to that primordial place of "a heartbeat unbroken where time subsided into dawn, and the sunset gave way to the stars, wheeling across the night" (227). Taken together, Old Betonie, whose grandmother is Mexican, and Ts'eh represent a specifically Native American but interracial and androgynous view of the unity of nature which holds promise for undoing the damage caused by violent technological expansion and its accompanying mythology.

At the beginning of *Ceremony*, Silko, in one of the many ritual incantations scattered throughout the text, invokes the healing power of native American narratives. These stories "aren't just entertainment. / Don't be fooled. / They are all we have, you see, / all we have to fight off / illness and death" (2). Silko counts her novel among these magical narratives, one which reveals that "white people are only tools that the witchery manipulates" (132). Old Betonie tells Tayo to look for a cure in the old ways: "we can deal with white people, with their machines and their beliefs. We can because we invented white people; it was Indian witchery that made white people in the first place" (132). And Tayo finally knows he is cured when he refuses to fall back into the pattern of revenge killing brought on by the witchery. When ordered to report to the hospital, he flees instead into the wilderness. His old enemy Emo tortures and kills one of Tayo's friends to try and smoke him out, but Tayo refuses to leave his hiding place, for had he tried to intervene, this "deadly ritual for the autumn solstice would have been completed by him. He would have been another victim, a drunk Indian war veteran settling an old wound" (253). And his consequent hospitalization would have further denigrated the Laguna because "white people would shake their heads, more proud than sad that it took a white man to survive in their world and that these Indians couldn't seem to make it" (253). Instead, Tayo's refusal to kill Emo is a lesson learned from the land, which in the Pueblo worldview is itself the source of stories and of healing alike. As critic Robert M. Nelson says of Tayo: "The capacity for love which he has drawn from the land outlives the reconfrontation with the capacity for annihilation which also inheres there" (312).

Gregory Reeves is also healed through the mediation of women who tell stories. One of the main characters of *El plan infinito* is Cármen, an Hispanic friend who had been close to him as they grew up together in Los Angeles before the war. While Gregory spends most of his life running from his roots, Cármen spends hers searching for them, having been thrown out of her house by her conservative father after a bungled abortion. Cármen finds fulfillment as a fashion designer by rejecting the ideology of mass production. She advises Gregory: "Failure and success don't exist," but rather "are inventions of the gringos. You live, is all, as best you can, a little every day; it's like a journey without a destination, what matters is the road" (318). This turns out to be a particularly hard lesson for Gregory to learn. As is the case for many successful men in the dominant culture, Gregory comes to consider women to be a visible token of conquest: "In this stage women, like clothes or cars, were symbols of power, they substituted for one another without leaving tracks, like the glow-worms of a long and futile delirium" (243). As Gregory loses touch with Cármen, he loses touch with reality. She, more than anyone, despises his need for success in a legal system which is "a spider's web of bureaucracies" where winning means "being a spider and not a fly," and which, far from imparting justice, complicates it into dementia (237). It is by means of Cármen's continual and patient nurturing that Gregory finally becomes strong enough to break out of the vicious cycle of consumption and live life for its own sake. By novel's end he confesses: "It took me an eternity to accept the fact that the more I accumulated, the more vulnerable I became, because I live in a milieu that crushes the opposing view" (358).

It is also Cármen who, by sending Gregory two novels written by a friend of hers, introduces Gregory to the storyteller who will finally heal him by bringing him back to his Hispanic roots. This woman, the implied author of the very novel in which Gregory is "invented," creates in *El plan infinito* a magical cure for the manifest destiny of male anglocentrism. At the end Gregory liquidates his law firm and confesses to her, "how far have I travelled to arrive here and find that there is no eternal plan, just the scuffle of life" (357). Like the Night Swan and Ts'eh in *Ceremony*, Cármen and the narrator bring Gregory back to the final equanimity that comes with forsaking the drive for conquest and revenge. And thus it is that two world-class women novelists make masterful use of the literary techniques of modernism to draw the lives of ambitious men with great depth and poetry, and thereby drive a wedge of androgynous, multicultural narrative into the edifice of male discourses of power.

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Reflections on Tennyson's Early Poetry and the Relation to Baudelairian "Correspondances"

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When Hallam describes Tennyson's 1830 production, Poems, Chiefly Lyrical, as one of "suggestion" in his 1831 article 'On some of the Characteristics of Modern Poetry and on the Lyrical Poems of Alfred Tennyson' (616-628), he recognizes five "distinctive excellencies" in the young poet which bring "a natural correspondence with the predominant feeling" (621). To this (French) writer the reading of Tennyson's early verses brings a strong impression of *déjà-vu* with the beautiful imagery, the sensuousness evoked, the familiar themes and the symbolism transpiring in the lines as they all seem to announce some Baudelairian verses; troubling similarities may therefore be recognized in some of their works as these two poets appear to seek a hidden harmony, or lack of it, in Nature.

The purpose of this study is solely to seek "rapprochements" between Tennyson's early poetry and some of Baudelaire's own verses as the common theme of "correspondances" appears to run like a thread through their work, perhaps in some kind of "échos textuels." This will be achieved in two ways; firstly, "correspondences" as Hallam describes them will be examined, seen both positively and negatively by the two poets; secondly, how the "oblique perception" we receive from the Pre-Raphaelite painters throws an added dimension to Tennyson's particular poetic vision, announcing Baudelaire's own poetry of "sensation." Therefore, the question of Tennyson's influence on Baudelaire, however intriguing it may appear, will not be explored here as his involvement with English authors is well known and well-documented, especially his work in translating Edgar Allan Poe and his interest in De Quincey. Interestingly enough, in his writings Baudelaire places Tennyson on a par to Byron, Espronceda and Lermontoff, in this demonstrating his vast readings and appreciation of European poets. However, to my knowledge no scholarship has been available as yet on both Tennyson and Baudelaire, except for a study on a poem by each of them entitled "Voyage" (Stange 98) and now in my dissertation on this topic. Therefore through this study I hope to be able to bring a new awareness to this particular aspect of their poetry.

The first "excellency," in Hallam's words, shows Tennyson's "luxuriance of imagination, and at the same time, his control over it" (621). In placing imagination as the first of Tennyson's characteristics, Hallam's move appears quite justified as it is found at the focal point of the Romantic's universe; Baudelaire will later call Imagination "la Reine des Facultés" and "la reine du vrai," because "elle est positivement apparentée avec l'infini" in his 'Salon de 1855.' In 'Recollections of the Arabian Nights' we see how Tennyson removes himself from the limitations of space and time, in this allowing his imagination the freedom it requires; to achieve his venture in a unique way, he develops it into a double voyage, back though memory and history as his fancy takes him anywhere he wants and as often as he desires through childhood fantasies and dreams,

When the breeze of a joyful dawn blew free
In the silken sail of infancy,
The tide of time flow'd back with me,
The forward-flowing tide of time. (1-4)

As Hallam remarks, the first stanza places us "instantly in the position of feeling." Once the crossing over the magic kingdom of imagination has been made, the poet starts on a marvelous voyage through time which becomes a journey inward into different levels of consciousness and a release from reality. To Hallam, this poem is "a perfect gallery of pictures" (623).

Baudelaire seems to reply on the same mode with his own 'Elévation' as the theme of spiritual evasion into the infinite is projected joyfully:

Au-dessus des étangs, au-dessus des vallées,
Des montagnes, des bois, des nuages, des mers,
Par delà le soleil, par delà les éthers,
Par delà les confins des sphères étoilées. (1-4)

Here we may feel a complete liberation and ease of a spirit flying off on its own; the poet turns inward as he develops a very special dialogue with his own spirit, "Mon esprit, tu te meus avec agilité" (5); a specific sexual note to this experience is added with "avec une indicible and mâle volupté" (8). In contrast to Tennyson who uses a little boat which transports him through a kind of magic underground river taking him to "the great / Pavilion of the Caliphat" (113-114), Baudelaire prefers the metaphor of the space swimmer, swooning in bliss, free of any and all restraint,

Et, comme un bon nageur qui se pâme dans l'onde,
Tu sillones gaiement l'immensité profonde. (7)

Baudelaire wants his spirit to purify itself at the supreme spring, the magic fire as the ascensional momentum into an exceptional state of well-being may be perceived as a personal triumph, perhaps some kind of victory,

Va te purifier dans l'air supérieur,
Et bois, comme une pure et divine liqueur
Le feu clair qui emplit les espaces limpides. (10-12)

Whereas Tennyson demonstrates a joyful and boyish merriment, Baudelaire frolics in unlimited space, in this showing "une allégresse quasi physique, la pure volupté de l'esprit délivré de la chair" (Crépet et Blin 292). In these two poems one may feel a tremendous exhilaration at transcending the physical plane. As Tennyson continues on his night-voyage unto uncharted waters, he seems to hold and bond all the elements he brings forth into the medium of the strong emotions of synaesthesia. The visionary trance continues to expand more and more, until the young poet hears "the bulbul as he sung" (23); the song of this solitary bird overcomes the limitations of time and space because it frees the narrator for this special moment of poetic insights. Tennyson seeks complete harmony, rapport and understanding not only within himself but also with the surroundings he has created; the magnificent flowers and scenery reinforce the experience, culminating with the "silver-chiming" of the central fountain, and the "sparkling flints beneath the prow" (52). The images describing his magic city have a special luminosity and clarity around them.

Baudelaire's own "correspondances" in the poem by the same name reveal "de longs échos qui de loin se confondent" because "Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent" (5, 8). This is one of the unique ways he chooses to commune with "Nature," seen also in the poem 'Harmonie du soir' where all feelings are rendered into "les sons et les parfums" which "tournent dans l'air du soir" (3); everything moves in slow motion, "vibrant sur sa tige," "chaque fleur s'évapore ainsi qu'un encensoir" (1-2) as each leads to the next one and adds in its own way a part of a melancholy whole, an effect of slow moving harmony. In the last line of the first stanza, movement and emotion melt and bond into the whole "valse mélancolique et langoureux vertige" (4). He expresses his deep desire for the hidden harmony in nature, a smooth relationship, or movement, going from the visible to the invisible, from the symbol to the idea. Again as Tennyson does, Baudelaire understands that the only way to communicate is in a synaesthesia-like state because, according to him, sight and sound are the first human senses to respond to Nature. While Baudelaire chooses perfumes as the starting point for the unity of the three senses, to Tennyson imagery and feelings appear to dominate the others. Thus to Baudelaire color and sound introduced in 'Correspondances' may be seen only as "corresponding" terms whereby the qualities of the scents may be better conveyed. He ends the poem with the following verses: "Heureux celui qui .... comprend sans effort / Le language des fleurs et des choses muettes" (16-20). It looks like the message coming from 'La Nature" is not entirely decipherable to mere humans, and it would seem that Baudelaire is indicating the only way he can understand it is through his memory of past experiences through the senses, because it is "le parfum" which " provoque la pensée et le souvenir correspondants" (Baudelaire *OC*, 690). This in turn brings a never-ending circle of memories which may be compared with Tennyson's search through the different levels of his consciousness. As we look at Hallam's second definition of "excellency," we understand his definition of "correspondences" as a rapport between the "circumstances of the narration" to the "predominant feeling," because all the "emotions" contained in a human heart are "too subtle and too rapid to admit of corresponding phrases "; for Baudelaire there is also a complete sense of unity within the self through the same means; however, he will write later that "les symboles ne sont obscurs que d'une manière relative" (Baudelaire *OC*, 705) because there exists "l'immense clavier des correspondances" (Baudelaire *OC*, 955) which the poet tries to discover.

The second dimension observed in Tennyson is his attempt to make scenery a reflection of "le paysage intérieur" which certainly anticipates Baudelaire in more ways than one. We may observe that in 'Mariana' there is also an escape into a different world, but it lies in complete contrast with 'Recollections of the Arabian Nights'; whereas in the first poem we feel the anticipation of a joyful adventure into the "silken sails of infancy" (2) where much fantasy is allowed, in 'Mariana' an intense negative feeling is depicted from the start, as if we were to descend into someone's dark inner solitude where we encounter a strange scenery, "With blackest moss the flower-plots / Were thickly crusted, one and all" (1-2). The house and the objects reflect a hopeless state of mind as decay is shown everywhere with "rusted nails fell," "broken sheds looked sad and strange," culminating with the "lonely moated grange" (3-8); so much is implied here because, as may be observed in the fifth line, "looked" implies the forceful observation of things in which there is no more life, but strangely enough each of them seems to assume a life of its own as if suspended in time. Whereas broken sheds may indicate a state of neglect, the desolate grange stares back at us, as in mute reproach; it would appear that everything depicted speaks to us of desertion, probably by love. Once the tone has been set, our attention is then drawn to the female character whose own condition is the mirror of the imagery, but in a sense, we do not see her as there is only a voice speaking in what we imagine is a desolate tone which must reflect the scenery,

She only said, 'My life is dreary,
    He cometh not, 'she said:
She said, 'I am aweary, aweary,
    I would that I were dead!' (9-12)

With her single cry the woman reveals a sickness unto death of mind and soul which plunges us with her into a unique world of degeneration and atrophy; here the fine lines between inner and outer reality start to interchange before our eyes as the emphasis turns a ruined house into one of dreams and disappointment, thus reflecting passive suffering in a unique landscape of the mind because, although she is not the narrator in the poem, still the landscape is experienced through her consciousness. Tennyson's use of colors and sounds also adds to the prevailing mood of sadness as he confers special meaning on the imagery. Specific objects are combined; for instance the "blackest moss" is paired with "rusted nails;" ghostly sounds like those of "the flitting of the bats" (17), "cold winds" and the lonely "shadow of the poplar tree" add to the eeriness of the scene as she hears voices from the past,

Old faces glimmered through the doors,
Old footsteps trod the upper floors,
Old voices called her from without. (66-68)

The sparse description of the landscape itself exactly fits the woman's mental condition; almost every verse depicts birds or animals filling in a mysterious kind of thread of "correspondences" between them and the lonesome Mariana. The diverse details presented throughout the poem are held together by the power of sound, a feat which is described by Ryals as "a talking landscape," (67), and in what Hallam sees as "a peculiar skill which he [Tennyson] holds all of them fused" (621). What is strangely missing, however, is the notion of smell found prevalently in 'Recollections of the Arabian Nights.' In using this novel technique Tennyson demonstrates that the persona in 'Mariana' is not given access to her own perceptions. We may imagine then that it is to this unique approach that Hallam reacts when he exclaims about the "Ladies poems" that "this is a new species of poetry, a graft of the lyric on the dramatic, and Mr. Tennyson deserves the laurel of an inventor, an enlarger of our modes of knowledge and power" (627). Tennyson's morbidity, as expressed in the melancholy and despondency of 'Mariana', has much in common with the Romantic experiences of the solitariness of the self. What may differentiate Tennyson's state of feeling, is its regressiveness and the desire not only to be intimate with its depths but to sink into them, and as Palmer states, to "lose the burden of self-consciousness" (27). Once more the parallel to Baudelaire's verses come to mind as we see his own deliberate plunge into "spleen" when he declares,

Quand le ciel bas et lourd pèse comme un couvercle
Sur l'esprit gémissant en proie aux longs ennuis,
Et que de l'horizon embrassant tout le cercle
Il nous verse un jour noir plus triste que la nuit. (1-4)

In the other 'Spleen' poems the deep desire to dissipate into the "néant" is manifested as well, be it a "voisin cimetierre" (LXXV 3), or an old drawer "encombré de bilans" (LXXVI 2), or again with "son lit fleurdelisé" which changes into a "tombeau" (LXXVII 9), and "un cachot humide" (LXXVIII 5).

At this point, if we would take into serious consideration the Pre-Raphaelites' attraction to 'Mariana' we may perhaps understand better what this poem probably meant to Hallam as well. As Stein remarks, this particular goup of painters "chose to illustrate many of the most indisputable Tennyson poems," like the two 'Marianas,' 'Recollections of the Arabian Nights,' 'The Lady of Shalott' and a few others; they portray, in Stein's words, "the work of the poet at his most introspective, decorative and static," as "their landscapes are moody and evocative" and "their dramatic situations are passionate" (289). For instance, Millais paints Mariana in 1851, some eighteen years after Hallam's death; on this painting, as Pattison reports, the color and the detail render the sensual aspect of her emotion as he positions her in front of a stained-glass window; therefore, in placing her in such an important position Millais suggests allegory, a suggestion which is faithful to Tennyson's text because the captive lady is a universalized example of thwarted passion (Stein 13). In Stein's opinion, however, it is Rossetti's work most of all which shapes our opinion of Tennyson, "youthful, passionate, and a little morbid;" but Millais concentrates on mood as he depicts her grief "through the graceful, flowing lines of Mariana's collapsed form" and in so doing, he "reminds us visually that Tennysons' is a poetry of experience," as Robert Langbaum coined the phrase. Consequently, 'Mariana' could be described as a poem of "sensation," thus falling under the category Hallam describes about Shelley's and Keats's (Hallam: 289 & 298-299).

Another issue raised by Hallam is Tennyson's "love of beauty" which certainly brings him very close to Baudelaire again, as young Tennyson has a "strange earnestness in his worship of beauty which throws a charm over his impassioned song, more easily felt than described" (621). In the other poems of the 1830 collection, Hallam sees "the effects of Venetian colouring," a "new world thus created for us, the region between real and unreal! "; to him, "the soul seeks it [beauty] as a perpetual and necessary refreshment to the sources of activity and intuition" because "all the other sacred ideas of our nature, are habitually contemplated through the medium of this predominant mood" (618). This type of truth is also actively sought after by Baudelaire in his concern and search for "l'Idéal" as seen in his poems on 'La Beauté' and his numerous articles on art; his definition of beauty, according to Jouve, speaks of an "ephemeral" modern element as well as an "eternal" one (165).

In conclusion, Hallam's review is one of the important poetic manifestos of the nineteeth century as it represents a significant phase in the interpretation of art, however tame it may appear today; this is one aspect of Tennyson's poetry which will attract the Pre-Raphaelites, and later play such an important role for the Symbolists, Mallarmé, Valéry and Eliot among many others in different countries, perhaps even influencing Baudelaire after all.

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André Breton and Sigmund Freud: Perspectives on the Contradiction Between Interior and Exterior Realities

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Surrealism is a state of mind. Beyond the literary and political aspects of the movement lies a metaphysical element that probes beneath the surface of what we generally accept as self to attempt a change in perspectives: perspectives of desire, of the images used to represent desire, and of the language used to represent the images. In short, surrealism aims at a re-evaluation of reality: interior and exterior reality being in contradiction, surrealism envisions their unification. Focusing on the vertiginous fringe between reality and dream where these two intellectually alienated worlds cease to be seen in opposition, it envisages a reciprocal dialectic between *la vie intérieure* of the unconscious and *la vie extérieure* of the conscious that would eradicate the antithesis between the two. Surrealism conceives, to cite André Breton's *Les Vases communicants*, "une possibilité de conciliation extrême entre les deux termes qui tendent à opposer....le monde de la réalité à celui du rêve" (10). According to Breton, "le monde du rêve et le monde réel ne font qu'un" (70). In *Les Manifestes du surréalisme* he writes: "Je crois à la résolution future de ces deux états, en apparence si contradictoires, que sont le rêve et la réalité, en une sorte de réalité absolue, de *surréalité*"(24). According to critic Anna Balakian, it is not a transcendence of mind over matter that Breton is speaking of, but rather "a successful tuning of mind with matter" (105). This is an important point to consider when examining Breton's connections to Freudian theory which maintains and encourages the contradiction between exterior and interior realities. In establishing a foundation for the realization of his absolute reality, Breton draws liberally from Freud's work in dream analysis, often mirroring the latter's methods, especially those involving transcription and interpretation. However, in addition to marked similarities, there are also marked differences between the two.

Freud sees dreams as wish-fulfilments, rooted in reality, the products of an unconscious developped not from some *a priori* or cosmic knowledge, but rather from reality and reality alone.[1] For him, they are always related to somatic functions and past waking experiences. He asserts that dreams are quite alien to waking consciousness (*On Dreams* 8), a posture that makes a clear distinction between the interior, unconscious world of the dream and the exterior, conscious world of the waking state. This is a distinction that, while emphasizing the latter's influence on the former, denies any reciprocal influence of the oneiric on reality. Breton, in contrast, insists on a reciprocal relationship between the two, as has been established by the above-cited quotations.

He further maintains the existence of the prophetic dream, which Freud most certainly does not allow. Referring to the "ostensibly prophetic dream" in an appendix to *The Interpretation of Dreams* (663), Freud explains the phenomenon as a longing for desire to be fulfilled in reality, as opposed to being fulfilled phantasmagorically. Using terms such as "accidents which seem preconcerted" and "coincidence," he reasons that the prophetic dream actually occurs after the event perceived as having been foretold by the dream. Following is Freud's interpretation of a patient's experience with prophetic dream:

> And if she then had an impression that a dream had been fulfilled, she was only giving effect in that way to her memory of the scene in which she had longed in her misery for him to come and her longing had at once been fulfilled. (*Interpretation* 664)

Thus the creation of a dream after the event, which alone makes prophetic dreams possible, is nothing other than a form of censoring, thanks to which the dream is able to make its way through into consciousness.

Freud connects the prophetic dream to past waking experience. But Breton, bent on conserving his notion of *la magie*, moves beyond a strictly intellectual interpretation to credit the dream with prescient qualities that connect it to the future. Criticizing Freud's explanation, he writes:

> Freud se trompe encore très certainement en concluant à la non-existence du rêve prophétique—je veux parler du rêve engageant l'avenir immédiat—tenir exclusivement le rêve pour révélateur du passé étant nier la valeur du mouvement. (*Vases* 20)

Freud's reference to wish fulfillment in his remarks concerning the prophetic dream focuses our attention on the issue of desire, an issue central to surrealist philosophy and expression. According to J.H. Matthews, desire is the common ground in the diversified field of surrealist art forms (159). Just as dream serves as a medium through which the unconscious reveals itself, so, claim the surrealists, can art. Their works are expressions of desire, the means whereby an otherwise unknown desire reveals itself—not "is revealed," but "reveals," for the greater part of the surrealists insist that desire, not the artist, is the ultimate agent in the creative process.[2] Here surrealism departs from Freudian theory: whereas in Freudian dream analysis one brings to consciousness, through a deliberate, intellectual operation, a heretofore repressed unconscious desire, the surrealist experience allows to surface a deeper desire that cannot be consciously expressed.[3] Surrealism conceives of a consciously expressed wish as compromised by the constraints of the intellect.[4] The Freudian method requires active involvement from the patient and analyst; the surrealist method demands passivity from the artist, and subsequently from the reader/spectator. The intellect, that is, conscious effort, must be divorced from the process.

This sounds in opposition to Breton's statement that "le monde du réel et le monde du rêve ne font qu'un," which suggests a *rapprochement* of the conscious and the unconscious, not a deliberate separation of the two. It seems a valid point for criticism, for the ideas do indeed appear to be in contradiction. However, the seeming contradiction evaporates upon closer scrutiny. First of all, it must be kept in mind that the surreal is experienced in that moment where the conscious and the unconscious meet, much like the center circle of a Venn diagram's three interlocking rings traditionally used to represent a classical Aristotelian syllogism: two circles, *A* and *B*, are side-by-side, but not touching one another. A third circle, *C*, is centered between them, and partially overlaps both. *A* represents the conscious, *B* the unconscious, and *C* the surreal moment where the two realities confront and join each other. One sees from this comparison that the walls surrounding and defining terms *A* and *B* remain intact. *C* represents a merging of the terms that does not erase but temporarily suspends the antithesis.[5]

Let us refer to Balakian's interpretation of surrealism as "a successful tuning of mind with matter," which suggests an equilibrium between the two terms, rather than a transcendence of one over the other. Breton's comments in *Les Vases communicants* concerning "la balance dialectique" substantiate Balakian's posture. Explaining what happens when one attempts to control rather than equalize the exterior and interior worlds, he writes: "La balance dialectique voit son équilibre rompu au bénéfice du sujet qui, las de dépendre de ce qui lui est extérieur, cherche par tous les moyens à faire dépendre ce qui lui est extérieur de lui-même" (132). Breton and Balakian agree, then, that the surreal experience does not seek to eliminate either world, but to focus on a merger where they exist in equilibrium.

Further evidence supporting this conclusion is found in Breton's "Qu'est-ce que le surréalisme?" in which he defines the goal of the movement as the task of confronting interior and exterior realities with each other while refusing the preeminence of one over the other. Recognizing the distance and differences between the two realities, Breton maintains they are not to be acted on at once, rather separately, the goal being ultimately their unification (*What is Surrealism* 116).

This brings us to the question of how to provoke the surreal moment (the distinction between 'evoke' and 'provoke' to be made further on). The two realities must be acted on, states Breton, "not both at once ... but one after the other, in a systematic manner" that allows the observance of their interplay (116). Such an approach appears every bit as deliberate as Freud's, the difference being that Freud assigns a more prominent role to the intellect, that is to conscious reality, than he does to unconscious reality, given the lack in his theory of a reciprocal dialectic between the two. Additionally, Freudian analysis depends upon the conscious to interpret the unconscious through a language structure limited by literary and linguistic traditions that force the unconscious to fit within its constraints, thereby reducing its revelatory powers.[6] The surrealists attempt to tap into the language of the unconscious world to elicit the suspension of meaning found in dreams. While Freud's focus is on interpretation, the surrealists' focus is on experience.[7] They attempt to surpass the barriers of literary structure to produce in their art the unconscious experience, where unknown desire reveals itself.

This seems an efficacious moment to consider the question of whether the surrealist artist actually renders the interior experience present, in which case the final work would mirror that experience, or if he 'simply' reproduces it, the reproduction serving to provoke a similar but not identical experience in its spectator. The first case would indicate an active role on the part of the artist, which is contrary to his role of passivity as defined by surrealism. It would further suggest an actual creation of what satisfies his desire, which, according to Breton, is "pur jeu de l'esprit de croire que dans le rêve éveillé il le *crée*" (*Vases* 128). It seems apparent that the second case is the more accurate interpretation. This becomes clearer as we examine more closely the surrealist creative process.

Since it is the intellect that impedes unconscious awareness, and since, according to Breton, the two realities must be acted upon separately, to provoke the surreal moment that *is* the unconscious experience, one must first liberate the self from the control of the intellect. Without denying its existence or the importance of its role, the surrealist seeks to temporarily suspend the intellect's external focus to re-direct the self inward, where the possibility of a conciliatory dialectic exists (*Vases* 24).

The mind, freed from reason's restraints, is subject instead to the influence of desire. On the surface, this seems much like Freud's dream state, but, whereas in Freud's interpretation external reality's control is not suspended in the dream, but rather ties together the elements of the dream and effects the realization within the dream of repressed desire, external reality is indeed suspended in this surrealist state of *le rêve éveillé*, towards the externalization and realization of desire not in the dream but in that external reality itself. The artist's perspective, in a state of suspension and passivity, undergoes a transformation as he passes into what Breton calls a second state of extra-lucidity that clarifies the relation between the *find* and desire, a concept reminiscent of Freud's distinction between the manifest and latent contents of a dream, the latter being transformed by what Freud labels "dreamwork."

The term 'find' is explained in a passage from Breton's *L'Amour fou* in which he discusses convulsive beauty. It refers to a difference between what is actually conceived as being desired and what is desired. Writes Breton:

> ... j'ai pu désirer voir construire un objet très spécial, répondant à une fantaisie poétique quelconque. Cet objet, dans sa matière, dans sa forme, je le prévoyais plus ou moins. Or, il m'est arrivé de le découvrir, unique sans doute parmi d'autres objets fabriqués. C'était lui de toute évidence, bien qu'il différât en tout de mes prévisions. (16)

Applying this concept to an artist's creative expression, we can conclude that, if the artist follows the surrealist path where "la volonté n'a plus de force et ne gouverne plus les facultés" (*Manifestes* 48), instead of a path of conscious realization, there will be a difference between his final work and his original conception of that work.

To follow a totally surrealist path, the artist will have no 'original conception,' but it seems plausible to this writer for an artist to have some notion of what he would like to create without directing consciously the creation, thus maintaining his role of passivity.

An unknown desire, then, beyond the conscious, gradually exteriorizes itself as the creative process moves along. The object that is the final product of the process is the medium through which desire reveals itself: it is a melding of mind with matter, the convergence of interior and exterior realities.

The energy behind this unknown desire that sparks its movement towards exteriorization is left unexplained by Breton, who chooses to label it as magic, the "marvelous precipitate of desire" (Matthews 162). He maintains that the successful convergence of exterior and interior realities is ultimately realized *par hasard*: "il est faux ... de prétendre que l'esprit a saisi les rapports des deux réalités en présence.... C'est du rapprochement en quelque sorte fortuit.... Or, il n'est pas, à mon sens, au pouvoir de l'homme de concerter le rapprochement de deux réalités si distantes"

(*Manifestes* 48). The words "en quelque sorte fortuit" indicate that Breton did not understand the force we generally name inspiration and thus joins a long heritage of Western philosophers who attribute this phenomenon to the Muses or some other sort of inexplicable, indefinable, and certainly uncontrollable magic. We learn more about Breton's attitude towards inspiration in his Second Manifesto: "C'est elle qui a pourvu aux besoins suprêmes d'expression en tout temps et en tous lieux ... si elle n'y est pas, rien de ce que suggèrent auprès d'elle l'habilité humaine qu'oblitère l'intérêt, l'intelligence discursive et le talent qui s'acquiert le travail, ne peut nous guérir de son absence" (111). Evoking the surreal, then, according to Breton, is not within man's power. It is, however, within his means to provoke that moment of reconciliation, that is, to set the stage for the magical evocation to occur by placing himself in a state of passivity where aesthetic judgments are suspended.[8]

An understanding of this suspension of aesthetic judgment is essential to the understanding and the experiencing of surrealist art, for it lies at the heart of the surrealists' use of imagery and language and the communicability of that imagery and language. Several short passages from *Notes sur la poésie*, a joint effort by Breton and Eluard, will serve to enlighten us on the surrealist conception of language: "Les pensées. les émotions toutes nues sont aussi fortes que les femmes nues. Il faut donc les dévêtir." Breton and Eluard allude here to the need for stripping language of traditional, conventionally accepted modes of expressions which distort the essence of thought and feelings (and subsequently distort the imaages and words used to represent these thoughts and feelings) by their connections to intellectually made standards reflecting some sort of preconceived judgments. The similarity between this idea and Freud's description of dream thoughts is readily apparent: "they are not clothed in the prosaic language usually employed by our thoughts, but are on the contrary represented symbolically by means of similes and metaphors, in images resembling those of poetic speech" (*On Dreams* 39). The transformation spoken of is necessary to both dream and artistic communication—in the former to preserve repression of information the dreamer may not be consciously prepared to experience under any other guise and in the latter to avoid the distortion built into communication through conventional modes of expression.

"Un poême doit être une débâcle de l'intellect," continue Breton and Eluard, "... image de ce qu'on devrait être, de l'état où les efforts ne comptent plus." As well as confirming the necessity for unhinging intellectual control, this passage affirms the importance of the state of passivity in the creative process. The real, creative role of language, "lui d'origine minérale" specify Breton and Eluard, "est rendu le plus évident possible par la non-nécessité totale *a priori* du sujet." The passage also calls our attention to Breton's distinction between what could be and what is, or more accurately, what we suppose to be, a distinction to which he makes an earlier reference in the first Manifesto. Considering the intellect as unreliable and too limited to reveal true desire, Breton turns to the imagination: "La seule imagination me rend compte de ce qui *peut être*" (15). True to a surreal vision, this *peut être*, for Breton, takes precedence over and is truer than what is. Concerning it, this possible, and man's reluctance to consider it apart from a known reality, Breton writes: "L'intraitable manie qui consiste à ramener l'inconnu au connu, au classable, berce les cerveaux" (*Manifestes* 19). Such a supporting of connections to aesthetic judgments blinds one to the deeper, true meaning of language and imagery.

Freud also addresses man's seeming incapacity to accept the unknown and unfamiliar *tel quel:* "As is well known, we are incapable of seeing a series of unfamiliar signs or of hearing a succession of unknown words, without at once falsifying the perception from considerations of intelligibility, on the basis of something already known to us" (*On Dreams* 49).[9]

This is a stumbling block that often impedes our inner vision as we view a surrealist painting or read a surrealist poem. Confused by dissonant image and word associations that make no sense to the conscious mind, but are, according to the surrealists, the strongest of images because they present an elevated degree of arbitrariness (*Manifestes* 50), we try to order what we perceive as confusion by finding some sort of tie, no matter how tenuous, to our supposed reality. Many of

René Magritte's paintings, particularly those of the *ceci n'est pas une pipe* series, are wonderful statements of this phenomenon. They demonstrate the arbitrary and truly superficial connections we normally assign to language and what that language represents.

To quote one last time from *Notes sur la poésie*: "Ici, la faculté du langage, et *son* phénomène inverse: le tremblement de terre, l'identité de choses qu'il sépare. On écarte ses mistoufles quotidiennes. On bouleverse tout le possible du langage. Après la débâcle, tout recommence." To achieve surrealism's proposed unification of exterior and interior realities, it is suggested, we must close our intellectual eyes to what seems to be and open the imaginative upon the *peut être*. Before all else is the toppling of a preconceived function of language to clear the path for true language that communicates on an unconscious level.

This brings us to the inevitable discussion of automatism, inevitable because it is the distinguishing feature, or at least the best known feature, of surrealism. Breton himself stresses the importance of language to surrealism: "Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner de voir le surréalisme se situer tout d'abord presque uniquement sur le plan du langage" (*Manifestes* 101). Of automatic language, Benjamin writes that "le langage n'étant lui-même que là où son et image, image et son, avec exactitude automatique, se compénétraient si heureusement que pour le petit sou appelé 'sens' il ne restât plus d'interstice." He continues by citing Breton: "'Après toi, mon beau langage'. Le langage passe en premier" (299). The focus of this automatic language, the *inverse* Breton and Eluard speak of in the preceding passage from *Notes*, is inward, as opposed to the outward focus connected to the intellect and therefore to aesthetic judgment. Through automatism, language precedes understanding. Again we see an emphasis on the suspension of the intellect from the process, on the passive role of the artist, as well as on the supremacy of content over form that characterizes surrealist form: "J'ai forme, ayant renié toute forme," asserts René Daumal.

The surrealists' use of automatic writing is directly patterned after Freud's practice of the technique, which in turn is based on the unraveling of psychopathological structures. Freud deduces, as does Breton in his vision of the *peut être*, that preconceived values need first be set aside for the process to be successful: "the man who is reflecting is also exercising his critical faculty; this leads him to reject some of the ideas that occur to him" (*Interpretation* 134). Suppressing the critical faculty (not quite the *ébranlement* Breton requires) allows for involuntary thoughts to emerge, but in Freud's method these thoughts "retain the character of ideas" (135). This differs from the surrealist method in its maintainance of a language subordinated to traditional conventions. As Freud applies his method to the analysis of one of his own dreams, he finds he has "some difficulty in keeping at bay all the ideas which were bound to be provoked by a comparison between the content of the dream and the concealed thoughts lying behind it" (151). In other words, he finds it difficult to keep his intellect from entering into the process; he makes comparisons that connect the manifest dream content to an external reality, as does Breton in his own analysis of dreams. However, automatic writing apart from its use in dream analysis takes on a different significance for the surrealists. It encourages, as does Freud's method, the spontaneous recording of whatever images appear. Its focus, as has been established, is inward. Its purpose is two-fold: firstly, to liberate and re-invigorate language by removing trite associations and conventions; and secondly, to allow unknown desire to reveal itself, thus, in a sense, liberating man by placing him in the sphere of *l'invisiblement visible* where his external and internal realities are in equilibrium (*Manifestes* 173).

Therein lies the metaphysical element of surrealism referred to in the opening paragraph of this study. Probing beneath the surface of what we generally accept as self, it attempts to provoke the *crise de conscience* envisioned by Breton in his Second Manifesto: "on finira bien par accorder que le surréalisme ne tendit à rien tant qu'à provoquer, au point de vue intellectuel et moral, une *crise de conscience*" (72).

And to what end, this *crise de conscience*?: towards the rehabilitation of the study of self, a goal common to both Freudian dream analysis and surrealism. Freud limits himself to a scientific study of the individual self, but, as the preceding quotation suggests by its interjection of a moral aspect, Breton broadens surrealism's sights beyond the individual to society, and ultimately to the transformation of society. "Toute erreur dans l'interprétation de l'homme," he writes, "entraîne une erreur dans l'interprétation de l'univers: elle est, par suite, un obstacle à sa transformation" (*Vases* 152).

The political implications of this statement are obvious. Breton projects the concept of a unification of interior and exterior realities into one *surréalité* onto a political plane by proposing to effect, by the implementation of such a unification, "la réalisation du bien, au sens où celui-ci doit ne faire qu'un avec le vrai" (*Vases* 141). However, while the antithesis between exterior and interior realitiy may be suspended in art to allow for their temporary unification in the surreal, the success of such a reconciliation on a more permanent, practical, and political plane is speculative, a conclusion to which Breton admits in his final chapter of *Les Vases communicants*: "l'idée théorique et l'idée pratique, insuffisantes l'une et l'autre par elle-mêmes et condamnées à se borner mutuellement" (142).

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Notes

1. Freud defines the dream as "a (disguised) fulfilment of a (suppressed or repressed) wish" (*Interpretation* 194).

2. A notable exception is René Daumal, whose work demonstrates a marriage of Western philosophies with Hindu mysticism and clearly proposes a much less passive role for the artist.

3. The surrealists theorized that "desire admitted and consciously articulated … can only be … desire still incomplete. From this premise follows many surrealists' devotion to desire unvoiced and unacknowledged yet surfacing during the creative act, which thus assumes the character of an investigative procedure of the first order" (Matthews, 159). The latter portion of the statement assigns to surrealism a more scientific bent than it is generally credited with.

4. "J'ai toujours incroyablement souhaité de rencontrer la nuit, dans un bois, une femme belle et nue, ou plutôt, un tel souhait un fois exprimé ne signifiant plus rien, je regrette incroyablement de na pas l'avoir rencontrée" (*Nadja* 44).

5. Breton envisioned a perpetual state of unification of these two realities, but it appears to this reader an unlikely state to sustain without succumbing to madness.

6. Perhaps the best explanation of this distortion of the pure image comes from René Daumal's discussion of *la Parole absolue* in *Le Contre-Ciel*: "C'est cette absolue Parole-non-parlée qui est le sens véritable du poème. C'est ce Mot imprononçable qui, sous la pression du souffle impatient, se déforme jusqu'au point où il imprime à l'appareil vocal une disposition telle que le souffle puisse s'échapper. Autrement dit, le souffle pour se libérer exige que la Parole imprononçable se dégrade peu à peu pour devenir prononçable."

7. This statement is well substantiated by Walter Benjamin: "… dans les écrits de ce group [des surréalistes] il ne s'agit pas de littérature, qu'il s'agit d'autre chose … il est ici question littéralement d'expériences" (299).

8. This is similar to Diderot's *paradoxe du comédien*, a sort of non-mimetic mimesis.

9. See also Freud's essay on "The Uncanny."

La Quête Initiaque chez Gaëtan Brulotte

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Dans les oeuvres de l'écrivain québécois moderne Gaëtan Brulotte, la quête initiatique semble être un thème encore peu étudié par les critiques. Si souvent les personnages brulottiens apparaissent comme "haptistes," il n'en est pas moins vrai que leurs aventures, même parodiques, jouent sur le mythe de l'aventure, le mythe de la découverte, ou celui de la conscience de soi. Le problème existentiel qui vit au coeur des chevaliers partant à la quête du Graal se retrouve aussi en filigrane dans le coeur des protagonistes de *L'Emprise* ou du *Surveillant*. Une nouvelle tirée de *Ce qui nous teint* intitulée "Le Rêve de Tomates", sera prise comme modèle exemplaire, pour illustrer l'importance de ce mythe central dans l'optique de Gaëtan Brulotte.

Pour aborder ces textes québécois, il serait bon, tout d'abord de définir la théorie du "haptisme". L'écrivain même nous en donne un définition dans son *Manifeste*, après l'avoir comparé au romantisme, au réalisme, et à l'existentialisme:

> Le haptisme, lui, est un infra-humanisme (infra: après, en dessous, plus loin). C'est un nouvel humanisme caractérisé par la non-maitrise de l'existence. C'est aussi un effort renouvelé de compréhension de l'humain dans sa singularité, dans sa fragilité, dans sa facticité, dans ses échecs et ses triomphes, dans ses ajustements au sein d'un monde post-absurde. (Fisher 200)

Ce haptisme montre souvent le conflit entre l'imagination créatrice et la réalité qui tend à la destruction. L'être, happé par la vie quotidienne essaye d'y échapper. Ce conflit de l'être et du paraître arrive à se résoudre à travers la fissure ou la béance qui permet de faire un saut dans une dimension autre. Le saut haptiste brulottien vaut la peine d'être analysé dans le détail, car il est le rejet du "dedans" routinier pour répondre à l'appel du "dehors".

Au premier abord, le mouvement de cette nouvelle apparaît circulaire. En effet, sa référence ironique à la Bible dans l'incipit et à la clôture de "Rêve de Tomates" donne le ton.

> Au commencement était la route. Et au bout la lumière, un lieu nommé Pointe Pelée. (97) Au commencement était la route. Allez donc me dire le contraire. Signé Philibert. (109).

La problématique de la transgression est déjà en germe dès le début du texte par la parodie biblique, commençant naturellement par le commencement, mais inversement, c'est-à dire non par la création du ciel et de la terre, mais par la route qui s'avère être une échappatoire au monde d'ici-bas. La circularité dans la structure du texte s'accompagne d'un mouvement de bas en haut dans la thématique, et suggère la quête initiatique avec ses différents rituels. C'est une ascension physique et mentale comme dans une échelle de valeurs. La technique narrative dans cette nouvelle se fait grâce à deux voix: une voix de figure d'auteur interrompue aux moments cruciaux, puis par une deuxième voix, en italique dans la graphie, celle de Philibert parlant directement au lecteur ou écrivant peut-être dans son journal. C'est ainsi que le lecteur découvre la vie de Philibert, jusqu'à un passé récent.

Gaëtan Brulotte se sert de trois marques parallèles et symboliques pour illustrer le conflit existentiel de Philibert. D'abord, le nom du narrateur implique déjà l'automne d'une vie malgré le très jeune âge du protagoniste. Il est Philibert, noix de filbert ou celle de Saint Philibert dont la fête se célèbre à la saison de la récolte des noix, en automne. Il est "noix", un peu idiot dans le sens argotique français, dans sa loyauté à des devoirs routiniers; mais il peut devenir un peu fou ou "nuts," dans son sens anglais, s'il n'échappe pas à ses frustrations quotidiennes (il ne faut pas oublier que chez les québécois les jeux de mots jouent souvent sur le bilinguisme). Deuxièmement, son existence est "ophidienne" comme celle d'un serpent. Il rampe psychologiquement et se déplace au ras du sol. La vie quotidienne le dévore, il est englué dans son réseau d'habitudes. Il semble que la normalité même de Philibert amène, en corollaire, une profonde nausée, une névrose de solitude et une perpétuelle mélancolie. Il est trop jeune pour s'enfermer dans les limites de la routine, mais le voilà déjà enclos dans une solide immobilité, appelée par l'auteur le "truphéisme". Troisièmement, donc, l'auteur évoque la vie de

Philibert en termes de truffes ou de champignons. Sous les chênes immuables (les chaînes de Philibert, autre jeu de mot chêne/chaîne) la truffe rappelle une existence embourbée:

> L'existence ne m'apparaissait plus que comme un vaste champ de misère et de pesanteur, un triste tropisme de gonflement, de fermentation, de blétissure et de pourrissement. Etat englué de la conscience inséparable d'une sensation redoutée: l'amollissement. (98-9)

Cette image associe la vie de Philibert au monde entièrement végétal, et qui plus est, végétatif. Dans ce monde forestier de décomposition végétale, Philibert fait penser à Prométhée enchaîné. Le mot "truphéisme" avec son orthographe de "ph" suggère aussi au lecteur le mot "orphisme," puis ce qui est "or" et "hors", ce qui est l'esprit d'aventure d'Orphée poussant à sortir du "dedans" et de la "mornitude," (102) comme l'indique Brulotte, jouant sur le for extérieur et le for intérieur des niveaux philosophiques français et allemands: "Toute ma vie j'avais dû choisir entre l'intériorité et ce qui la menaçait de l'extérieur. Le for ou le sort; le fort ou la mort; or ou hors." (101)

Le départ vers l'aventure amorce les différents stades initiatiques par lesquels va passer Philibert dans sa quête de la connaissance. Il faut signaler que cette quête initiatique se fait sur deux modes, l'un parodique et l'autre sérieux, en gardant sans cesse un équilibre entre le comique et le tragique. Quant Philibert prend sa décision de partir vers l'inconnu, il franchit le première seuil qui enclenche les motifs archétypiques de l'initiation. Le héros, à son départ vers l'inconnu, est naturellement un néophite, comme il se doit dans tout conte philosophique. Ce n'est pas à cheval comme le traditionnel chevalier, mais en auto-stop et par camion routier que Philibert va trouver sa planche de salut dans un lieu qui semble au bout du monde, au nom ironique de Pointe Pelée (lieu réel en Ontario avec inscription phallique de l'initiation sexuelle qui y aura lieu). Ce passage de la stagnation à l'audace permet à Philibert de se mettre en état de disponibilité par rapport à de nouvelles expériences et d'explorer son abîme intérieur.

Le seuil de chaque étape dans l'initiation de Philibert est gardé par une personne différente. Ainsi, dans le liminaire, se tient le camionneur rouquin Samy qui, dans son rôle positif d'intermédiaire libérateur, le transporte, choisit le lieu de sa destination et lui promet la facilité de l'embauche à Pointe Pelée. Puis, dans son rôle malveillant de sorcière, la vieille logeuse avare, Madame Mallott, impose à Philibert non seulement une promiscuité désagréable avec Tom dans une chambre minuscule, mais encore une "nourriture mesquine et insipide." (101) Elle représente la femme jalouse du bonheur des autres, "l'empêcheuse de tourner en rond" des contes de fées enfantins. A la coopérative, Le chef sadique Jenkins représente la Loi, avec une lettre majuscule, l'autocratie et l'absolutisme. Enfin Fred, le mari cocu de Pamela, représente l'ultime gardien de la porte suprême, dans la dernière épreuve subie par le jeune homme. A la coopérative agricole, Philibert réussit à être promu du travail le plus méprisé à celui le plus envié: son ascension correspond aussi au gravissement des échelons initiatiques du néophite vers un savoir accru, à travers des épreuves qui testent l'endurance et le courage du héros.

Les trois épreuves préliminaires peuvent s'identifier comme l'épreuve du céleri, l'épreuve du maïs et l'épreuve des tomates. Ces épreuves mettent en relief dans une veine tragi-comique le passage des deux premiers mondes masculins ou phalliques à l'entrée dans le troisième monde, féminin ou yonique. L'épreuve du céleri consiste à rincer les légumes dans "une eau glacée maintenue à la limite de la congélation," (100) six jours par semaines et douze heures par jour. Après l'épreuve par l'eau, Philibert doit passer par l'épreuve du maïs où il faut prouver sa force en déchargeant les cageots de maïs "sous un soleil de plomb." (102) Sans se plaindre, le héros surmonte toutes ses douleurs physiques et mentales. Ayant triomphé des éléments de l'eau et du feu du soleil, Philibert peut finalement devenir l'élu de l'épreuve des tomates.

L'épreuve du maïs consistait à triompher du feu de l'astre solaire, extérieur et physique. L'épreuve des tomates, épreuve déterminante pour l'initié, teste le héros dans le feu du désir et dans son for intérieur. Philibert est saisi juste avant sa métamorphose, son cheminement vers la lumière, vers la connaissance et la sagesse. Brulotte nous amène ironiquement au suspense de la tomate:

> Après un mois à la coopérative, Philibert passa aux tomates où n'oeuvraient que des femmes. C'était une autre promotion interne,

> la récompense ultime après les implacables travaux du maïs. C'est à partir de ce moment que tout commença véritablement pour lui. (103)

Le vocable à trois syllabes et trois voyelles "tomate" reprend en sourdine le rythme du nom de Pamela, dont Philibert tombe follement amoureux. Pamela représente l'Eve biblique, la tentation aussi bien que l'interdiction du "Tu ne toucheras point," puisqu'elle est mariée. Et Dieu créa la femme ou "la tomate" dans son sens anglais, aves ses seins en pommes d'amour, dans son sens français, et dont la vue grisent Philibert. Pamela au début représente pour le jeune homme le fruit défendu, la femme inaccessible qui ne fait qu'exacerber son désir.

L'initiation a lieu en plein été, un samedi soir dans le champ d'avoine derrière la coopérative. Pamela, d'un air innocent lui propose un massage. L'étincelle se fait. Le point culminant du texte se transforme en un délire cosmique dans le vocabulaire. "Jetée, prise, offerte; volée ivre, ouverte, roulée, vive, belle; portée, haute, frêle; brûlée; morte; fine; baisée; bue." (106)

L'itinéraire initiatique se fait toujours en direction de la lumière; ici, c'est Pamela, la femme qui est source de lumière, d'illumination et de connaissance. La métamorphose que pressentait en lui Philibert le transporte, littéralement et figurativement, dans l'ailleurs. Dans le mystère de la femme et du geste d'amour, Philibert a retrouvé le paradis qui est la recherche éternelle de toute quête, particulièrement celle d'Orphée. Philibert a rejeté sa vie ophidienne pour choisir le chemin des aventures d'Orphée: "Il s'agissait de transformer mon existence ophidienne en une aventure orphéenne, il fallait la doter d'une histoire, lui donner un sens, inventer ma propre légende." (99)

Par l'amour, l'imagination et la vie onirique, Philibert s'est, en effet, construit sa propre légende et s'est prouvé à lui-même qu'il existe. Par cette sortie et explosion dans l'aventure, Philibert revient de cette expérience complètement changé et réussit à renaître de ses cendres comme le phénix. Philibert a éclairé son propre mystère. Dans le cheminement de l'initié existe une part d'originalité et de marginalité. La quête se fait toujours en dehors des normes sociales. La fin de la quête s'accompagne aussi d'une modification de l'optique du nouvel initié. Ce qui est le cas pour Philibert. Il est devenu "l'inverse" de ce qu'il était.

Dans le schéma du rituel de l'initié, la descente aux enfers doit avoir sa place dans la dernière épreuve. Philibert, qui a enfreint la loi obscure des voeux du mariage accomplit le geste sacrilège en faisant l'amour avec Pamela. Après sa rencontre avec le sacré dans sa jouissance et dans sa joie, le héros fait le connaissance du sacré dans la punition et la douleur. Il est battu par le mari, et ainsi trouve sa "mort initiatique" sinon sa mort réelle. Il perd connaissance et est laissé pour mort dans un enfer ou un chaos précosmogonique, pour pouvoir renaître tout à fait métamorphosé.

"Le Rêve de Tomates" explicite clairement la vision brulöttienne du baptisme. On peut regarder par le petit bout de la lorgnette ou par le gros bout. Pour l'artiste, en fait, les deux visions sont intéressantes et produisent une perspective valable. La difficulté vient au moment où une vision prédomine par rapport à l'autre. Ce que démontre cette nouvelle, est la recherche de la part du narrateur pour trouver une voie mixte, mettant en équilibre, donc à égalité, le dedans et le dehors. Par le télescopage de deux réalités, la joie et la douleur, comme dans le cas de Philibert, la réconciliation des sensations opposées peut se faire dans son moi intérieur. Philibert, en l'espace de quelques secondes, passe de l'extase amoureuse dans les bras de Pamela, à la douleur d'avoir été battu par Fred, le mari qui le laisse pour mort sur le champ d'avoine de l'adultère. Il y a en effet réconciliation dans l'âme de Philibert, car, pour la première fois de sa vie, il peut croire que tous ses sens, en jouissance et en souffrance, vivent la vraie vie. Alors Philibert pense qu'il est allé au bout des possibles et de sa propre potentialité. N'est-il pas capable de signer son journal à la fin et de finir par son propre nom? Tout nous laisse à penser que Philibert est guéri, au moins temporairement.

Pourtant, la fin du texte nous apprend que Philibert se jette maintenant dans l'excès contraire. Il devient le "salace", le Don Juan lubrique, qui devient le sel de ces dames, avec le double sens de salace, dans la luxure et la salaison. Philibert a-t-il bien appris sa leçon? Il semble que non. Il est tombé dans la mentalité inverse: après sa phase de nausée il a sa phase de luxure.

Les stades initiatiques de la quête de Philibert ne sont que parodie de la quête du Graal. Nulle récompense ne se révèle à la fin du cheminement. Au moins, une demie leçon a été apprise: coucher avec une rouée et recevoir une rouée peuvent parfois vous guérir de vos atternoiements intérieurs et vous redonner goût à la vie. Philibert perd sa Pamela comme Orphée perd son Eurydice. Quant au texte lui-même, l'écrivain réussit à nous proposer une quête initiatique, sur le mode pseudo-lyrique et comique, qui réussit à maintenir la crédibilité de la thématique tout en faisant chanter le lyre d'Orphée dans son voyage dans l'autre monde.

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I Remember, Therefore I Was: A Study of the Function of Memory in Anne Hébert's *Kamouraska*

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In the works of the Quebec writer Anne Hébert, memory functions as a mechanism for sorting out the nature of various identities that have crept into the consciousness of her individual characters. It is a means to confront circumstances they otherwise cannot face. But at times, it involves a concerted effort to erase or re-invent history, to construct a form of *théâtre* in which the players willfully falsify their identity within the parameters of that invention and then mark it with the stamp of "authenticity." Thus it is within the dynamics of these two forces, one a confrontation with the reality of the past and the other a retreat from it, that Hébert fashions the work under consideration here.

In that work, a novel entitled *Kamouraska*, and published in 1970, Hébert writes:

> Qui peut se vanter de pouvoir ainsi effacer sa vie passée d'un seul coup? Quelques flammes, beaucoup de fumée, puis, plus rien. La mémoire se cultive comme une terre. Il faut y mettre le feu parfois. Brûler les mauvaises herbes jusqu'à la racine. Y planter un champ de roses imaginaires, à la place. (75)

It is a formula anchored in deceit, a formula destined to lead those who follow it to disaster.

Under the backdrop of this thought, Hébert creates the main character of her story. Her name is Madame Jérôme Rolland, the former Madame Antoine Tassy, the former Elisabeth d'Aulinières. Hers is a story of three characters in one, each at odds with the other as they try to live with themselves in the here and now, as they try to manipulate memory to avoid confronting a horrible vision of a criminal past.

We meet Madame Rolland, the first personality of this triad, in Québec City at her respectable home on the *rue de Parloir*. As she feverishly attends to her dying husband, she retreats into her mind and relives those past events that have brought her to this point in her life. Her eighteen-year marriage to Jérôme has been a marriage of ethical convenience. It has surrounded her with an aura of moral probity lost during a former time. Now, with the impending death of her husband, she risks the recurrent destruction of this hard-won social acceptance.

As Hébert leads us in and out of Madame Rolland's mind, we travel with her, through memory, back into her past. We become an integral element of her identity crisis, an interrogator who must ask: "Who is this woman? What is her true name?"

Like many of Anne Hébert's characters, Elizabeth d'Aulnières is a product of a woman's world. Her father died before she was born and she is left in the care of three aunts, "les trois petites Lanouettes," whom she describes as "sans hommes et sans espoir" (44). She is pushed by her aunts into an early marriage in order to ease the burden of her young mother, a mother who lacks the physical and emotional resources to care for her daughter. But perhaps most importantly, it is an arrangement that will satisfy, vicariously, her aunts' own lovelorn fantasies by making them a part of the marriage process.

So, this marriage is one that is arranged primarily for the convenience of Elisabeth's three aunts and of her mother. Elisabeth, herself, is completely unprepared for the experience. With a voice full of despair she says:

> Je vais me marier. Ma mère a dit oui. Et moi aussi j'ai dit oui, dans la nuit de ma chair. Aidez-moi! Dites-moi, vous ma mère? Et vous, mes tantes? Est-ce l'amour? Est-ce bien l'amour qui me tourmente? Je crois que je vais me noyer. (69)

Elisabeth's concept of love is based on an illusion perpetuated by her aunts. It is an Emma Bovary love, "la belle amour des chansons et des romans" (69). When her suitor, the Seigneur de Kamouraska, Antoine Tassy, finally presents himself, it is with a mixture of family pressure and self persuasion rooted in these romantic notions that she accepts his proposal. But her final declaration, "Je crois que je vais me noyer," a threat of suicide by drowning, is a frightful cry for help, a desperate maneuver to submerge reality, to obliterate the self and dissolve, Hamlet-like, into a dew.

Her fears are well founded. Antoine's reputation as a womanizer and drunkard is well known, and the day after he asks for her hand, Elisabeth sees him staggering down the street with a prostitute. But Elisabeth is hopelessly caught in the happy illusion of the perfect marriage. "J'ai juré d'être heureuse," she says (70). However, after saying "oui" at the marriage ceremony, she laments: "Je suis mariée à un homme que je n'aime pas" (70). With Antoine, this unloved husband, she fades into the unfamiliar horizons of Kamouraska, Antoine's home town and birthplace. She is sixteen years old.

Elisabeth's mother-in-law, Madame Caroline des Rivières Tassy, is another pretender in this make-believe world, a world of sham and pretense typical of the *haute bourgeoisie* of 19th century Quebec. Her first and only advice to her new daughter-in-law is but an extension of the masquerade perpetuated within her social milieu. She advises:

> Ma fille il faut que je vous dise. Mon fils est un bon garçon. Seulement il fait de petites fêtes de temps en temps.... Il s'agit de conserver ses distances avec tout ce qui est choquant et grossier. Ignorer tout simplement. Ceux qui vous disent que la vie est belle ne font pas autrement. Mettez-vous cela dans la tête et vous serez heureuse. Quoi que mon fils fasse contre vous, sa femme. (78-79)

Madame's coping mechanism is one of avoidance. When her son is caught with a dead mistress in his arms, an apparent victim of an overly exuberant heartbeat, and when he requests his mother's aid in hushing up the story, she sends him a telegram saying: "Vous avez perdu son âme. Arrangez-vous avec son corps" (79). Madame Tassy is a card-carrying member of the phony world that formed her. She calls emotional reactions brought on by another "du Théatre" (78). Elisabeth is asked to play a role in her "théâtre," to perpetuate an illusion of happiness despite the truth of her condition, to immerse herself in what she calls "le rêve saumâtre" (80), to shut her mouth, to not ask any questions. "Le monde est en ordre. Les morts dessous. Les vivants dessus" (84). The past is buried and forgotten. Elisabeth's link is with the living. But how does she face her life in the present, the life of an actress in a tragedy of errors?

Her nemesis is memory, "la mémoire exacte comme une pendule" (80). Now, as Madame Jérôme Rolland, she must confront her past and take responsibility for it. But she has always looked to others for direction. In a long monologue she asks:

> Qui me prendra dans ses bras. Doucement... Me fera quitter la chambre à fleurs ridicules. Qui m'entrainera dans l'escalier. Me fera descendre les marches. Une à une, comme un enfant. Me déposera saine et sauve au chevet de Jérôme Rolland? (80)

Her reliance on another to help her escape her situation is an exercise in bad faith, a self-imposed blindness to her quintessential duty, that is, to face the past in order to more authentically and honestly situate herself in the present.

Three years later, as the unhappily married, constantly abused, perpetually pregnant and now gravely ill nineteen-year old Elisabeth Tassy, this tendency to rely on others to help her, as she puts it, "organiser le songe" (97), becomes fertile psychological territory for Doctor George Nelson, a former college friend and chess-mate of Antoine, and a man who believes his mission is to deliver the world from its evils. When he comes to the house to examine Elisabeth, she is completely taken in by his black yet fiery and seductive eyes and immediately accepts him as her personal savior. "Je lui obéis en tout.... J'obéis comme une automate aux gestes préscrits par ce médecin inconnu" (109). Later, when she admits to herself that she has fallen in love with a man other than her husband, she confesses: "Je suis profondément occupée, de jour comme de nuit, à suivre en moi le cheminement d'une grande plante vivace, envahissante qui me dévore et me déchire à belles dents. Je suis possédée" (117). Again, by blaming her lack of will on the power of another, Elisabeth falls into the existential trap of *lâcheté* and effectively avoids responsibility for her being.

For his part, George Nelson is a man who has built a reputation as an iconoclast, a righter of wrongs, a saint and a satan. His hate for Antoine Tassy has grown ever since the latter had shown himself to be a sore loser when he and Nelson played chess together during their college years. Now he seizes the occasion to vent his anger to right the wrongs Jérôme has perpetrated upon the person of Elisabeth since the beginning of their marriage. As Hébert takes us inside the tormented head of Elisabeth who, in turn, takes us inside George

Nelson's, we hear him say of his rival:

> Je lui prendrai sa tour. Je lui prendrai sa reine. Je lui prendrai sa femme, il le faut. Je ne puis supporter l'idée que.... Une femme aussi belle et touchante, torturée par Antoine, caressée par Antoine, ouverte et refermée par Antoine, violée par Antoine, ravie par Antoine. Je rétablirai la justice initiale du vainqueur et du vaincu. Le temps d'un éclair, entrevoir la réconciliation avec soi-même, vainement cherchée depuis le commencement de ses souvenirs. Se découvrir jusqu'à l'os, sans l'ombre d'une imposture. Avouer enfin son mal profond. La recherche éperdue de la possession du monde. Posséder cette femme. Posséder la terre. (129)

Both George Nelson and Elisabeth Tassy are on a dangerous quest to free themselves from the past by revisiting the lost and mostly dreamed-of innocence of their childhood. As Elisabeth puts it, it is a quest to rediscover "l'enfance libre et forte en moi" (123). But it will be a tragic quest both she and Doctor Nelson are condemned to embark on together. "Je suis celle qui appelle George Nelson, dans la nuit," she intones. "La voix de désir nous atteint, nous commande et nous ravage. Une seule chose est nécessaire. Nous perdre à jamais, tous les deux. L'un avec l'autre. L'un par l'autre" (129). It is a twisted version of the Biblical prescription advocating the loss of one's life in order to find it. Here, the loss of life is precipitated by the loss of will, the will to resist the pull of a dream, the will to stare reality in the face.

As the idea of ridding herself of her unsavory husband germinates in Elisabeth's imagination, she becomes more and more brazen and manipulative. Over Antoine's objections, she accepts Doctor Nelson's invitation to go dancing, and when, in response, Antoine hits her, she uses the incident to incite her lover's anger. "Plus que son désir," she admits, "je veux exciter sa colère" (136).

Elisabeth sees her relationship with George Nelson as a serious yet exciting game in which the rules are absolute, an extension of Madame Tassy's *théâtre* where she plays the starring role of the *femme fatale*. "George et moi faisons semblant de croire à la douceur et à la paix du monde," she muses. "Jouons le jeu. Discrètement. Faisons des projets d'avenir. Parlons gentiment de nous marier. D'éliminer Antoine de la face de la terre.... Jouons à Monsieur-Madame en promenade" (148). When the fatal words, "Il faut tuer Antoine," are jotted down on note paper and passed by Elisabeth to her lover, he writes below them: "C'est une affaire entre Antoine et moi" (149). He has been completely caught in the game, has accepted a co-role in Elisabeth's *théâtre*, has broken with one world to be swallowed up by another.

Now the drama expands and the fancied characters begin to move together in one inevitable and tragic *danse macabre*. They imagine a duel between George and Antoine, the open field, the witnesses, the pistols, the black satchel of the attending physician. In another scene, they act out a game called *gisant de pierre*, in which they both lie down and play dead in order to feel the stiffness, the insensitivity, the emptiness of death, in order to get closer to its reality, in order to make it easier to kill. They are now inextricably linked in a common necessity, in a single absolute of love and death. Playing on the words "mort" and "amour," Elisabeth says: "Je suis l'envers de la mort. Je suis l'amour. L'amour et la vie. La vie est la mort" (202). When she and Nelson finally make love openly, with the lights on and for all to see, Elisabeth describes her lover's sex as "dur comme une arme" (159). It is not only a real but a symbolic description that aptly reinforces the image of this absolute and suggests that the forces of love and mortality are, for these characters, inevitably and fatally connected. In Elisabeth's words, "Tout comme si le meurtre d'Antoine n'était pour nous que le prolongement suprême de l'amour" (163).

Fantasy, however, is a brave companion. When reality sets in, when the decision is finally made to actually kill Antoine, Elisabeth's and George's brave fantasies falter and they conspire to put distance between themselves and the plotted murder. They persuade Elisabeth's friend, the moon-skinned Aurélie Caron, to travel to Kamouraska, supplied with a vial of poison destined for the hapless Antoine; this, in order, as Elisabeth gives it to her lover, to "bien établir la mort d'Antoine hors de notre portée, à toi et à moi" (173).

Aurélie, like George Nelson, is also caught in the seductive opiate of Elisabeth's delirium. Elisabeth is the first to notice Aurélie's dog-like attachment to her, and she is quick to take advantage of it. Aurélie's life has become completely circumscribed by that of her mentor. Once an independent, pipe-smoking sorceress, she now follows Elisabeth everywhere, seems to live only to do her bidding, trembles when Elisabeth tells her of her anguish, beams when Elizabeth tells her of her joys. Elisabeth herself names the condition an "étonnement sans limite. Une sorte d'envoûtement. On pourrait croire que ma propre existence tumultueuse suffit désormais à Aurélie. La dispense de vivre elle-même" (172).

Aurélie, then, is quite prepared, both psychologically and emotionally, to accept the nefarious mission. Elizabeth observes: "Il est si facile d'ailleurs d'animer le teint lunaire d'Aurélie. Il suffit de lui parler de velours et de gros de Naples, de passion dévorante et de folles amours" (183). And although Aurélie at first voices concerns about the moral ramifications of such a mission, Elisabeth has already tilled the ground and cultivated the seed. George Nelson, the saint and the satan, the witch doctor, the medicine man, will bring it to fruition.

In a bizarre ritual complete with candles and steeped in sex, vanity and the sacred, George and Elisabeth deftly pluck the delicate cords of Aurélie's enchantment. With a commanding tone, George says to her: "Dès à présent tu entres à mon service, à moi, George Nelson. Et je te préviens que c'est comme si tu entrais en religion" (178). Together, they retire to Elisabeth's bedroom where they slowly undress the hypnotized and unresisting Aurélie, passing her back and forth from one hand to the other. Then they dress her in Elisabeth's finest clothes, hand her a mirror and watch as she gives herself over to her own reflection. "Adorable!" she intones. "Je suis adorable, comme une vraie dame ..." (179). Held by what now seems to be a reachable dream of love and wealth, George inflates the already inflated illusion with promises of land, houses, servants and lovers, and, in particular, a turn in the bed of Antoine Tassy, with an after-passion drink of brandy, laced with poison.

Aurélie is overcome with emotion. As she emerges from the stupor of the ritual, she exclaims: "Vos amours me font mourir, Madame" (181).

The irony stitched by Hébert into Aurélie's response is masterful. For it is not their love of Aurélie that motivates George's and Elisabeth's attentions, but their love of an illusion, a-made-to-order *ailleurs* where there is no room for the likes of Aurélie Caron. Likewise, it is not Aurélie's love of Elisabeth, and certainly not of George whom she had called "Le plus grand diable" (175), that motivates her acquiescence to their demands. Rather it is the seduction of her own mirrored illusion, an illusion based on evasion and escape, that animates, as well, this dreamer. Hébert extends the irony by infusing the word "mourir" with double implications. Aurélie will not die, nor is it by her hand that Antoine will meet his end. In fact, she botches the job, and George, as we will see, is compelled to accomplish the mission himself. The irony is in Elisabeth's belief that with Antoine's death she and her lover will find "la vie." Il faut qu'Antoine meure," she reasons, "et que je sois sauvée de la mort.... Par la mort d'Antoine. Célébrer ce sacrifice. Il le faut. Vivre!" (176). Thus, when Aurélie says: "Vos amours me font mourir," she unknowingly invokes the dual forces of love and death that animate the fundamental tragedy of this story and foreshadow its dénouement.

So, Aurélie travels to Kamouraska, plies Antoine with her potion, leaves him for dead and returns to Sorel, certain of having finished the dirty business. Some days later, Elisabeth receives a letter from her mother-in-law stating that, far from dead, Antoine is indeed alive and, with the minor inconvenience of some strange stomach ailment, quite well. So now the onus is on George. In a rage, he shouts: "Je ne le manquerai pas, moi, ce chien!" (198).

George Nelson's voyage from Sorel to Kamouraska and back in ten days, a distance of some four hundred miles, and his subsequent flight to Vermont, a distance traveled without changing the horse on his one-horse American-made sleigh, is sure to stretch the reader's belief in the possible. But Hébert explains: "Nous ne dépendons plus des mêmes conditions de fatigue et d'effroi" (197). Perhaps it is the author's way of reinforcing the mythical nature of the quest behind the quest: the search for "la vraie vie" through the death of another.

When Elisabeth finally opens her eyes, when she awakens from the dream and is confronted with the reality of the murder and Nelson's abandonmen, true to her character, her first reaction is one of retreat and avoidance. "J'ai terriblement besoin de sommeil et de rêve," she says (239).

It is her way of hiding from that segment of herself that is a fundamental part of who she really is: the manipulator, the escape artist, the self-centered illusionist, the pretender, the criminal; it is her way of becoming invisible and translucent while displaying, at once, that other, contrived part of herself: the mourning widow ["Attendrissante et pâle," she muses, "j'apprends mon rôle de veuve" (47)], the dutiful wife and caring mother with the spotless reputation: "Cette femme si digne et convenable ["Voyez comme elle soigne M. Rolland, son mari" (215)].

The irony injected into the last scene and the last line of the novel solidifies the deceptive premise on which its main player operates. The reader is brought back to Elisabeth Rolland, "l'épouse modèle," bedside, holding the hand of her dying husband. He has just received the last sacraments and in his final contentment utters: "Le bon Dieu m'a pardonné tous mes péchés" (250). His words are a final reminder to his wife of the blackness of her own sins, for his are nothing in comparison. Suddenly, she sees herself as she really is, afraid and alone in a strange city whose inhabitants have closed their doors against her.

In the end, Elisabeth d'Aulnières-Tassy-Rolland is a broken woman, a woman buried alive under an illusion, a woman who tries to replace the memory of who she is by other names written with duplicity and deceit. When a part of her observes: "Voyez donc comme Madame aime Monsieur! Voyez comme elle pleure ..." (250), she is admitting that her castle of sand has tumbled down. Indeed, the tears that are streaming down her face are not for her husband but for herself, for the Elisabeth that never existed.

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L'imagination comme déplacement chez Gabrielle Roy

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Quand on parle de "l'imagination", de "l'imaginaire", il faut tenir compte des différents emplois de ces mots par des théoriciens aussi éloignés les uns des autres que Lacan et Bachelard. Ce dernier, dans *Poétique de l'espace*, ainsi que G. Durand dans *Les Structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire*, fournissent des commentaires pertinents en ce qui concerne l'imagination d'un auteur de fiction.

Selon Bachelard et Durand, l'imagination est une faculté qui assume diverses orientations, et qui se définit d'après des visions particulières, des tendances culturelles spécifiques, voire même un rationalisme spiritualiste où la réalité s'entremêle aux images allégoriques et mystiques. Ainsi, l'imagination révèle les mythes personnels et la vision du monde d'un auteur. C'est selon Michel Mansuy, un disciple de Bachelard, "plus ou moins volontairement … projeter sur notre écran intérieur tels aspects du monde environnant qui répondent à la vie que l'on mène, que l'on souhaite ou que l'on redoute."[1] L'être humain, grâce à la créativité de son imagination, parvient à s'entourer d'images qui lui permettent d'enrichir et de meubler son propre univers.

On se demande alors, étant donné la nature du genre autobiographique, si l'imagination y occupe une place aussi importante que dans une oeuvre de fiction? Bien que l'autobiographie exige l'observation de la vérité dans le récit selon certains théoriciens, entre autres Philippe Lejeune, la re-mémorisation d'une vie suggère une certaine liberté. Un souvenir peut-il jamais être totalement authentique? Quand Francine Belle-Isle note que l'autobiographe conserve un "rôle d'illusionniste, de rêveur, … et qu'il y a toujours un jeu de miroirs ininterrompu" dans l'écriture d'une autobiographie, et que par conséquent, seul le moment actuel peut exposer les faits, elle explicite cette problématique de la portée de l'imagination dans tout écrit autobiographique.[2] Micheline Cadieux renforce cette notion en soutenant qu'"un écrivain risque de découvrir que la vérité n'est qu'une fiction, un jeu de l'imagination,"[3] c'est-à-dire que les souvenirs distants, toujours identifiables malgré leur altération au fil des années, renferment une vérité essentielle, quoique colorée par la fiction: une fiction qui atteste néanmoins d'une réalité "filtrée et transfiguré[e] par le temps".[4]

Chez Gabrielle Roy, l'imagination est véhiculée sous les traits du mouvement, voire du déplacement en général. Ainsi, s'opère, il semble, une métaphore structurale dans son oeuvre, et qui se poursuit même dans son autobiographie où la mémoire déforme, embellit le souvenir et où l'imagination transmute la réalité. C'est la métaphore du voyage, symbolisant l'imagination et ses élans, son don d'ubiquité.

Le déplacement englobe les multiples aspects du mouvement. Que ce soit le mouvement mental ou physique, ou encore le mouvement qui s'opère quand l'emploi d'un mot, ou d'une métaphore effectue un détournement du sens, ou bien une déviation du texte, il y a toujours une activité présente: un changement, une transposition, voire un élan qui traduit un parcours de l'esprit ou du corps. Marcel Gagné confirme ce phénomène quand il dit:

> La source première de la dynamique propre à l'oeuvre [régienne] se trouve dans le mouvement. Là réside l'inspiration de la romancière et celle de ses personnages. … Ces observations ne sont pas valables dans le seul contexte impliquant un mouvement physique. Elles sont vraies aussi du mouvement de l'esprit.[5]

Or, ce goût du déplacement fait partie intégrale de l'existence des personnages régiens; il sous-tend parmi eux un vif désir d'échapper à la vie journalière, désir décuplé par un esprit de découverte, et d'appréhension de l'Autre. Mais ce que le lecteur retient avant tout, c'est que chez Gabrielle Roy, le voyage mime l'imagination: sa disponibilité, sa liberté, son mouvement, sa présence en tout lieu. Le voyage déclenche l'imaginaire, le met en branle et enchaîne une série de déplacements intimes. Ne peut-on alors aussi bien inférer le contraire, c'est-à-dire que l'imagination est un parcours qui se réalise mentalement?

Pour l'écrivaine de *La Détresse et l'enchantement* et les personnages de ses écrits, le déplacement anime et dynamise la vie. Ainsi, nous dit l'auteure, Mme Roy-mère manifestait une inclination naturelle au voyage.

Elle n'avait qu'à "mettre le pied hors de la routine familière pour être aussitôt en voyage, disponible au monde entier." Le simple fait de traverser le pont pour d'entreprendre aller à Winnipeg, d'entreprendre ce modeste périple met en marche les pouvoirs imaginatifs de la mère et de la fille. Ce n'est jamais une traversée ordinaire, mais bien toujours une espèce de rite de passage: elles passent du quotidien à l'extraordinaire. Voyager demande donc une ouverture absolue au nouvel environnement, la dérive de l'imagination.

Pour la mère et sa fille, l'espace étranger surgit en catalyseur d'images nouvelles, qui alimenteront particulièrement les pensées embryonnaires de la fillette, l'écrivaine en herbe. Le dépaysement, provoqué par le voyage, favorise la formation de souvenirs que l'on range dans sa mémoire pour plus tard les dégager et ainsi éprouver leur essence de nouveau. Dans un premier temps, le regard exécute le travail de perception, et puis, la mémoire et l'imagination assument la responsabilité de perpétuer les images. Dans *La Détresse et l'Enchantement*, ce phénomène est fort bien illustré. Lors de son séjour à Wake Arms, en Angleterre, la narratrice remarque:

> Et en moi-même, un matin, ... je trouverais, prêts pour en faire un livre, filtrés et transfigurés par le temps, mes souvenirs de la Petite-Poule-d'Eau, devenus, par la grâce des profondeurs dormantes et sans que j'en eusse eu connaissance, des éléments de fiction, c'est-à-dire, sans doute, de vivante vérité. (*DE* p.493)

C'est donc selon Hélène Védrine, "faire de l'image une sorte de miniature et la ramener à la *mimesis*, ou au contraire l'ouvrir vers l'invention."[6] La puissance de création de l'imagination dépend certes du dépaysement, mais aussi de la faculté de pouvoir ramener à la lumière du jour ces souvenirs enfouis dans la mémoire.

De même, dans le recueil de récits semi-autobiographiques, *Rue Deschambault*, la nouvelle "Les Déserteuses" souligne nettement cette appétence pour le voyage. L'idée de partir est si puissante qu'Eveline, la mère, part avec sa fille, Christine, sans l'approbation de son mari. Son besoin irrépressible de liberté la pousse à braver, en l'absence de celui-ci, l'interdit de la loi du père et partant, de transgresser l'ordre établi.

Le voyage, trajectoire de renouvellement de l'intime et de l'inexploré, fournit l'euphorie essentielle à la quête de changement d'Eveline: elle revient comblée de visions nouvelles et de souvenirs débordant dans leur multiplicité et leur agrément. Elle est prête maintenant à faire face à son mari: c'est visiblement la rencontre de l'imaginaire et du symbolique. En relatant d'une façon charmeuse les détails du voyage, elle entraîne ainsi une métamorphose des sentiments de celui-ci. Lui aussi est hypnotisé par l'imaginaire créatif de la mère, oubliant pour un moment le fardeau du symbolique, ce réceptacle des traditions culturelles. Le récit d'Eveline ressuscite le passé, grâce au déplacement du réel et de l'imaginaire par l'entremise du voyage. Or, une sorte de mise en abyme du souvenir, transformé par l'imagination, se développe.

> Peu à peu nous nous approchions tous ... pour mieux voir ses yeux qui, avant que ses lèvres les disent, annonçaient les paysages. Car avant de les tirer de son souvenir, son regard les caressait, elle leur souriait, tout en jouant un peu avec le petit collier de perles fausses à son cou. ... Sur son visage les souvenirs étaient comme des oiseaux en plein vol.[7]

L'ascendant de l'imagination sur le souvenir produit un jeu de miroirs des plus fascinants. Les perles fausses, signalant une ouverture vers l'invention, comme suggéré par Hélène Védrine, en sont le témoignage troublant. L'écriture transmet ce déplacement de la réalité, le ludisme du souvenir opéré par l'imagination.

Il faut mentionner que dans l'oeuvre de Gabrielle Roy, les oiseaux, grands voyageurs s'il en est, sont des symboles de liberté qui, dans cette nouvelle, métaphorisent l'émancipation de la mère, son imagination en plein essor. A l'instar du voyage, ils sont les intermédiaires de l'euphorie de la découverte, reliée à la capacité d'inventer un récit des images reçues de cet espace lointain.

Dans son autobiographie, Gabrielle Roy note que sa mère était "la Schéhérazade qui a charmé notre captivité dans la pauvreté" (*DE* 143). Par son habileté à pouvoir transmuter la réalité, à transformer de banals incidents en des récits savoureux, Mme Roy adoucit les effets fâcheux de leur existence. Effectivement, avec ses récits charmants, elle parvient à repousser la mort, celle de l'esprit comme celle du corps: une résurrection constante.

En outre l'imagination, selon la théorie bachelardienne, est souvent suscitée par l'immensité.

Dans *La Détresse et l'enchantement*, l'auteure nous fait part du charme magnétique qu'un certain petit "bois autour de la maison de [son] oncle [Excide] joua dans [sa] vie" parce qu'il débouchait sur "une immense plaine onduleuse, [qui] se déroulait en longues vagues souples qui n'en finissait pas de rouler vers l'horizon … appelant à partir …" (*DE* 51). Cette échappée naturelle éveille chez elle la promesse du voyage, l'invitation au départ qui vont stimuler les idées, et anisi, permettre l'inspiration.

Le mouvement intérieur qui en résulte est révélateur: l'imagination ne doit jamais être immobile ou stagnante; elle doit se développer et se décupler en grandes vagues tout comme la plaine elle-même. L'immensité dans tous ses aspects promeut la diffusion des images, de l'imaginaire: ce que Bachelard corrobore dans sa *Poétique de l'espace* en disant que "[l']immensité est le mouvement de l'homme mobile. L'immensité est un des caractères dynamiques de la rêverie tranquille."[8] Roy construit un univers dans un univers — une sorte de mise en abyme des songes personnels.

Si le passage du lieu réduit à l'immensité de la plaine est un lieu fécond à la dérive des pensées, de même le mouvement uers l'infini du ciel. D'une fenêtre, de la chambre de sa soeur Dédette mourante, la narratrice y découvre avec "une surprise infinie … au milieu de tant de chagrin, un ciel si beau" (*DE* 159). Par sa capacité de transcender l'espace horizontal, l'esprit introduit l'enchantement au milieu de la détresse d'une séparation trop cruelle. Sous l'influence de l'imagination, une percée de bonheur est créée qui adoucit la réalité.

Par ailleurs, le vent, sans être un lieu à proprement parler, peut néanmoins s'associer à l'espace qu'il investit de son énergie. Le vent aussi est donc mouvement: son action, tout comme celle de l'imagination agit dans la vie actuelle; il peut stimuler et ranimer ce qu'il touche. Ne fait-il pas tourbillonner les objets à la manière de l'imagination, qui rassemble les perceptions, bonnes et mauvaises? La narratrice de *La Détresse* en arrivant à Marchand pour y enseigner, y découvre "un des paysages les plus morts que j'aie jamais vu dans ma vie. … On eût dit le vent arrêté au seuil de ce village, n'osant franchir une mystérieuse frontière invisible" (*DE* 109). L'absence de vent équivaut à l'absence de mouvement, à un manque d'énergie … pour distiller les idées, appréhender le rêve.… De même pour être, l'imagination exige la transgression des frontières.

Pourtant, l'imagination ne trouve pas ses assises qu'en des espaces immenses, mais aussi dans des lieux très restreints. L'endroit par excellence qui semble le mieux cristalliser les songes régiens est sans doute le grenier, lieu qui a souvent été signalé par plusieurs critiques, entre autres Albert Le Grand et François Ricard. Dans son autobiographie, Gabrielle Roy mentionne à plusieurs reprises ce lieu de prédilection où les songes sont plus susceptibles de se manifester. Il y a celui de la Rue Deschambault à Saint-Boniface, par exemple, cette "petite chambre du grenier où m'avaient visitée mes premiers songes" (*DE* 136). A. Le Grand a bien saisi l'importance de cet espace chez G. Roy quand il précise

> Un tout petit espace où, dans la solitude, le calme et la sécurité, la conscience peut se retirer pour se reposer des assauts du monde et se construire un monde réel ou imaginaire mais qu'elle peut posséder et avec lequel elle peut communiquer.[9]

Néanmoins, si cet espace est tout à fait clos, sans issue aucune, si l'envolée de l'imagination est paralysée, alors, survient sa mort. Clémence, la soeur malade de Roy, met bien en évidence cet état de choses. Quand on la sequestre dans une maison de santé, petit à petit, elle perd tout agrément à la vie; elle dépérit doucement comme un oiseau en cage. Malgré son handicap, Clémence pouvait auparavant laisser vagabonder à sa guise son imagination, et comme pour ponctuer ce trait, l'autobiographe révèle plusieurs anecdotes amusantes où les deux soeurs avaient profité de cet esprit imaginatif.

Cependant, ce ne sont pas toujours les greniers, d'où l'on peut "exalter le gigantesque et l'ambition des rêveries ascensionnelles", selon G. Durand, qui sont favorables aux rêveries.[10] Pour Gabrielle Roy, le terrain propice au déversement de l'imagination, à sa mise à jour, est invariablement un lieu qui décolle du terre-à-terre. Lors de son séjour en Angleterre, à Wake Arms, c'est dans une de ces chambres situées au dernier étage, certainement beaucoup moins élevée mais très favorable à l'écriture, que naîtra "[l']interprète des songes des hommes" (*DE* 402). A l'opposé du voyage qui emporte loin de chez-soi, dans un déplacement à l'horizontal qui libère l'imagination par le dépaysement, le lieu clos provoque la descente en soi et le départ à la verticale. Mais, en fin de compte, l'effet sera le même.

Les voyages régiens ne s'accomplissent pas toujours dans l'espace, qu'il soit restreint ou vaste; en fait, ils sont souvent réalisés dans le temps; maintes fois, le déplacement conduit vers le passé, le plus souvent celui des ancêtres. D'ailleurs, eux aussi voyageaient beaucoup, constamment en quête d'une patrie qui sans cesse leur échappait. La narration des pérégrinations ancestrales commande un travail incessant de l'imagination, que Mme Roy-mère aime satisfaire. Bien que les faits historiques forment toujours une base concrète, la façon de raconter, l'accent particulier, la remémoration opèrent un déplacement, une dérive de l'extériorité vers l'intériorité. La "génération et re-génération" d'un récit, dans l'oeuvre régienne représente l'imagination à son meilleur, une action qui, à son tour, captive l'imaginaire de l'Autre.[11] Une transformation perpétuelle d'un atome anecdoctique qui relie l'imagination à l'espace dans le temps.

Ces récits-voyageurs provoquent un glissement émouvant dans l'intériorité du personnage-enfant. Le passé l'incite à transposer son propre mal physique, (par exemple son indisposition appendiculaire) vers le mal des ancêtres, celui qui les avait tourmentés une grande partie de leur vie: ce mal de la patrie perdue, cette amertume transbordée depuis la Conquête. La narratrice de *La Détresse et l'enchantement* partage avec le lecteur ce détournement sensible dont elle a fait l'expérience précoce, quand enfant, elle était témoin de la magie transformatrice du passé. A la question de sa mère, s'enquérant de son mal de ventre, la petite fille fait "signe que non, ... elle n'en ressentai[t] pas, seulement celui dont [elle était] issue", signifiant l'angoisse des aïeux (*DE* 26). En fait, cette volonté de fusion chez elle représente beaucoup plus qu'une image: un transfert se produit qui la pousse non seulement à se confondre avec les aïeux, mais à les extraire du passé pour les ramener dans le temps présent. Le voyage d'exploration du passé, un peu à la manière proustienne, réunit les vivants et les disparus, abolit la rupture entre le présent et le passé. Ici, l'imagination rassemble, en grand geste unificateur. De même que le voyage dans l'espace relie l'ici et l'ailleurs, le retour en arrière ramène le passé au sein du présent, pour contrer la fragmentation et l'absence, fuser le réel et l'imaginaire.

Qui dit imagination, pense création. Ainsi peut-on dire des voyages régiens. L'aboutissement des trajets de Mme Roy-mère et d'Eveline se traduit en un acte de création. La narration de leurs périples est en soi un labeur d'accouchement de leur imagination. D'un mélange hétéroclite d'incidents parfois très anodins, elles confectionnent un récit des plus captivants aux yeux de leur famille qui, elle, n'a jamais l'occasion de transcender le lieu clos qu'est la rue Deschambault. Par l'intermédiaire de la parole, ces femmes font renaître des cendres du souvenir, l'ensorcellement du voyage, du dépaysement et ainsi, parfont l'existence de leur famille.

Le voyage devient donc le lieu métaphorique par excellence: sous la plume de Gabrielle Roy, il comprend aussi bien la transgression des frontières que l'ouverture vers l'immensité qui s'anime et bouge. Tout est mouvement: le vent, le parcours dans l'espace, les lieux, le passage du temps, entraînant une fusion du délimité et de l'infini, ou encore de l'intime et de l'immensité. Mais l'auteure pousse le phénomène un peu plus loin: le voyage chez elle devient aussi 1) l'instrument qui pose la structure du texte et 2) métaphorise l'expression intime de l'imagination.

Selon la dialectique de l'auteure, il faut que le déplacement physique déclenche le déplacement mental, afin de pouvoir évoluer harmonieusement dans l'univers et y intervenir positivement. Le déplacement régien, effectivement, est la base fondamentale qui gouverne le pouvoir créateur de l'imagination dans son oeuvre: une énergie ubiquiste qui doit se renouveler sans cesse.

Dans *La Détresse et l'enchantement*, la narratrice exploite son propre amour du déplacement et la dernière partie du livre s'étend sur son voyage outre-mer: un voyage où l'enchantement et, plus souvent, la détresse se côtoient pour aboutir à la naissance de l'écriture régienne. Sous l'influence créative de l'imagination est déplacée une écriture pour en créer une autre.

"Toute oeuvre d'art est une action" nous dit Marc Gagné.[12] Ou dans le cas de Gabrielle Roy, un déplacement qui, en activant l'imagination, constitue le noyau dynamique et artistique de son oeuvre.

NOTES

1. Michel Mansuy, p. 7.
2. Belle-Isle, p. 374.
3. Cadieux, p. 117.
4. Gabrielle Roy, *La Détresse et l'enchantement*, p. 493. Les sigles suivants seront employés pour désigner les deux oeuvres régiennes: *"DE" La Détresse et l'enchantement*; *"RD" Rue Deschambault*.
5. Gagné, pp. 97-98.
6. Védrine, p. 9.
7. Roy, *RD*, p. 137.
8. Bachelard, p. 169.
9. Le Grand, p. 40.
10. Durand, p. 178.
11. Reisman-Babby, p. 427.
12. Gagné, p. 178.

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La Francophonie and the Francophone Theater of Africa

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The existence of a thriving francophone theater in many Sub-Saharan countries of Africa, more than three decades after obtaining independence from France is to a certain extent an anomaly. The limited knowledge of French by a large number of the African population coupled to significant cultural differences would have suggested a gradual disappearance of the linguistic and cultural influence of their former colonial masters, and this might have been the case had it not been for the impact of *francophonie*.

For the Dutch critic Mineke Schipper, *francophonie* has been "systematically nurtured since the colonial occupation" (215). The idea that French was the best solution to Africa's linguistic diversity greatly influenced the colonial educational policy.

The francophone African theater came into existence during the early 1930s with the theatrical activities at the William Ponty School in Gorée, Senegal, and the École Primaire Supérieure at Bingerville in the Ivory Coast. The pedagogical, sociological, and political objectives of this school theater were clear: "… donner aux Africains une culture spécifique, empêchant toute remise en question de l'ordre colonial. Inviter les élèves à se tourner vers leur milieu et leurs traditions—et souvent pour en dénoncer certains usages 'barbares'—" (Mouralis 35). Modeled after France's neoclassical theater, the modern theater of Africa developed a need for the European concepts of stage, curtain and backdrop. The only consessions made to African form by this francophone theater were sung and danced interludes which, as Françoise Ligier so aptly puts it, provided "un piment exotique d'ailleurs fort apprécié lors de l'Exposition Coloniale à Paris" (31). The underlying assumption of this school theater was that the only good literature is written in French, and that French literature provided the only valid models. This assumption continues to influence literary creativity in francophone Africa, in spite of attempts toward greater originality by a number of contemporary authors.

A change in educational policy led to the elimination of the theater at William Ponty in 1948, but through its cultural centers in the colonies, France continued to encourage dramatic productions by organizing an annual drama competition for indigenous troupes.

With the advent of independence many of the former Ponty students such as Bernard Dadié, Cheikh N'Dao, Oyono Mbia, F. J. Amon d'Aby, and Seydou Badian contributed actively to the francophone theater in their respective countries. Closely following both the language and structure of French models, they wrote plays denouncing the evils of colonialism and glorifying their African past. Eager to preserve France's linguistic, cultural, and economic influence in the francophone world, and to create a counterweight to the British-led Commonwealth, Charles de Gaulle decided to organize *la francophonie*. He had been urged to do so, as Ronald Koven points out, by African Presidents Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal, Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, and Hamani Diori of Niger (11). With French as their official language, most of the newly independent African countries developed formal systems of education employing French as the vehicular language. Adult literacy programs in the French language were launched to combat the problem of illiteracy. France provided text materials and technical assistance (Dyken 45). The emphasis of French cultural assistance to developing countries is clearly stated in the 1964 Jeanneney report:

> La France désire, plus que toute autre nation, diffuser au loin sa langue et sa culture. Son besoin de rayonnement intellectuel trouve bon emploi auprès de peuples dont la langue convient mal aux idées et aux techniques modernes …: elle leur apporte un mode d'expression et une méthode de pensée. (62)

French theatrical experts were sent to several African countries to help them set up national theater companies and training facilities. A number of national troupes were given the opportunity to perform in France, and these tours were often financed by the French Cultural Centers in the various African capitals.

However, the plays produced by the francophone African theater appeared to be lacking in both quantity and quality. It was, therefore, decided to come to the aid of an African theater in peril, and, given the universal accessibility of radio in Africa, a decision was reached toward the end of 1966 to organize the Concours Théâtral Interafricain under the direction of Radio France Internationale.

The organizers of this yearly competition invite authors from Africa and the Indian Ocean to send manuscripts of plays in French to be judged by a jury consisting of a representative of each of the 20 African broadcasting companies, four personalities designated by the African Cultural Institute, one representative of the French Ministry of Cooperation, which offers a scholarship to the winner of the Grand Prix, and eight personalities chosen for the assistance they might be able to offer to the prize winners. The jury selects 12 finalists from among 30 plays which have been preselected by readers from African universities and the African theater. The diversity and African majority of this jury is intended to avoid collusion. The selected plays are subsequently recorded by the national radio companies of the finalists and broadcast in all of the finalists' countries with an invitation to the listeners to participate in selecting the "Prix des Auditeurs." Besides the latter and the Grand Prix, three to four other prizes are generally awarded. Beginning with the 11th Concours, the troupe having submitted the best recording of a performed play is awarded the "Prix du Théâtre Vivant."

The response to this annual competition has been tremendous. The first one netted 125 manuscripts, but by the 11th this had risen to 3,992 (Chevrier 166). Its impact on the francophone theater of Africa has been spectacular. Françoise Ligier points to a 1978 study which indicates that almost 80% of the francophone plays performed in Africa issued more or less directly from the Concours Théâtral Interafricain (35). It should be noted that other good quality plays that do not make the final selection are also recorded and presented in the weekly radio program "Première Chance sur les Ondes" in the various countries. With only a few exceptions all of the playwrights of francohpone Africa have been associated with the Concours.

This presents, however, a paradox. Although the plays are written and performed in French, only a small minority of francophone Africa is fluent in French, and some of the aspiring playwrights are far from perfect in the language. The adult literacy programs in French had failed to produce the desired result, and by the early seventies the francophone countries of Africa, with the exception of Gabon, Congo, and Ivory Coast had opted for a different approach emphasizing the use of local languages. This approach, however, lacked the prestige and financial support of formal education programs in French. In addition the failure to create an adequate literate environment in these local languages limited its level of success (Ouane and Amon-Tanoh 31, 33). One of the fears expressed by Ligier is that by encouraging young authors to use French to reach a basically international public, they might fail to use their respective African languages to reach the general public in their own countries (34). The possibility of being performed in France and being published there brings much greater prestige than the performance of a play in an African language for a local public. For the Togolese playwright Sénouvo Agbota Zinsou, winner of several awards, writing in French is preferable:

> Mais beaucoup plus que le fait d'écrire dans une langue togolaise ou africaine, ce qui m'intéresse, c'est d'atteindre le plus large public possible. Et le français nous offre indiscutablement cette possibilité. (Kakou 9)

This preference of French over local languages is shared by a number of African educators. As Julia R. Van Dyken observes:

> It is … not uncommon to find teachers who do not themselves hold positive attitudes toward the use of African languages in formal education. Most of them have managed to arrive this far in their education by using the official languages of their country. Many of them see working in local languages as a step backward. (48)

Yet Africa remains a multilingual continent. Christian Valantin, a Senegalese deputy who headed the follow-up committee of the 1989 Francophonie Summit in Dakar, tries to deal with this paradox as follows: "Le multilinguisme est une réalité de la francophonie. Ce n'est pas tant le français qui définit la francophonie que le rapport qu'il entretient avec toutes les langues" (Andriamirado 50). Good French, however, is the sine qua non for successful participation in the Concours Théâtral Interafricain.

The limiting aspect of plays written or produced locally in an African language is often acerbated by national governmental policies. Authors are often forced to abandon real talent to produce sterile works of propaganda. The French language, by offering a window to the world, appears to present more freedom to the author. There is little doubt, however, that even the francophone African writer is faced with official restraints. As Tanella Boni puts it, "… sa liberté de créer est mise sous haute surveillance" (84). For Guy Ossito Midiohouan the very dependence on local administrators and national broadcasting companies of the Concours Théâtral Interafricain exposes its participants to censorship (77). Jean-Pierre Guingané, a successful playwright and jury member of the Concours, contends on the other hand that the international exposure given to actors, authors, and troupes through events such as the Concours provides them with "une couverture médiatique qui souvent continue à les protéger, une fois revenus chez eux" (7).

Whatever the objections, it is clear that the Concours has made, and continues to make, significant contributions to the development of the francophone African theater. It is a concerted effort within the framework of francophonie. In a number of African countries the French Cultural Centers have supported this effort by facilitating theater performances and sponsoring tours of France for selected African troupes.

Ironically, in spite of the conderable number of African plays in French produced through French cultural stimulation, the French public showed little interest in the francophone African theater. Gabriel Garran observes:

> C'est la condescendance vis-à-vis du théâtre africain ou du théâtre tiers-mondiste de façon générale. Vous savez, il n'est de bon cru qu'hexagonal et c'est l'aspect pittoresque ou folklorique qui l'a emporté. (Pont-Humbert 105)

In order to improve the francophone African theater, and to provide a stage in France for the various African theatrical troupes, the Festival International des Francophonies was organized in 1983 with the support of the Ministry of Culture and Communication and the Ministry of Cooperation and Development (Blin 101). This festival takes place at Limoges and its surrounding region the first two weeks of each October. It provides a meeting place for different cultures to stimulate creation and artistic exchange, and attempts to sensitize the public to aspects other than the exotic in the various plays presented at the festival.

Le Festival International des Francophonies has undoubtedly facilitated contact between the theater people of the various francophone African countries. As the saying goes in Limoges, "le plus court chemin entre Libreville et Brazzaville passe par Limoges (Festival 141). It made it possible for Dominique Douma, director of the Gabonese troupe Télé Théâtre, to work with Sony Labou Tansi's Rocado Zulu Theatre in the Congo, and assist stage manager Jean-Pierre Klein with the play *Qui a mangé Madame d'Avoine Bergotha*. This play was performed during the Sixth Festival in 1989. Laurent Owondo, another Gabonese, spent three months in residence at Limoges in 1989 to create his play *La folle du Gouverneur* which was performed in 1990. Sénouvo Agbota Zinsou, whose play was performed at the Festival de la Francophonie after winning a prize at the Concours Théâtral Africain in 1987, points to the importance of recognition in France:

> pour que le produit africain soit regardé avec une certaine considération, il faut qu'il passe par Paris. Avec un détour par Limoges.… Pour le public moyen, Paris ou Limoges c'est pareil, c'est la France, c'est l'Europe. Cela confère un certain label de qualité.… (Magnier 62)

It is clear, as Jean-Pierre Jacquemin points out, that without Limoges the numerous plays performed at the Festival "seraient, pour la plupart, confinés, presque assignés à résidence dans leurs pays d'origine (17). The connection between Limoges and the Concours Theatral Interafricain is quite evident. When on October 13 and 14 the Minister of Francophonie Alain Decaux called together the Etats généraux de la Création Théâtrale in Limoges, it turned out that most of the participating writers owed their existence as authors to the Concours (Muitibile K. 15).

Another important step to bring the francophone African theater to French audiences was taken in 1985 with the creation of the Théâtre International de Langue Française (T.I.L.F.) by Gabriel Garran. Supported by the Ministry of Culture, it has as its mission the promotion of theatrical writing and scenic practices emerging from the diversity of French language expressions throughout the world (Equipe 127). Garran sought and received official support for what he

considered "indispensable et vitale par rapport à notre langue et par rapport à l'immense vivier que cela constitue pour l'avenir de notre langue" (Pont-Humbert 105).

In October 1985 le Théâtre International de Langue Française presented *Je soussigné cardiaque* by the Congolese playwright Sony Labou Tansi at the Théâtre de la Place in Liège and at the Théâtre National de Chaillot. Another significant event organized by the T.I.L.F. was "L'été africain à Paris" at the Théâtre Tristan Bernard during the summer of 1987. Included were *Qui hurle dans la nuit* by Diur N'Tumb (Zaïre), *La fille des dieux* by Abdou Anta Ka (Senegal), *Zinimo Zinimo Zi* by Akonio Dolo (Mali), *Qu'est devenu Ignoumba le chasseur?* by Sylvain Bemba (Congo), and *Imaitsoanala* by Vololona Adriamoratsiresy (Madagascar). In September of the same year the T.I.L.F. presented *La fille des dieux* and *Zinimo Zinimo Zi* in Quebec and Montreal during the Second Summit of Heads of State and Francophone Governments.

In 1988, thanks to the French Minister of Culture, the T.I.L.F. was able to install itself permanently at La Villette in Paris. It was in this year also that it scored its biggest success with Tchicaya U Tam'si's *Le bal de N'Dinga*. The public response to this play, which was performed at the Théâtre de la Tempête, surpassed all expectations. In the words of Catherine Pont-Humbert:

> jamais une pièce africaine n'avait suscité un tel enthousiasme, une telle effervescence dans les salles parisiennes, jamais le public, la critique n'avaient à ce point plébiscité un auteur, des acteurs africains. (103)

In Africa it received the same enthusiastic reception. At Brazzaville it was played for an audience of 1,200.

It is obvious that France has provided a constant stimulus for the African francophone theater. Prompted originally by its desire to assimilate the African elite to its language and culture, France has gradually modified its position. The primary concern is no longer, as Garran puts it, "de défendre la langue française mais de l'enrichir" ("Au carrefour..." 104). I agree with Jacquemin that no one can believe any longer that the African theater thrives exclusively on French language and culture (18). Yet the French influence on the African theater remains substantial. Increased interest by a French and international public will certainly stimulate creative production in French in francophone Africa.

On the other hand, the need to produce plays in the various African langues is evident, and this emphasizes the paradoxical situation of African literature in European languages. Does the francophone theater in Africa exist at the expense of a theater in African languages? A number of playwrights have translated or rewritten their works in African languages, but many of them express a preference for writing in French. Actually the number of authors writing in French has increased; unfortunately the same cannot be said for the quality. In their eagerness to please the French public, these writers often produce works of decalcomania (Hourantier 32). However, the various French organizations concerned with cultural assistance have brought about an improvement in both quality and originality.

In his article "Black French Theater of the Eighties" Harold A. Waters notes that "the black French theatre qua actual performances is alive and well" (212). This is in no small part due to efforts, inspired undoubtedly by the idea of *francophonie*, of the various organizations mentioned in this article.

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Deutschsprachige Schriftstellerinnen des 20. Jahrhunderts im Literaturunterricht

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"Wir brauchen die Darstellung des Mannes durch die Frau, die Selbstdarstellung der Frau," so formulierte Max Frisch einen Mangel in der deutschsprachigen Literatur.[1] Diesen Ausspruch erweiternd, möchte ich feststellen, daß unsere "graduate" Studenten, darunter vor allem die männlichen, die Auseinandersetzung mit dem weiblichen Schreiben benötigen.

Der in dieser Arbeit beschriebene Literaturkurs wurde anfangs mit Mißtrauen, am Ende jedoch begeistert aufgenommen. Die ausgewählte Prosa ist zum großen Teil autobiografisch und macht das Hauptthema, Identitätssuche aus weiblicher Sicht und die damit verbundene kritische Auseinandersetzung mit den Praktiken der patriarchalen Gesellschaft, auch auf persönlicher Ebene relevant, da es zur persönlichen Identitätsfindung beiträgt.

Der Kurs behandelte die folgenden Prosawerke: E. Langgässer: "Untergetaucht"; A. Seghers: *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen*; L. Rinser: *Den Wolf umarmen*; M.-L. Kaschnitz: "Das dicke Kind"; CH. Wolf: *Nachdenken über Christa T.*; Kirsch, Morgner, Wolf: *Geschlechtertausch*; I. Bachmann: *Malina*; I. Drewitz: *Gestern war heute*; G. Wohmann: *Ausflug mit der Mutter*; V. Stefan: *Häutungen*. Aus Zeitgründen beschränke ich mich hier jedoch auf die folgenden Werke: "Untergetaucht," *Den Wolf umarmen*, "Das dicke Kind" und *Malina*; bei diesen Texten wiederum auf die Herauskristallisierung des oben genannten Hauptthemas des Kurses. Zum Mittelpunkt unserer Diskussionen wurde immer wieder "dieser lange, nicht enden wollende Weg zu sich selbst."[2]

Um vor allem die größeren Prosawerke im Rahmen eines Semesters in den Griff zu bekommen, wurden die Texte nach folgenden Aspekten befragt: 1. Das Bild der Protagonistin bzw. Ich-Erzählerin; 2. Ihr Verhältnis zu sich selbst und zur anderen Frau; 3. Ihre Beziehung zum Mann; 4. Ihr Verhältnis zur Gesellschaft und Politik; und 5. Die Bedeutung des Schreibens für die Frau und die damit zusammenhängende Problematik.

Meine Kurseinführung[3] konzentrierte sich auf drei Schwerpunkte: 1. Warum Schriftstellerinnen, und warum Texte mit autobiografischem Inhalt? 2. Wozu, wie und für wen schreiben? 3. Was ist Emanzipation, oder wie wird man/frau immer mehr sich selbst, und was ist dieses Selbst? Mit der Konzentration auf Schriftstellerinnen sollte einmal ein Gegengewicht geschaffen werden zum noch immer männlich bestimmten Literaturkanon; zum anderen sollte auf Zerstörungsmechanismen aufmerksam gemacht werden, die Frauen und Männer verstümmeln. Der Schwerpunkt wurde auf autobiografische Prosawerke gelegt, weil sich gerade darin die subtile Interrelation von Heldin und Autorin erkennen läßt, was einmal zu einem authentischeren Frauenbild führt, und zum anderen Rückschlüsse zuläßt auf die generellen Nöte und Schwierigkeiten der modernen, selbständig-kreativen Frau. Die Frage nach dem Sinn der literarischen Tätigkeit in der heutigen Zeit beantwortet Christa Wolf so: Diese Schriftstellerinnen verteidigen "keine Außenbezirke, sondern 'Herzländer'. Den Anspruch des Menschen auf Selbstverwirklichung. Sein Recht auf Individualität und Entfaltung seiner Persönlichkeit. Seine Sehnsucht nach Freiheit."[4] Das Schreiben dieser Schriftstellerinnen ist gekennzeichnet durch Mut, Widerstand, Ehrlichkeit, auch im Vorzeigen von Wunden, aber auch durch Schuldgefühle, Selbstanklage, Schmerz, Trauer und eine große Betroffenheit angesichts dessen, was den Menschen stört, bzw. zerstört. Der dritte Diskussionspunkt nach der gelungenen oder auch mißlungenen Emanzipation von äußeren und inneren Zwängen wurde am Ende des Semesters unter folgenden Gesichtspunkten diskutiert: 1. Inwieweit ist es den Schriftstellerinnen gelungen, ihr Streben nach Identität zu verwirklichen? 2. Inwieweit kann man von Kunst sprechen, d.h. von Souveränität dem Stoff gegenüber, wenn dieser Stoff die eigene Haut und das Leben dieser Frauen ist? Schreiben und Lesen als Selbstbegegnung und Selbstannahme ist der rote Faden, der sich durch den gesamten Kurs zog. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt betrachteten wir alle ausgesuchten Werke.

Die katholische Schriftstellerin, Elisabeth Langgässer, wählte ich, um an ihr ein spezifisches Problem aufzuzeigen, das des Doppelschicksals: schreibende Frau und Halbjüdin. Als schreibende Frau gehört sie, wie die meisten kreativ Tätigen, zu den Bedrohten, gefährdet von innen durch ihre künstlerische Persönlichkeitsstruktur. Zur Verfolgten wird sie im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland aufgrund ihrer jüdischen Abkunft. Erzählt wird ein Verwandlungsprozeß, wie aus einer Frau zunächst eine Ausgesonderte und Verfolgte, darum eine Untergetauchte wird, um am Ende als Erlöste, d.h. als furchtloser Erzengel hervorzugehen. Der Preis für diese Verwandlung ist der totale Identitätsverlust. Betrachten wir den langsamen Identitätsverlust der Frau Elsie, die zwar arisch aussieht, aber als Trägerin des Judensterns bei ihrer Schulfreundin Frieda untertaucht. Vor der Außenwelt versteckt, von Friedas Ehemann auf Abruf geduldet und als Person übersehen, dafür unter dem Druck der Außenwelt als ständige Bedrohung empfunden, reduziert sich Elsies Identität auf die Selbstvergewisserung im Spiegel. Im Spiegel sieht sie eine junge schöne Frau mit Recht auf Leben und Liebe, ein Anspruch, der ihr aber von der Gesellschaft aufgrund willkürlicher Gesetze radikal abgesprochen wird. In der fetten, dunkelhaarigen Frieda, begegnet sie dem, was die Naziideologie als jüdisch und damit verabscheuungsnotwendig formuliert hat. Diese Tatsache vermag Elsies Ich nicht zu fassen; es verwirrt sich, haßt in der anderen sich selbst und in sich die andere. Zum beiderseitigen Schutz nimmt Frieda ihr den Spiegel weg, damit aber auch die Vergleichsbasis, d.h. Elsies einzigen Existenzbeweis. Sie erstarrt zu dem Bild, auf das die Gesellschaft sie festgelegt hat. Ihr Gang und alle Gesten werden schwerfällig, sie verliert ihre Sprache und wird schmutzig. Da auch Friedas Identität von dem Wahrgenommen werden durch die andere abhängt, kommt es zur Erfahrung der Identitätsaustauschbarkeit. Von dem Tag an hassen sich die beiden Frauen und warten imgrunde nur noch auf die Erlösung von einander durch das Eingreifen der Gestapo. Im Augenblick der Verhaftung geschieht das Fundamentale: Elsie wird in den Augen der anderen ganz groß, wie ein Erzengel, dessen Autorität und Urteil sie bedingungslos anerkennt. Aber auch Frieda gewinnt an Würde und Selbsterkenntnis und geht aus diesem Kampf nicht als Verliererin hervor, so wenig wie die andere als Siegerin. Hier begegnen wir einer Eigenart weiblichen Schreibens, in dessen Erfahrungsraum es Sieger und Unterlegene im üblichen Sinne kaum gibt; allerdings gibt es viele Verwundete.

Wenden wir uns kurz der Rolle des Papageis zu. Er heißt Jacob und wird eingeführt mit dem Satz: "Am schlimmsten war aber der Papagei," denn dieser krächzte ununterbrochen den Namen der versteckten Jüdin. Wir deuteten ihn aufgrund seiner nicht verstummenden Stimme als individuelles Gewissen und aufgrund seines Namens als Gewissen der Gesellschaft. Diese Stimme läßt sich zeitweilig durch Verdunkelung zum Verstummen bringen, und wird später sogar von einem Russen erwürgt, der dem üblen Rufer die Kehle durchschnitt und damit der Sündenprojektion der Deutschen auf die bösen Russen Vorschub leistete. Darüber hinaus kann Jacobs Stimme aber auch als Gewissen der Autorin angesehen werden. Die katholische Autorin ringt mit ihrem jüdischen Kind, das Cordelia hieß und von der Mutter geopfert wurde.[5] Cordelia Edvardson schreibt über den Abtransport: Die Opfer "lernten die Unterwerfung zu einer bewußten Handlung zu machen, sich nicht ergeben und widerstandslos in ihr Schicksal zu fügen, sondern es in die Hand zu nehmen, es zu dem ihren zu machen."[6] Diese Haltung erinnert an die Ehrfurcht einflößende Haltung Elsies, der gegenüber sogar der Papagei verstummt. Es drängt sich die Frage auf, ob die Autorin im Zudecken und späteren Mord an Jacob auch die eigene quälende Stimme zu ersticken beabsichtigt, indem sie diese in Form künstlerischer Gestaltung aus sich herausstellt, um den stummen Schrei der geopferten Tochter wenigstens für die Dauer des Schreibvorgangs zum Schweigen zu bringen. Mir kam es darauf an, den Studenten zu verdeutlichen, daß Schreiben selbst ein widersprüchlicher Vorgang ist, der zugleich Aneignung und Abwehr von Realität darstellt. Einerseits wird Erlebtes und auch Verschuldetes in Worten ausgedrückt bzw. von ihnen erdrückt, andererseits wird Verdrängtes ins Bewußtsein geholt und somit verlebendigt. Das gilt vor allem für autobiografisches Schreiben, wo bewußt ein literarisches, meist ehrgeiziges Ich dem von der Gesellschaft ge- und verformten Ich auf der Spur ist.

Das Gewebe von Fiktion und Erleben läßt sich besonders gut an Luise Rinsers Roman *Den Wolf umarmen* zeigen. Darüber hinaus, und das schien mir für die Thematik des Kurses wichtiger, gibt diese literaturkritisch sehr umstrittene Autobiografie offenen Einblick in die spannungsreiche Persönlichkeitsstruktur der Schriftstellerin und in den Schreibvorgang selbst. Ausgehend von Gedankenassoziationen zum Titel wählte ich als Einstieg die Auseinandersetzung mit den sehr widersprüchlichen Rezensionen in der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* (FAZ), der *Süddeutschen Zeitung* und in der *Presse*.[7] Während Thomas Anz in der FAZ der Autorin "analytische Prägnanz" bestätigt, "da wo sie sich dem eigenen Ich wie einer fremden Person annähert," und der österreichische Kritiker Paul Kurz in der *Presse* das Thema der Autobiografie richtig als Selbstentfaltungsprozeß "gegen die patriarchalische Welt des Mannes" erkennt, schreibt Schirnding in der FAZ unter dem Titel "Die Wolfsfrau" einen totalen Verriß. Er wirft der Autorin Elternhaß, Rachsucht, Selbstbezogenheit, Selbstrechtfertigung und Schuldbewältigung vor und damit Mißbrauch der Gattung Autobiografie. Diese Vorwürfe lösten im Seminar heftige Gruppendiskussionen aus. In der Plenumsdiskussion konzentrierten wir uns auf den Vorwurf, die Autorin liefere nicht nur Stoff und Fabel nach, sondern auch die Deutung zu ihrer früheren Belletristik. Wir kamen zu dem Ergebnis, daß diese Feststellung eine grobe Verallgemeinerung darstelle, sowie eine Verfälschung der Schreibabsicht. Wir interpretierten die gnadenlose Offenheit der Autorin sich selbst gegenüber nicht primär als Selbstbespiegelung, sondern als Annäherungsversuch des heutigen Ichs an das frühere, somit als Ausdruck der Sehnsucht nach Ganzheit. Paul Kurz ist zuzustimmen, der in seiner bereits erwähnten Rezension darauf hinweist, daß Rinser kein flüchtender "Steppenwolf" ist; vielmehr umarmt "die biophile römische Wölfin ... den nekrophilen nordischen Wolf" in sich. Diese Aussage verkörpert Rinsers Menschenbild, wonach es keine Gegensätze, sondern nur spannungsreiche Polaritäten gibt, und läßt sich auch auf den Vaterkonflikt erweitern. Was jedoch die Selbstannahme betrifft, die mit der Wolf-Metapher gemeint ist, so schwankt Rinsers Haltung zwischen anklagender, schroffer Ablehnung, moralischer Belehrung und selbstgerechter Darstellung. Nur selten gelingt die liebevolle Zuwendung zum eigenen Ich; gelingt sie dennoch, dann nimmt sie sie leider meist sofort zurück.

Schreiben als Selbstbegegnung und Selbstannahme ist auch das Thema in der Kurzgeschichte "Das dicke Kind" von Luise Kaschnitz. Die Kurzgeschichte beginnt: "Es war Ende Januar, bald nach den Weihnachtsferien, als das dicke Kind zu mir kam." Damit ist sofort der Bezug zur Ich-Erzählerin hergestellt. Der Schlußsatz weist das "dicke Kind" als das vorpubertäre kindliche Ich der Autorin aus. Dazwischen drängt sich auf sechs Buchseiten, mittels Verschiebung in das Irreale, der persönliche und künstlerische Werdeprozeß einer Schriftstellerin. Ausgelöst wird dieser Reflexionsprozeß durch ein altes Kinderfoto, das die Ich-Erzählerin zufällig in ihrem Schreibtisch findet. Dieses vergessene Foto bewirkt die Wiederbegegnung mit dem als fremd und abstoßend empfundenen Kind im eigenen Inneren. In seiner dumpfen, unbewußten Art wird es vom schriftstellerischen Ich als gefräßige Raupe erfahren. Anstelle des romantischen Kindheitszaubers erleben wir den vorpubertären Zustand sowie die Pubertät selbst als Kampfsituation voller Gefahren und Ängste, gezeichnet von Leidenschaft und Überlebenswillen, aber auch von der Sehnsucht nach Verwandlung. Das Sprachbild vom Überlebenskampf auf dem schwarzen See versinnbildlicht nicht nur die Verwandlung eines Mädchens in eine Frau, sondern auch das Werden eines künstlerischen Menschen. Die Autorin erkennt in dem sie abstoßenden, verfressenen Wesen ihren eigenen schriftstellerischen Ich-Anteil, nämlich dumpf und empfindlich zugleich und parallel dazu eine unersättliche Neugier und ein nicht zu stillender Wissensdurst. In der Szene, wo das dicke Kind um sein Leben kämpft, allein ohne fremde Hilfe, gibt uns die Autorin Einblick in ihr eigenes Inneres sowie in den schriftstellerischen Schaffensprozeß. Das Kind steht hier symbolisch für das Werk, das zunächst unförmig und schwer im Unbewußten der Autorin ruht, dann aber leidenschaftlich nach Formung verlangt:

> [Ich] beugte mich über das Geländer und blickte in
> das weiße Antlitz unter mir, und wie ein Spiegelbild
> sah es mir entgegen aus der schwarzen Flut. Da aber hatte das
> dicke Kind den Pfahl erreicht. Es streckte die Hände aus und

> begann sich heraufzuziehen. ... Und das war ein langer Kampf, ein schreckliches Ringen um Befreiung und Verwandlung, wie das Aufbrechen einer Schale oder eines Gespinstes, dem ich da zusah, und jetzt hätte ich dem Kinde wohl helfen mögen, aber ich wußte, ich brauchte ihm nicht mehr zu helfen—ich hatte es erkannt....[8]

Wichtigste Voraussetzung für das Werk scheint das Erkennen, präziser, das Wiedererkennen zu sein. Diesem geht jedoch die Neugierde voraus; neugierig folgt das schriftstellerische Ich dem Kind zum See, dem Ort der erkennenden Selbstbegegnung. Es gibt eine dritte weibliche Figur, die auf das Kind als Symbol für das schöpferische Selbst hinweist: die anmutig tanzende Schwester auf dem Eis. Die Ich-Erzählerin bezeichnet diese Lichtgestalt als "das Kind nach meinem Herzen" und "war gleich überzeugt, daß nichts anderes mich hierhergelockt hatte als der Wunsch, dieses anmutige Wesen zu sehen".[9] Doch die Eistänzerin winkt und ruft: "Komm, Dicke!" Diese folgt dem Ruf der Kunst "mit einem dumpfen und zugleich sehnsüchtigen Ausdruck" ungeachtet des aufbrechenden Eises. An derselben Stelle, an der vorher das ästhetische Wesen ihre formvollendeten Figuren getanzt hatte, vollziehen sich dann das Einbrechen und der Kampf der anfangs ängstlichen und unbeholfenen Dicken. Wir erleben Schreiben also als Spuren-Ziehen eines weiblichen Ichs in das Leben, als ein unwiderstehlicher Sog, der vom Papier und vom eigenen Lebensstoff ausgeht. Es ist das unauslöschliche Bedürfnis, sich selbst besser zu verstehen, um wenigstens zeitweilig "Ich" sagen zu können.

Ingeborg Bachmanns Lebens- und Schreibhaltung ist unversöhnlicher, allerdings auch unpragmatischer, weil kaum nachvollziehbar. Sie widersetzt sich den sozialen Übereinkünften, den eingeschliffenen Daseins- und Literaturformen, und begibt sich kompromißlos auf den Weg der Utopie. Kühn und sprachgewaltig klagt sie eine menschenwürdige, nichtentfremdete Existenz ein. Gegen die Zwänge von Konvention und tradierten Wertvorstellungen, von denen Menschen verstümmelt werden, mobilisiert sie ihren "Traum vom Absoluten."[10] In ihrem Roman *Malina* beklagt die Autorin nicht nur die diversen "Todesarten," die der kreativen Frau zugefügt werden, sondern sie klagt auch ihre Vision von der möglichen Ganzheit des Menschen ein. *Malina* kann als "eine Art Psychogramm einer Schriftstellerin" interpretiert werden, die "verzweifelt versucht, sich selbst zur Sprache zu bringen, durch Sprache, in der Sprache ihr Selbst zu finden."[11] Der Versuch, ihre antagonistische Ichspaltung in ein feminin, emotionales Ivan-Ich und in ein maskulin, rationales Malina-Ich durch den Schreibprozeß zu heilen, scheitert nicht zuletzt am absoluten, auf Entgrenzung zielenden Liebesanspruch der Protagonistin. Der Roman endet mit der nüchternen Feststellung: "Es war Mord."[12] Gemordet wurde während des Schreibprozesses das weibliche Ich, nicht nur durch patriarchale Strukturen der Gesellschaft und des Literaturbetriebs, sondern auch—und das ist das Mörderische—durch die Beschaffenheit der Sprache und das männliche Domän der Kunst. Es kommt zum radikalen Auseinanderfallen von Leben und Kunst oder, um im Bild von Bachmann zu bleiben, zum Riß in der Wand, in den das weibliche Ich verschwindet. Die Utopie der nichtentfremdeten Existenz ist gescheitert. Auf zwei wesentliche Komponenten, die Beziehungsproblematik und die weibliche Künstlerproblematik, die im Kurs heftige Diskussionen auslösten, kann im Rahmen dieser Arbeit nicht eingegangen werden.[13]

Christa Wolf formuliert Bachmanns Schreibabsicht (und ihre eigene) als: "Wahrhaben, was ist—wahrmachen, was sein soll. Mehr hat Dichtung sich nie zum Ziel setzen können.[14] In dieser Aussage liegt eine Antwort auf die eingangs formulierte Frage: "Wozu schreiben und für wen?" Für uns Lehrende und Studenten könnte es auch eine Antwort auf die Frage sein, wozu sich mit Literatur befassen, bei der scheinbaren Diskrepanz zwischen Dichtung und Leben, wenn sämtliche vorgetragenen Versuche, die Gesellschaft durch die Macht der Imagination und der Sprache zu verändern, an der Eigengesetzlichkeit der Wirklichkeit abzuprallen scheinen und wenn gerade in unserem amerikanischen Bildungssystem der Notstand der Geisteswissenschaften immer eklatanter wird. Lesen und Schreiben muß als sozialpolitisches Tätigsein hervorgehoben werden, als Ausdruck der menschlichen Sehnsucht nach Veränderung und Verbesserung dessen, was an der zwischenmenschlichen und gesellschaftlichen Situation stört, als Absage an das menschliche Verdrängungspotential und als Hoffnung auf die Evolutionsfähigkeit des Menschen. Ein Funken dieser Hoffnung stellte das schrittweise "Erwachen" der

Studenten/Innen in diesem hier vorgestellten Literaturkurs dar, am besten ausgedrückt durch das Bekenntnis eines Studenten: "The confrontation with these texts took layers of me, layers that were beginning to mummify me."

Notes

1. Max Frisch, Montauk (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975), S. 90.

2. Christa Wolf, *Nachdenken über Christa T.* (Darmstadt und Neuwied: Sammlung Luchterhand,1983), S. 173.

3. Um die aktive Mitarbeit zu erleichtern, erhielten die Studenten zu jedem Text gezielte Lesefragen mit der Anweisung, diese in Teamarbeit vor der jeweiligen Diskussion schriftlich ausgearbeitet einzureichen. Damit beabsichtigte ich vor allem, aktive Arbeits- und Diskussionsgruppen zu schaffen, sowie produktives Sich-in-Beziehung-Setzen mit den Texten.

4. Christa Wolf, *Lesen und Schreiben: Neue Sammlung* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1980), S. 181.

5. Vgl. dazu Cordelia Edvardson, *Gebranntes Kind sucht das Feuer* (München/Wien: Carl Hanser, 1986).

6. ebd., S. 77.

7. Vgl. Albert von Schirnding, "Die Wolfsfrau," in: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 27./28.6.1981; Thomas Anz, "Wie es wirklich war," in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 14. Apr. 1981; Paul, Konrad Kurz, "Eule und Wöfling," in: *Die Presse*, 2./3. Mai 1981; Renate Wiggershaus, "Temperamentvoll," in: *Materialienbuch* (Frankfurt/M: Fischer TB, 1986), S.256-258.

8. Zitiert nach Marie Luise Kaschnitz, "Das dicke Kind," in: *Deutsche Erzählungen aus drei Jahrzehnten*, Martin Gregor-Dellin, Hrsg. (Tübingen, Basel: Erdmann, 1975), S. 482.

9. ebd., S. 481.

10. Zbigniew Swiatlowski, "Auf der Suche nach dem Land Utopia" in: *Weimarer Beiträge*, 30, 1984/12.

11. Kurt Bartsch, "'Schichtwechsel?' Zur Opposition von feminin-emotionalen Ansprüchen und maskulin-rationalem Realitätsdenken bei Ingeborg Bachmann," *Frauenliteratur: Autorinnen—Perspektiven—Konzepte*, Manfred Jurgensen, Hrsg. (Bern: Peter Lang, 1983), S. 85-100.

12. Ingeborg Bachmann, *Malina* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), S. 356.

13. Vgl. dazu Anita Sauer, "Die schreibende Frau in der Selbstdarstellung. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Prosawerken von Marieluise Fleißer, Luise Rinser, Ingeborg Bachmann und Hilde Domin," (Diss. Bern, 1984), S. 241-261. Ebenfalls Edgar Marsch, "Ingeborg Bachmann," in: Benno von Wiese *Deutsche Dichter der Gegenwart. Ihr Leben und Werk* (Berlin, 1973), S. 515-530.

14. Christa Wolf, *Lesen und Schreiben*, a.a.O., S. 172.

Schopenhauer, Wagner, and the *Ring*

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Critics have long recognized the prominence of Schopenhauer's influence on Wagner's aesthetics. Every discussion of the composer's *Tristan und Isolde* must ultimately deal with ideas contained in the philosopher's treatise "Über den Tod und sein Verhältnis zur Unzerstörbarkeit unseres Wesens an sich" (Concerning Death and Its Relationship to the Indestructibility of Our Being). The remarkable change in Wagner's orientation between his 1851 essay, "Opera and Drama," in which the composer states that in the art work of the future music must be subordinate to the drama, and his essay on Beethoven in 1870, in which he alters this view so that "it is not music that expresses drama, but drama music,"[1] many critics attribute to Schopenhauer.[2] Apparently Schopenhauer's influence affected Wagner even in something as basic as the relationship between words and music (which should never be confused with the relationship of drama to music, since the script is only one of a host of considerations when one conceives a drama).[3]

Yet in all of this critical inquiry—the philosophical suggestions inherent in Wagner's music, the aesthetic affect this music creates, and the philosopher's general comments about the nature and meaning of music—one aspect of the philosopher's work has been omitted: the affect of Schopenhauer's metaphysics on the musical themes themselves.

Wagner was introduced to Schopenhauer's philosophy in 1854.[4] By this time he had already composed *Der fliegende Holländer*, *Tannhäuser*, and *Lohengrin*, thus placing these operas outside the realm of Schopenhauer's influence. During the next two decades, however, Wagner was to compose five operas which draw considerably from Schopenhauer: *Tristan und Isolde* and the four operas of the *Ring* cycle—*Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried*, and *Die Götterdämmerung*. Of these works, the *Ring* cycle provides a particularly good example of Schopenhauer's influence on Wagner's musical motives.

It is not necessary to have a thorough knowledge of music theory to understand Schopenhauer's influence upon Wagner's music. Schopenhauer himself was not an accomplished musical theorist, although he played the flute with some facility. His aesthetic theory, however, does accord a place of special importance to music. And it is here that one must begin to unravel the symbolism in Wagner's *Ring* cycle.

Schopenhauer's views on music may best be divided into two parts, the metaphysical and the physical. According to his aesthetics, all arts except music are expressions of the Platonic Idea; i.e., they exist independent of time, space, or causality. This Platonic Idea is closely related to Schopenhauer's concept of the Kantian "Ding-an-sich," which Schopenhauer identifies as the Will. Schopenhauer sees the artist as one capable of viewing an object without reference to its place in time or space or its relationship to other objects.

> Thus we no longer consider the where, the when the why, and the whither in things, but simply and solely the *what*. Further, we do not let abstract thought, the concepts of reason, take possession of our consciousness, but, instead of all this, devote the whole power of our mind to perception, sink ourselves completely therein, and let our whole consciousness be filled by the calm contemplation of the natural object present.... We lose ourselves entirely in this object...; in other words we forget our individuality, our will, and continue to exist only as pure subject, as a clear mirror of the object....[5]

While this ability is, aesthetically speaking, a great accomplishment, the artist is still able to know only an *expression* of the Will—for that is what the Platonic Idea is—and never the Will itself. With music, however, this is not the case. Concerning the special relationship between music and the Will, Schopenhauer said that "Therefore music is by no means like the other arts, namely a copy of the Ideas, but a *copy of the will itself*, the objectivity of which are the Ideas."[6] Commenting on the relationship of music to the realm of Idea, which is the *Inspiration* for all other art, he says:

> Music, since it passes over the ideas, is also quite independent of the phenomenal world, positively ignores it, and, to a certain extent, could still exist even if there were no world at all, which cannot be said of the other arts.[7]

While the other arts have only indirect (*mittelbar*) access to the Will through the realm of Ideas, music has direct (*unmittelbar*) access to the Will.

Since music and Platonic Ideas are both immediate representations of the Will, they must share similarities. Platonic Ideas, according to Schopenhauer, can be directly discerned only by those who can view an object without regard to its spatial, temporal, and causal characteristics. To those unable to do this, the Platonic Ideas reveal themselves as objects of the phenomenal world. Schopenhauer compares these phenomenal representations of Platonic Ideas with music:

> I recognize in the deepest tones of harmony, in the ground-bass, the lowest grades of the will's objectification, inorganic nature, the mass of the planet. It is well known that all the high notes, light, tremulous, and dying away more rapidly, may be regarded as resulting from the simultaneous vibrations of the deep bass-note. With the sounding of the low note, the high notes always sound faintly at the same time, and it is a law of harmony that a bass-note may be accompanied only by those high notes that actually sound automatically and simultaneously with it (its *sons harmoniques*) through the accompanying vibrations. Now this is analogous to the fact that all the bodies and organizations of nature must be regarded as having come into existence through gradual development out of the mass of the planet. This is both their supporter and their source and the high notes have the same relation to the ground-bass.[8]

This is the only part of Schopenhauer's theory that presupposes any acquaintance with music theory. In this comparison, Schopenhauer refers to physical laws of acoustics rather than to metaphysical speculation. Since Pythagoras, those interested in the physics of acoustics have known that when any note is sounded, it produces not only itself, but a series of higher notes known as overtones or harmonics. These are always generated in a specific order. If, for example, an E♭$_1$ is struck on a piano, not only E♭$_1$ the fundamental, is heard, but also E♭ (the e♭ an octave above the fundamental), B♭, e♭ (the e♭ two octaves above the fundamental), g and so forth. If B♭, which is the first overtone of E♭$_1$ other than E♭, and A♭$_2$ flat, whose first overtone other than A♭$_1$ is E♭, are taken as fundamentals, their first four overtones plus the first four overtones of e♭ contain all the notes of the e♭ major scale. In fact, if the complete overtone series is considered and not just the first four notes in that series, all the notes of the e♭ major scale are contained in e♭ itself. One could say that the fundamental is the raw material from which all of the higher voices are generated, just as the mass of the planet furnishes the raw materials for our phenomenal world. The bass note is analogous to the lowest step of the Will's objectification in the phenomenal world—inert matter. The bass note is the base note. The higher notes correspond to progressively more sophisticated objectifications of the Will:

> The four voices or parts of all harmony, that is, bass, tenor, alto, and soprano, or fundamental note, third, fifth, and octave, correspond to the four grades in the series of existences, hence to the mineral, plant, and animal kingdoms, and to man.[9]

Schopenhauer's analogy is in generative terms. He speaks not only about the correspondence between the phenomenal objectification of Platonic Ideas and music, but also about the genesis of these two spheres. He analyzes the physical relationship between the four musical voices—soprano, tenor, alto, and bass—and describes by analogy to the phenomenal world the genesis of a musical world.

This concept seems quite theoretical until one hears the opening measures of *Das Rheingold*, the first opera in Wagner's *Ring* cycle. The solemn opening of *Das Rheingold* does more than set the mood for the opera. It creates the world of the *Ring*. After the house lights have dimmed, leaving the audience as if suspended in a primordial twilight, a low e♭ is heard from the orchestra. The next note heard is b♭, the first overtone of e♭ flat other than e♭ itself. Soon g, the third overtone is heard. These three tones, e♭, g and, b♭, form the e♭ major chord. It is the only chord heard for the first forty-eight measures of the opera. The forty-ninth and fiftieth measures introduce two new notes: f, the first overtone of b♭ other than b♭, and a♭ , whose first overtone is e♭, the fundamental. The music then continues another eighty-nine measures without adding any new notes. Consequently, the beginning of *Das Rheingold* consists of 136 measures in which the only notes heard are the primary chords of e♭ major. Wagner carefully composes this prelude as an audible creation scene. Just as in the phenomenal world all creation springs from inert minerals or the mass of the planet, so in his world of the Will, everything is generated from the fundamental e♭.

As if to confirm this, Wagner fashions his first leitmotif of the opera, which is nothing more than an arpeggiated e♭ major chord, after a theme in Mendelssohn's overture, *Märchen von der schönen Melusine*. The Melusine myth speaks of a mermaid who became a great matriarch and mother of generations of kings. As she is the source of a long line of royalty, so too is Wagner's leitmotif the source of all that follows in the *Ring* cycle. Robert Donington, analyzing the musical structure of the *Ring*, states that *every* theme may be traced back to this first leitmotif in *Das Rheingold*.[10] Therefore, one is forced to conclude that the entire *Ring* cycle is born from that first e♭. The hundreds of leitmotifs that weave themselves into the warp and woof of the *Ring* cycle are musical reflections of the Will whose levels of sophistication vary directly with their resemblance to the primal leitmotif. It is for this reason that one must wait 136 measures for the curtain to rise on the human forms of the Rheinmaidens, for it is only then that one has had a chance to hear the highest overtones of the e♭ major chord which correspond to the most sophisticated objectification of the Will in the phenomenal world—sentient life. As the music continues to brighten, the green twilight of the river bottom is pierced with a shaft of light from the rising sun which illuminates the *Rheingold*, the source of world power. Just as the first e♭ is the point of origin for the music of the opera, the gold is the source for all of the dramatic action in the *Ring* cycle. The leitmotif connected with it consists of g, b, and d, a g major chord. In Schopenhauerian terms, the gold is the mineral from which the phenomenal world of the *Ring* will evolve. As the g fundamental generates the higher tones of the harmonic series, so too will the gold generate increasingly sophisticated objectifications of the Will.

Schopenhauer's musical metaphysics are also useful in clarifying another aspect of Wagner's leitmotif technique. Many leitmotifs display an ascending or descending pattern. For example, the first motif of *Das Rheingold*, as discussed above, has a pronounced upward motion. The progression is from a low note to one of higher pitch. The formation of the high note from the low is immediately heard. As previously stated, this is indicative of a generative development, an objectification of increasingly sophisticated forms of the Will. If this process of creation were to be reversed, one would expect the intervals of the motif to be arranged in a descending order. Two leitmotifs serve as excellent examples of this process: the motif which accompanies Wotan the Wanderer, e.g., at the beginning of the third act of *Siegfried*, and the sleep motif which is heard at the end of *Die Walküre*. Both of these motifs evidence a downward motion which clearly suggests a disorganization and return to less sophisticated objectifications of the Will. In Schopenhauerian terms, this is precisely what happens in the *Ring* cycle. The entire tetralogy has as its theme Wotan's denial of the Will to power.

To these few examples several others could be added. They all clearly indicate that Wagner's music, as well as his drama, bear the mark of Schopenhauer's philosophy. But far more important, they illustrate that Wagner was giving a key with which to decipher the elaborate symbolism of the *Ring* when he cast his leitmotif structure in this metaphysical mold. If the critic is content to consider the *Ring* only from a dramatic or verbal standpoint, he will miss much of what Wagner was trying to say.

Notes

1. Carl Dahlhaus, *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas* (NY: Cambridge UP, 1979) p. 5.

2. See Dahlhaus, p. 5, or Dieter Borchmeyer, *Das Theater Richard Wagners* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982) p. 105.

3. Dalhaus, pp. 4 ff.

4. Ernest Newman, *The Life of Richard Wagner*, 4 Vols. (NY: Knopf, 1937), Vol. 4, p. 291.

5. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation*, 2 Vols., Trans. E. G. J. Payne (NY: Dover, 1969), Vol. 1, p. 178.

6. Schopenhauer, Vol. 1, p. 257.

7. Schopenhauer, Vol. 1, p. 257.

8. Schopenhauer, Vol. 1, p. 258.

9. Schopenhauer, Vol. 2, p. 447.

10. Robert Donington, *Wagner's Ring and Its Symbols* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1963), p. 275.

Anticipating the Collapse: Erich Loest's *Fallhöhe*

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Erich Loest's friend and critic, Prof. Heinrich Mohr, wrote of him ten years ago that his prolific literary production originates out of a single source, "aus dem Drang, ja dem Zwang ..., die selbst erlebte Geschichte und die eigene Gegenwart in erfundenen Geschichten darzustellen."[1] I would add to this by way of introduction that in chronicling both his own fascinating biography and the historical events which accompanied it, Erich Loest can be seen as an especially "representative" German writer of his time and his generation. Born the son of a hardware store owner in 1926 near Leipzig, Loest is a contemporary of that impressive group of German writers who all reached the age of majority shortly after the collapse of the Third Reich: Christa Wolf, Martin Walser, Siegfried Lenz, Günter Grass, to name just a few.[2] If the stations and experiences of Loest's biography are typical and representative of his time and generation, however, he often distinguishes himself as the embodiment of their most radicalized manifestation. For example, Loest did not merely become a soldier or "Flakhelfer" in the last days of the war, but a "Werwolf." Less than two years later, he was not merely a fellow travelling or sympathetic observer of the new order in the Soviet occupation zone, but an activist member of the Communist Party. In the intervening period Loest had completed his "Reifeprüfung" and begun to take advantage of the unprecedented opportunities the new order offered to people of his class background by working as a journalist for the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. After joining the Party he quickly rose to the position of editor and began to write his first novel on the side. Already with this first early work, an anti-war novel about the experiences of his generation titled *Jungen, die übrig blieben* (1950), Loest began to experience difficulties with the system in which he had invested his hopes for a better Germany. Although a popular success, a devastating review in the newspaper of the Soviet Military Administration citing the novel's alleged "Standpunktlosigkeit" cost Loest his editorial position and forced him to earn his living exclusively as a writer.

Here, too, his experiences with the authorities were more typical than unique for writers in the GDR, but Loest's difficulties rapidly became more dramatic than most, in spite of his efforts to accommodate the demands of the cultural-political establishment. A tendentious novel set in contemporary Berlin entitled *Die Westmark fällt weiter* (1952) was both a popular and a critical success. It shows Loest at the height of his naive faith in the historical infallibility of the GDR system. However, the events of June 17, 1953 were soon to disabuse him of this faith. Only his position as the elected chairman of the Leipzig district branch of the GDR "Schriftstellerverband," somewhat reluctant self-criticism, and the friendly intervention of a powerful benefactor, Kuba (Kurt Barthels), enabled Loest to survive the massive criticism elicited by his publication of an all too honest essay assessing the significance of the uprising. From this point on, Loest was much more skeptical of the state's claims and wary of all authoritarian structures.

Like many other GDR intellectuals, Loest felt justified and encouraged in this more critical, more democratic stance by the new, anti-stalinist tone set at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956. Like many others, including Wolfgang Harich, Walter Janka and Gerhard Zwerenz, he was caught up in the resurgent hard-line policies that followed this brief, apparent thaw. Loest was arrested on November 14, 1957 and sentenced after a year in "Untersuchungshaft" to seven and one half years in prison for the crime of "konterrevolutionäre Gruppenbildung." Under brutal conditions, sometimes in solitary confinement, always under strict "Schreibverbot," Loest served his sentence in the infamous prison at Bautzen and was not released until September 25, 1964. Faced with the necessity of earning a living but determined to avoid any further involvement with politics, he wrote prolifically over the next ten years, primarily a series of popular but largely forgettable crime novels under the pseudonym Hans Walldorf often set in other countries.[3] If these novels are largely ignored in Loest's critical reception as a writer, I believe it is primarily because he removes himself here from the sources which make him such a representative figure, the compulsion cited by Heinrich Mohr above to engage "die selbst erlebte Geschichte und die eigene Gegenwart."

In the early 1970s, Loest was encouraged by friends and colleagues once again to address themes more directly relevant to his readers as contemporary citizens of the GDR. Although the state had not been willing to grant him the unconditional rehabilitation he had always insisted was due him, he had been reinstated in the GDR "Schriftstellerverband," and there were hopeful signs of a new "Tauwetterperiode" under the new Honecker regime.[4] As a result, Loest began to write again under his own name and out of his own experience. *Schattenboxen* (1972), for example, depicts the struggles of a man to reintegrate himself into GDR society after being released from prison.[5] With considerable difficulty and after many delays, Loest was able in 1978 to publish one of the most important novels in the forty-year history of the GDR, *Es geht seinen Gang oder Mühen in unserer Ebene*. Loest's realistic depiction of everyday life in the GDR through the eyes of his disillusioned protagonist, Wolfgang Wülff, was an immediate popular success, but it also heightened the tension between the writer and cultural-political organs in the GDR.[6] Over the next several years, the author's position became so untenable, particularly after he publicly supported other dissident writers, that he was forced to emigrate to the Federal Republic in March, 1981.[7]

Loest settled first in Osnabrück, then in Bonn. Among his first publications in the West were his autobiographical *Durch die Erde ein Riß* (1981) and *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* (1984), a sweeping novel encompassing the history of Leipzig which Loest had conceived while still in the GDR. At first Loest maintained in interviews that he expected to have enough material for the rest of his career from his experiences in the GDR, in his beloved Leipzig, to be precise. Indeed, Leipzig will always occupy a position of central importance in Loest's works similar to Danzig in the works of Günter Grass. After another novel set in the GDR, however, *Zwiebelmuster* (1985), Loest turned his attention once again to "die eigene Gegenwart" and produced *Froschkonzert* (1987), a political satire on small-town life in the Federal Republic. *Fallhöhe*, to which we now turn, is a novel written in 1989 about German writers in East and West and takes place in both the GDR and the FRG. Although it must be said from the outset that *Fallhöhe* cannot be regarded as a great piece of literature, it does arise from the intersection of biography and current events which Heinrich Mohr regards as the source of all of Loest's best writing. Furthermore, the novel's subject matter could hardly be more timely.

Dr. Henning Köhler, the protagonist of *Fallhöhe*, is a man drained of vital energy and disabused of his hopes and ideals before the story even begins. Originally trained in economics, he had once been "Energieberater" for Horst Sindermann, who was by that time a high official in the government of the GDR. Ten years earlier, however, some kind of political transgression or misjudgment earned Köhler two years imprisonment. Afterwards, the authorities were at a loss as to what to do with him:

> Es ging lange hin und her, wo ich nun untergebracht, sagen wir mal: abgestellt werden soll, und schließlich schätzten mich ein paar mittlere Götter für die Akademie und die Historie als tragbar ein.[8]

Köhler now does historical research at the GDR Academy of Sciences, but it is clear that he regards himself as "der Mann auf dem Abstellgleis" (13). For years he had been researching a certain Stülpner, a kind of legendary Robin Hood figure from the history of Saxony.[9] Köhler's study has been completed for some time, but he has been unable to get it into print, not because its content is politically explosive, but rather because of paper shortages and academic in-fighting among competing groups of historians, each attempting to establish priority for its own equally arcane area of research. As is usually the case in academia, the disputes are so bitter only because the stakes are so low:

> Worum ging es denn schon, zwang sich Köhler zu mäkeln, um ein bißchen Ruhm innerhalb der Gilde, kein Mensch jenseits des Fachdunstkreises würde davon erfahren. Die Fallhöhe war gering, der Lohn lächerlich in den Augen aller außer fünfzig, sechzig Leutchen. (10)

For Köhler, it is precisely this lack of "Fallhöhe" that permeates and oppresses his entire existence, the fact that nothing, really, is at stake. His career, his hopes and his ambitions are not at risk, because he has long since abandoned them. Nor does he have much invested in his personal life. His first marriage dissolved while he was in prison. As a "Staatsfeind" he is denied contact with his two children, and his present relationship with Marga is characterized more by routine than passion. In many ways, Köhler is reminiscent of the protagonist of *Es geht seinen Gang oder Mühen in unserer Ebene*, Wolfgang Wülff, who rejects the demands of the GDR "Leistungsgesellschaft" and just wants to be left alone. As the novel opens, however, it is the tenth anniversary of the morning of his arrest, and Köhler is desperately trying to work himself into a furious state, so that he can barge into his director's office and demand the publication of his Stülpner study. It is a last, desperate attempt to overcome his lethargy and break out of a state of existence which oppresses him like a coffin.

Ironically, however, even his "spontaneous" tirade is carefully rehearsed, and he never quite gets to deliver it, because his anger dissipates while he is delayed in getting to the meeting by a telephone call from Eberhard Beilmann, the director of a publishing house and an old friend from Köhler's student days. Beilmann requests a meeting with Köhler where he reveals that certain parties, whose identity is indicated only by a thumb pointed at the ceiling, are interested in being informed about currents in West German intellectual life, especially about basic positions and tendencies among that segment of the Western intelligentsia which originally came from the GDR. Certain changes were allegedly underway in the GDR, and "Nun könnte ja einmal der Zeitpunkt kommen, da die DDR all diese karätigen Herrschaften für sich reklamieren will" (22). To Köhler's astonishment, Beilmann concludes with a remarkable offer: "Mit einem Wort, Henning, wie wäre es, du schautest dich in der BRD um?" (23).

Beilmann is careful to explain that Köhler is not being asked to conduct espionage:

> für Kundschafterei im Wortgebrauch der DDR sei Köhler nicht der Typ und selbstredend ohne jede Ausbildung. Nichts werde mit Kunststoffbart und Geheimtinte, Funkkontakt und totem Briefkasten geplant, im Gegenteil: je mehr Öffentlichkeit, desto wirkungsvoller. (23)

Köhler's past difficulties with the state already lend him a certain credibility as a dissident, and he is not being asked to seek damaging information on his former compatriots but only to establish which of them might be open to a reconciliation with a GDR under somewhat more liberalized cultural policies. To be sure, it is not a mission to be accomplished in a short time period, and in order to esblish Köhler's cover, he will have to undergo "Ausbürgerung." Moreover, Marga will have to remain in the GDR.

Because his situation in the GDR is so unsatisfying and he feels he has nothing to lose, Köhler accepts the offer. Before he leaves, however, Marga insists upon getting married as a way for both of them to gain some leverage in Köhler's situation, although she has no desire to accompany him even if it were permitted. Also, just before disappearing without a trace, Köhler's boss, Director Topel, gives him a bundle of documents dating primarily from the fifties when Topel had been an assistant to Otto Grotewohl, the first "Ministerpräsident" of the GDR. Although Köhler is the last person to have seen Topel, he knows nothing about his disappearance. He does recognize, however, that the documents contain highly sensitive political revelations about the early history of the GDR and says nothing about them to the authorities. Köhler takes half of these documents with him and leaves the rest with Marga.

At this point, the scene of the novel shifts to the Federal Republic. Loest undoubtedly draws upon his own experience in providing perceptive psychological insights into the problems of integration into Western society, from processing at the "Aufnahmelager" in Gießen and the solicitous attention of new acquaintances to coping with overwhelming material abundance. Köhler's salary in the GDR had been 920 Marks per month, whereas he now receives thirty thousand DM startup capital and five thousand DM per month maintainence from the GDR. Even so, he cannot break himself of the habit of multiplying all prices in the West by seven in order to establish their value in GDR currency. But Köhler quickly accommodates himself to his new conditions. He buys a car that would have been beyond the dreams of the average GDR citizen, a used Audi, and rents an apartment in the Bonn suburb of

Lannesdorf with a breathtaking view of the Drachenfels across the Rhine. His childlike astonishment at Western amenities is touchingly revealed through his incessant playing with the electric motors that automatically raise and lower his blinds. When Köhler falls into an affair with a younger, married doctoral candidate, it appears to be motivated more by curiosity and perhaps loneliness than great passion. Loest wittily describes its beginnings as follows: "Der erste Kuß im Westen - ein Westkuß. Mußte er umrechnen: ein Westkuß gleich sieben Ostküsse?" (114). He does not forget why he is there, however, and begins to establish contacts with the GDR exile community and even supplement his income through lectures at "Volkshochschulen" and journalistic articles. One such article featuring a devastating satirical attack on Erich Honecker earns Köhler severe criticism from his supervisors, but he has a perfect defense: such attacks increase his own credibilty as an exiled dissident.

Much of the delight of *Fallhöhe* lies in the fact that most of the exiles whom Köhler investigates are actual personnages, such as Gerhard Zwerenz, Wolf Biermann, Reiner Kunze, Hans Joachim Schädlich and Günter Kunert. Even apparently fictitious characters, such as the collegial, bibulous Jutta Schonak, may be based on real persons, in this case perhaps Helga Novak. One marvelous scene portrays Köhler's visit with Gerhard Zwerenz in which they discuss, among other matters, Zwerenz's good friend from his Leipzig days, Erich Loest. Another wonderful episode has Köhler joining Biermann for a television broadcast direct from a boat on the German/German border on the "Tag der deutschen Einheit." Loest also has Köhler visiting a gathering of exiled GDR writers in Vlotho where they read from their works in progress and subject themselves to criticism from their peers, much in the fashion of the legendary meetings of the "Gruppe 47". One passage is so remarkable in light of later developments that it is quoted here:

> Einer traf erst jetzt ein: Sascha Anderson. Einen grauen, zerschlissenen Pullover trug er, graue Hose, graue Stiefel, unrasiert war er und ungekämmt, dazu Nickelbrille. Anderson habe sich gestylt, lästerte einer, mit dem Namen verbinde sich dieses Bild: so war er in Ostberlin aufgetreten, struppig, borstig, so werde er in der Bundesrepublik behandelt werden: Von niemandem vereinnahmbar. (164)

"Von niemandem vereinnahmbar!" The irony is unintended, of course, because it was only two years later that Sascha Anderson was unmasked as a long-time 'Stasi' collaborator who did not even cease his activities on their behalf when he emigrated to the West in 1987.

Köhler delivers his reports faithfully but wonders why anyone needs to investigate Biermann's attitudes towards the GDR, for example, when he wears his opinions so openly on his sleeve and publishes them frequently in any case. He also worries about the precariousness of his position. Who is behind his assignment and do they really represent a new wave of liberalization? He only knows of Beilmann and a certain Schreiber from the Ministry of Culture and speculates that their positions may not be secure:

> Vielleicht war es jetzt ähnlich, Schreiber und Beilmann bereiteten den Boden für eine Aktion von übermorgen vor, hatten womöglich Klaus Höpcke, den Stellvertreter des Kulturministers, im Rücken und fürchteten den alten verbiesterten Hager aus dem Politbüro? Sie schufen Grundlagen für die Zeit nach Honecker und Mielke und durften sich dabei nicht erwischen lassen? Junge Leute der Stasi zettelten mit - eine hübsche kleine Palastintrige? (125-126)

But Köhler takes consolation from the fact that even now his "Fallhöhe" is ridiculously slight. What is the worst that could happen? His stipend could be cut off and he could be ordered back to the GDR, but the worst days of Stalinist abuses were long past:

> Die Zeiten waren vorbei, da einem Trotzki und einem Hölz die Schädel eingeschlagen worden waren, da sie Münzenberg in einem Wald in Südfrankreich umbrachten. Er war etliche Nummern kleiner, seine Fallhöhe minimal. (159)

Köhler's most immediate concern, however, is that he can find no evidence whatsoever that any of the exiled writers have any interest in returning to the GDR. Nevertheless, Köhler's contact in the ministry of culture, Schreiber, can even imagine Günter Kunert as GDR Minister of Culture, if the inducements are great enough. In one of Loest's most deliciously humorous scenes, Schreiber speculates that Kunert could be offered the GDR "Nationalpreis" with the invitation carried by Christa Wolf, Hermann Kant and Heiner Müller. The Reclam publishing house in Leipzig would prepare his collected works for publication in the GDR. After the awarding of the prize at the Werbelinsee, Kunert and wife, Marianne, a great cat lover, would be assiduously courted:

> Hermlin macht Marianne den Hof, Hager schenkt ihr einen siamesischen Herdbuch-Kater. Büfett, eingeflogen von Käfer aus München. "Meißner Domkeller", später Frankenwein. So eingestimmt bietet Honecker seinem Gast das Amt eines Kulturministers der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik an. (201)

More than any of these inducements, however, Schreiber is counting upon something he calls the "Husák-Effekt," named for the Czechoslovakian communist leader who was imprisoned and tortured before rising to his lofty position. According to this theory, allegedly developed by a leading GDR psychologist, "Wer beherrscht worden ist, hat tief in sich drin den Wunsch entwickelt, selbst zu herrschen" (200-201). Only readers familiar with Loest's work will appreciate the full irony behind this passage. One of the most important themes running through Loest's works, at least since, *Es geht seinen Gang* is that the exact opposite of the so-called Husák-effect is true: those who have been victimized by power want absolutely nothing more to do with it, least of all to wield it.

The denouement of the novel is not dramatic; how could it be considering the slight "Fallhöhe" to which Köhler is exposed. Sabine, his West German girlfriend, leaves him and goes back to her husband. The discovery of Director Topel's body, an apparent suicide, leads to the discovery of the politically embarrassing documents Köhler left with Marga, his wife, in the GDR. She is arrested but released in exchange for Köhler's returning the other half of them. As for Köhler's mission in the West, it is indeed aborted just as he had feared, because the faction supporting it apparently suffered a setback. Köhler is supposed to return to the GDR to an obscure post at the Leipzig institute for literature where he will be allowed to conduct research on "Arbeiterlieder der zwanziger Jahre." Rather than subject himself once again to such a suffocating existence, Köhler resolves to remain in the West. Already an opportunity to support himself has presented itself. A West German television station is interested in doing a series on Stülpner, the Saxon Robin Hood. Of course it must be trimmed to the taste of the West German audience, sensationalized and set in West Germany, but Köhler agrees. His integration into the West is almost completed.

On balance, *Fallhöhe* is such a topical novel that it may not wear well with time, or its appeal may be limited to literary cognoscenti. Although superficially a light-hearted farce, the novel is never far from slipping into genuine tragedy. For the actual participants in the sometimes bizarre machinations of literary life in the two Germanies, real lives are at stake, as Loest himself, the representative writer of his generation, knows all too well from his own experience. Although he has ample reason to be bitter, Loest succeeds here in maintaining an emotional distance, even playfulness, toward his subject matter which heightens the effectiveness of his satire without surrendering its firm foundation in reality. Here as elsewhere Loest is at his best when providing detailed descriptions of the ordinary. He is a master at creating realistic, colloquial dialogue, and his witty, ironic tone invites sympathy. If the plot of *Fallhöhe* is often contrived, it nevertheless provides perceptive insights into contemporary German affairs. As we now know, the 'Stasi' did, in fact, continue to spy upon the GDR's exiled dissidents, though not with the benign intent attributed to Henning Köhler and his sponsors. And at least one speculation of Köhler's, though clearly an exaggeration, will not return to embarrass Erich Loest. Asked by a West German what would happen if the wall were suddenly to fall, Köhler answers without hesitation: "Dann bräche die Wirtschaft der DDR nach drei Tagen zusammen und die der Bundesrepublik in einem Monat" (238).

It is surprising that such a prolific and representative writer as Loest has attracted so little critical attention. Although his works are regularly reviewed in German newspapers and periodicals, comparatively little has been translated, and he is virtually unknown in the United States. At this time, not a single monograph has been devoted to his works and only a few scholarly articles, a situation which should and undoubtedly will change in coming years.

NOTES

1. Heinrich Mohr, "Spurensicherung: Erich Loests Versuch, die eigene Wahrheit zu schreiben," in Paul Gerhard Klussmann and Heinrich Mohr, eds., *Probleme deutscher Identität. Zeitgenössische Autobiographien: Identitätssuche und Zivilisationskritik*, (Bonn: Bouvier, 1983), p. 12.

2. In addition to his fiction, most of which contains strongly autobiographical elements, Loest has published two explicitly autobiographical volumes: *Durch die Erde ein Riß*, (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1981), and *Der Zorn des Schafes*, (Künzelsau: Linden, 1990).

3. One of the most representative works of this period is: *Der Mörder saß im Wembley-Stadion* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1967). Loest had never been to London and wrote the novel only with the help of a map of the city, a striking example of how far removed these works are from the writer's essential concerns with themes derived from his own life and times.

4. On April 24, 1990, after the collapse of the SED regime, Loest enjoyed the satisfaction of standing before the supreme court of the German Democratic Republic and being exonerated of all charges.

5. The impact of Loest's imprisonment upon the writer was very great indeed. It reverberates not only through his autobiographical *Durch die Erde ein Riß* (1981) but also in such works as his Karl May novel, *Swallow, mein wackerer Mustang* (1980), *Fallhöhe* (1989) and numerous short stories.

6. For a complete history of Loest's difficulties in getting this novel published and/or reprinted in the GDR, see his account in *Der vierte Zensor: Vom Entstehen und Sterben eines Romans in der DDR*, (Köln: Verlag Politik und Wissenschaft, 1984).

7. After the collapse of the GDR, Erich Loest was one of the first writers to gain access to his own 'Stasi' files. As a result, one can trace the course of Loest's persecution and eventual expulsion from the GDR in the author's autobiographical work, *Der Zorn des Schafes* (Künzelsau: Linden, 1990) in which many original documents from those files are reprinted.

8. *Fallhöhe*, (Künzelsau: Linden, 1989), p. 18-19. All further citations from this text will be indicated parenthetically by page number.

9. Not coincidentally, Erich Loest himself has written on this figure. See "Stülpner-Novelle" in the anthology *Etappe Rom*, (Berlin: Neues Leben, 1975; 2. Auflage 1978).

Visions of Tomorrow: German Science Fiction and Socialist Utopian Novels of the Late Nineteenth Century

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The genre of utopian literature possesses a long and rich tradition, dating back to Plato's *Republic*. Every century since the fifteenth has produced its share of utopias, which often owed their success to a fertile social and political climate holding the promise of a future devoid of the problems of the time.[1] Writers of science-fiction often expand on the technological advances of their present, extrapolating them into a society filled with labor-saving devices and marvels of rapid transit, a technotopia of contented citizens with maximum free time and minimal labor. Other authors, seeking to benefit from mistakes of the past, paint a quite different picture of the perfect society, offering the reader a simpler alternative to the present. These ecotopias present an idyllic, pastoral life, uncomplicated by the fast pace and technology of industrialized society.

With such writers and visionaries as Bellamy, Butler, Cabet, Morris, Wells, and Verne, the nineteenth century enjoyed a golden age of the utopian novel.[2] The main impetus for the rise in popularity of this genre comes from England and France, at the time the world's two most industrialized societies. As a result, the utopian literature produced there reflects both the hopes and the fears raised by several decades of life dominated by the machine.

The year 1890 provides a benchmark for this genre in Germany, with its emergence nearly simultaneous with the expiration of Bismarck's Socialist Laws, in effect from 1878 to 1890. Theodor Hertzka's *Freiland, ein soziales Zukunftsbild*, and *Entrückt in die Zukunft*, Karl Ballod's *Der Zukunftsstaat*, and Kurd Laßwitz' *Auf zwei Planeten* all appeared in the 1890s. The Socialist Laws, which immediately suppressed all labor organizations with ties to the SPD, and nearly all party newspapers and periodicals caused many rank-and-file members of the SPD to relinquish their party affiliation as they realized that Bismarck would not content himself with anything less than the annihilation of socialism as a political and cultural force in Germany.[3] With the ascendancy to the throne in 1888 of Friedrich III, hope grew among many that a more liberal and tolerant society would soon emerge. And even after Friedrich succumbed to throat cancer a mere 99 days after taking power, the perception that change was possible prevailed, especially in light of the failure of the Reichstag to renew the Socialist Laws in 1890. Because most authors of this genre at the time tended to sympathize with socialist politics, Germany remained devoid of utopian fiction until it became once again safe to espouse a socialist point of view.[4] In addition, Germany, which lagged far behind France and England socially and economically throughout most of the century, quickly developed into an international power and an important player in world politics after becoming a nation in 1871. The ensuing dramatic and rapid transformation of German society during the last two decades of the nineteenth century had several profound effects on German visionaries. The intensive industrialization of the 1880s and attendant urbanization led some to question the value of progress, especially in the face of the problems already visible in France and England.[5] Events of the previous two decades convinced many socialist writers to attempt to exonerate socialism of the charges consistently leveled against it. Defensive attempts to portray the utopian world as a benevolent, democratic-socialist culture based on Christian values pervade these novels, countering prevalent arguments that as both atheists and communists, socialists posed a grave threat to the freedom, morality, and prosperity of modern life.

The potential of the machine age to reduce long and strenuous workdays, to create new, efficient modes of transportation, and to solve problems of disease and world hunger buoyed European faith in the benefits of change and the inevitability of progress.[6] At the same time, the unchecked, accelerated growth of both industrialization and capitalism in Germany gave rise to problems such as socio-economic dislocation, exploitation of both workers and natural resources, and a gradual breakdown of traditional values associated with a pre-industrial society. While promising remarkable growth and prosperity, the industrial age, welcomed unreservedly by some, loomed as a threat to the livelihood and health of others. Dangerous, unregulated factories posed a serious health risk for workers and the pollution these factories created directly affected the quality of life in most urban areas throughout industrialized Europe.[7]

Most German utopian novels display some degree of ambivalence toward the machine and industrial capitalism. On the one hand, these novels are filled with innovative technologies and imaginative inventions which form the cornerstones of the utopian societies. On the other, the machine itself becomes a tool of enslavement and destruction. In *Freiland*, written in 1890 by socialist political economist and land reformer Theodor Hertzka, an independent colony established by Europeans and North Americans in southeast Africa exploits the vast natural resources of the region in order to build a utopian civilization. Through the socialist, rather than capitalist, use of modern technology, the Freiland colony gradually transforms the very shape of Africa into a paradise and creates equality among its citizens by eliminating most menial manual labor and increasing efficiency through the use of innovative machines and other labor-saving devices. This fosters a five-hour workday and a way of life replete with free time, which, in turn, allows everyone to reap the benefits of Schiller-like aesthetic education. The superior products and enlightened existence resulting from a combination of the new political system, heavy reliance on new inventions and scientific breakthroughs, and increased efficiency throughout the new society create an economic juggernaut and socially progressive culture which soon becomes the envy of the world. Likewise, in Hertzka's 1895 *Entrückt in die Zukunft*, in which a Parisian awakens to find himself mysteriously transported 200 years into the future, citizens of a cosmopolitan world community need devote little time to work, spending their free time involved in cultural and recreational activities. The efficiency of machines has increased twenty-fold, improving productivity and quality while eliminating the tedium and danger faced by nineteenth-century factory workers. The perception that the machine has achieved, at least on one level, superiority over the human being arises in a rhetorical question posed to the visitor from the past by a twenty-first century citizen. Given the existence of a highly efficient weaving machine, why, he cries, should anyone still prefer to use an antiquated hand loom (*Entrückt*, 79). The machine has thus been granted a lofty status in this vision of the future.

The culturally, politically, and technologically superior Martians in the successful *Auf Zwei Planeten*, written in 1897 by science fiction author and Kantian philosopher Kurd Laßwitz, live in an almost entirely automated society, where nearly all servants have been replaced by technology.[8] Despite inhabiting a planet with a comparatively hostile environment, the Martians have converted their surroundings into a paradise employing a sophisticated irrigation system that converts polar ice into usable water and redirects it to the more temperate, inhabited regions on Mars. The abundant leisure time enjoyed by the Martians allows them to engage in artistic and philosophical endeavors. However, despite this apparently perfect society, the Martians recognize their problem of finite resources, and owing to their distance from the sun, their limited energy sources. Therefore, they establish concealed colonies at our North Pole as well as in orbit above the planet to extract the untapped solar energy of Earth. In *Auf zwei Planeten*, Laßwitz examines the negative potential of industrialization, as the Martians conquer the Earth with the ease afforded them by their vastly superior technology. Despite assurances from the Martians to the contrary, the inhabitants of Earth fear they will become, in effect, slaves, or even pets, decrying not only possible occupation and exploitation, but also the imminent "Vergewaltigung der Erde" (Laßwitz, 359). It is precisely this fear of domination by machines and often misunderstood technology that led to a number of utopian novels about idyllic, non-industrial ecotopias such as Butler's *Erewhon* (1871), Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1890), and in Germany, Karl Ballod's treatise, *Der Zukunftstaat* (1898).[9] We need look no further than the Chartist and Luddite movements or the 1844 uprising of the Silesian weavers to understand that this apprehension existed hand-in-hand with the industrial revolution.

The majority of the population greeted the progress made by modern society with a mixture of pride, awe, and relief. The machine promised a better life, and, for the most part, the advances in medicine, agriculture, and industry did lead to a more comfortable existence. However, despite improvements in the overall quality of life, Germany remained beset by problems both economic and political. The economy endured dynamic periods of growth and decline, suffering through no less than three serious downturns from 1871 to 1900, an era termed by one historian as a "sozial-chaotische Epoche des liberalkapitalistischen Systems."[10] Crises in the agrarian sector, where farm prices fell dramatically during the 1890-1896 depression,[11] massive strikes in heavy industry and mining,[12] and general political and economic instability led to uneasiness and uncertainty in many sectors of society. And yet another problem loomed on the horizon. With the dark cloud of impending overpopulation hanging over the European continent ever since the doomsday projections of Thomas Malthus in the late eighteenth century, utopian writers addressed this problem with solutions born of modern technology. The sophisticated Martian society conceived by Laßwitz, for example, comfortably accommodated twice the population of the Earth on a mere quarter of the usable surface area (Laßwitz, 129). In Hertzka's *Freiland*, the leader of the African colony projects that overpopulation would present no problem in the future, when 99% of the earth will be sparsely inhabited, the bulk of the population living in the warmer climates where energy costs would be negligible.[13] And on the earth of the twenty-first century of *Entrückt in die Zukunft*, the population has reached an equilibrium at 3.5 billion inhabitants, implying that modern technology possessed the means to alter the Malthusian equation, making possible geometric increases in food production, rather than the arithmetic increase of Malthus' doomsday predictions. Thus, the attention paid to modern problems in utopian literature reflects the concerns of many nineteenth-century socialists. But as visionaries, these writers also examined some of the shortcomings associated with a new society and the ills created, at least in part, by the rapid industrial growth of the era.

Cognizant of the pollution created by heavy industry, utopian authors of the late nineteenth century exhibit a nascent environmental consciousness, informed in part by problems already faced by Britain and France. The coal-fueled societies of the nineteenth century created an environmental as well as a health dilemma: the more successful their industries and economies, the more coal was needed to power them, the more coal that was burned, the greater the pollution, and thus, the greater the health problems. As a result, critics of the status quo began to look at solar power as a viable energy alternative.[14] These novels reflect that thinking. The Martian culture relies heavily on solar power, not only as its primary energy source, but also for food and money. In a process bordering on alchemy, the Martians convert ordinary stones into bread using nothing more than the rays of the sun (Laßwitz, 352). They use as currency a type of solar sponge that soaks up energy which can be transferred in units from one person top another. This parallels the ideas of some forward-thinking social reformers of the nineteenth century who developed economic theories of value based on energy content rather than labor.[15] The Martians viewed coal as a primitive energy form, beset by the dual problems of environmental cost and its finite, non-renewable nature. While attempting to observe Berlin through a high-powered telescope on the space station orbiting earth, the Martians are repulsed by the clouds of air pollution obscuring the city. Convinced of the ultimate inadequacy of fossil fuels by their own era of coal-powered industries, they ask one of their earthling friends: "Warum nehmen Sie die Energie nicht direkt von der Sonnenstrahlung? Sie leben ja vom Kapital und nicht von den Zinsen" (Laßwitz, 165). In addition to solar power, the Martians also learn to harness the power of gravitational waves, which even enable them to see into the past. Gravitational waves also prove quite exploitable, once converted into other sources of energy.

Hertzka also demonstrates his concern for the environment in his writing. In the Freiland colony, citizens recycle waste water and use treated sewage as fertilizer for their crops. They also replace steam power by hydro-electric energy. Aware of the threat that industrialization poses for clean water, the citizens of Freiland take precautions to situate only non-polluting factories on the upper portions of their rivers, later eliminating water pollution entirely. In the twenty-first century, the 'aerothopter,' not unlike da Vinci's ornithopter, constitutes the main mode of transportation, employing a combination of static electricity and geomagnetism. Non-polluting, quieter, and faster than the railroads of the nineteenth century, the aerothopter provides one more solution to the dilemmas of modern society. To minimize air, noise and visual pollution, many factories are situated underground, and as a prophylactic measure, all workers wear air filtration devices. Aware of the link between nutrition and health, science of the future has successfully eliminated cancer, after several generations of careful regulation of diet. In general, these utopias demonstrate a fairly advanced understanding of the interconnected nature of their economy, environment, and politics. Gardens, parks, and nature reserves abound in all of them, for aesthetic as well as ecological reasons. The ideal new-age city of the future contains trees and flowers, fountains and springs, all of which help to maintain songbirds, a barometer of the ecological health of their surroundings (*Entrückt* 167).

Yet despite their visionary understanding of ecology, the utopian writers occasionally display domineering attitudes toward nature. Rather than live in harmony with their surroundings, observing the delicate system of checks and balances, they often subjugate nature in order to gain short-term benefits that improve the immediate quality of life. The Freilanders wantonly eradicate any wild animals deemed a threat or nuisance, ranging from monkeys to crocodiles. They also undertake monumental projects in order to change the face of the region whose unspoiled beauty, in part, attracted them in the first place. Elaborate irrigation systems cross the land, transforming once wild, undisturbed areas into fertile agricultural fields. Projects such as deepening lake beds to facilitate ship navigation and carving extensive rail lines across central Africa consume a high percentage of their tax revenues, underscoring the value placed on their surroundings. They embark upon a seven-year plan to rid the world of all swamps and wetlands, in an effort to eradicate disease from the earth. In *Entrückt*, even more ambitious (and by today's standards questionable) projects change the face of the planet. The citizens of the future have irrigated the entire Sahara Desert, turning it from a sand-filled void into a lush, productive garden, providing food for the world. Although we might consider these measures problematic today, in the 1890s they symbolized progress. Control of nature exists in most rationalized societies, and in many of these utopias that control attains an aesthetic quality. The citizens of Freiland view domination over nature as the highest form of human development, resulting in greater control over their own destiny (*Freeland* 433). The Martians, too, have tamed nature in order to live in harmony with it. They also have developed complex technologies of "Naturbeherrschung," in an effort to make their lives more comfortable (Laßwitz, 70-71). Unlike ecotopias, where the machine symbolizes the problems of modern society, rather than the solutions, technotopias transform their surroundings in a radical manner to suit human existence, rather than the reverse.

The 1880s also marked the high point of German colonial expansion. Certainly, most Germans supported the Reich's colonial policies wholeheartedly.[16] With the exception of many SPD leaders, all the major political parties urged adoption of a policy of aggressive colonial expansion. Most viewed a colonial empire not only as a source of national pride, but also as a new market which would provide a necessary solution to the overproduction plaguing the German economy in the 1880s and 1890s. In addition, many considered the raw materials to be gained from the colonies would power the German industrial machine for centuries to come. In the face of this overwhelming support for a colonial empire from leaders of industry, politics, and the economy, as well as from many workers who saw their job security directly tied to the solution for overproduction provided by an expanding marketplace, a broadside attack on German colonialism could hardly be counted upon to cultivate sympathy for the socialist cause. Therefore, utopian authors chose to adopt an alternate strategy. By drawing a contrast between 'good' and 'bad' colonialism, between an imperialist, Bismarckian empire and a socialist one, they could criticize the colonial practices of the government, without appearing unpatriotic by rejecting colonialism entirely. At first glance, Hertzka's utopian settlement in eastern Africa appears an idealistic contrast to the aggressively nationalist and imperialist German East Africa colony established in 1886 by Carl Peters and the Gesellschaft für Deutsche Kolonialisation.[17] A closer reading reveals that Freiland, despite its cosmopolitan composition and humanistic intentions, is nonetheless a colony. Its noble-sounding goals of providing the native Africans with European-style education, enlightenment, and culture thinly veils the condescending endeavor to re-shape the world in a European image. The Freilanders attempt to endow the native Africans they encounter with the only true culture, namely their own. The Europeans cannot conceive of the viability of African culture, or at least they cannot equate it with European civilization. The low opinion the Freiland citizens hold of the indigenous peoples of Africa permeates the book. He refers to one tribe as "ignorant as Hottentots," contrasts the pacifist Wa-Changa tribe with the swaggering Wa-Kwafi, and the Masai earn the dubious respect of the Freilanders, who describe them as "honorably ambitious, unlike the Negroes" (*Freeland* 134). The Freilanders believe it their moral mission to civilize the Africans, and instill in them a desire to create their own luxury and prosperity. Furthermore, European morals, customs and even etiquette serve as an unquestioned standard for an enlightened society. They inculcate in the Masai the concept of chastity until marriage, disabuse them of the notion of polygamy, and puzzle at their difficulty in using such icons of cultural superiority as the knife, fork, and spoon. The Freilanders gradually engender an appreciation among the Africans for an organized school system, and nurture an appreciation of fine literature and art. This aura of superiority extends to every aspect of their interaction with the indigenous African peoples. When denied free passage through the land, the whites employ excessive force, carrying out negotiations with the tribes in one of two fashions: either by the use of fear or intimidation. They find also that they can exploit the Africans economically by the use of barter. In a scene vaguely reminiscent of the 'purchase' of Manhattan island, the leader of the initial expedition into the interior of the continent boasts that approximately 200 marks worth of brass jewelry, trinkets, mirrors, and glass beads were worth more than 100 fattened Masai oxen. With this 'benevolent' colonization, Hertzka contrasts the surrounding settlements established by other non-utopian European countries, pointing out the cultural, economic, and moral superiority of Freiland over the more traditional European imperialism (Laßwitz 151-152).

Laßwitz' Martians prove as colonial a force as the Freilanders. From their initial hidden base at the North Pole, which, in the absence of any other claim to the region, they subsequently declare a Martian colony, they play the role of benefactors of all Earth. Willing to create a golden age of peace and happiness by sharing their superior technology and culture, they ask only to exploit our resources in return, resources which we are either unable or unwilling to use ourselves (Laßwitz 197-198). In order that the inferior inhabitants of Earth understand their great fortune, the Martians offer to introduce their values through extensive educational programs, by force, if necessary (Laßwitz 346-347). Certain of the superiority of their civilization, they legitimize their decisions with the arguments eventually employed by all colonizing societies: proof of its own preeminence, the superior culture will always discover the inferior one (Laßwitz 393).

These German utopias also confront another of the major issues of the day, namely the role of women and the equality of the sexes. Their visions of the future of women unquestionably were informed by August Bebel's influential utopian treatise, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, written in 1883. Despite inconsistencies in their application of the concept of equality, Hertzka and Laßwitz generally treat this subject with progressive attitudes, painting a picture of a future where women can take their rightful place alongside men in all aspects of life. In the early days of the Freiland colony, women participate in the experiment out of the same desire for adventure and curiosity that inspires their male counterparts. Later, as a stable society takes shape, the leaders of Freiland, among them women in not insignificant numbers, make certain that single women can live comfortably, thereby removing the possibility that they will be forced to rely upon males for their existence (*Freeland* 99-100). The colony establishes schools free of gender discrimination, and both sexes are equal under the law (*Freeland* 131, 226-227). Beneath the surface of these noble-sounding policies exists the pervasive attitude that deems women unfit both physically and psychologically for the struggle for survival, and attempts from the very inception of the experiment to exclude them from the exploration and colonization of eastern Africa. In addition, the Freilanders categorize women with those incapable of performing work as a group entitled to reasonable allowances from the state's welfare funds (*Freeland* 4). Similarly, in the world of the twenty-first century, women are lumped together with children and the elderly as unsuitable for labor and therefore not coerced into it (*Entrückt* 48). At the same time, universal suffrage exists in the future, and the governmental bodies contain essentially equal numbers of men and women (*Entrückt* 191). In Martian society, women enjoy legally the same rights as men, and often distinguish themselves in the areas of politics, art and scientific research. However, in spite of these rights, not a single Martian woman appears in the novel in a position of authority, as males dominate all decision-making processes as well as the military adventures carried out in the name of their civilization. These obvious contradictions notwithstanding, the authors offer a view of a future where gender plays a diminished role in the fate of individuals and entire cultures.

Mindful of the dark years for socialists of 1878-1890, these writers devote considerable space to defending socialism from one of the most persistent attacks leveled against it. The leaders of Freiland take great pains to explain that their society represents the very antithesis of communism. Not only do privately owned businesses exist, but the state actually promotes private enterprise through the availability of interest-free loans to anyone wishing to start up a business or industry. Indeed, they remain antagonistic toward communists, whose beliefs and theories they perceive to conflict with the basic tenets of their own highly successful socialist society. Hertzka takes his defense of socialism one step farther in *Entrückt in die Zukunft*. In stark contrast to the atheism of communism, Hertzka openly bases the moral and ethical values of the future on the teachings of the Bible and the Koran, at least in part to quell the apprehension of readers unclear of the distinction between socialism and communism (*Entrückt* 271). In the evolution of the utopian society of the year 2093, the world had experimented with a number of economic and political systems during the previous century. The citizens recall for their guest from the past that, although communism had held great promise in theory, it proved finally too idealistic and unrealistic in practice and died a natural death when it failed to produce a harmonious and equitable world community (*Entrückt* 68). On the other hand, the political structure on Mars consists of a variety of forms of local government, from aristocracies to communist enclaves, while a federalist system forms the basis for the planetary government. The Martians explain that the structure of local government plays an inconsequential role in the affairs of the planet, and having overcome the largest obstacle to peaceful coexistence, namely the individual egos of those involved in any government, nearly any structure would flourish, given the willingness of enlightened individuals and groups to seek compromise in the name of the common good (Laßwitz 375).

Not all science fiction and utopian literature of the time espoused a socialist view of the future. Many other non-socialist novels, treatises, and manifestoes had already appeared on the scene by 1890, most of them offering their negative visions of a socialist future. Notable works from the 1890s such as Richard Michaelis' *Ein Blick in die Zukunft: Eine Antwort auf Ein Rückblick von Edward Bellamy* (1890), Eugen Richter's *Sozialdemokratische Zukunftsbilder* (1892), and Max Haushofer's *Planetenfeuer* (1899) all present typically pessimistic reactions to the specter of socialism.[18] These novels and treatises provided readers with a dystopian world of the future where socialism (or communism) has prevailed, leaving a politically, economically, and morally bankrupt society filled with considerably more problems and inequities than the one it replaced. Lacking the imaginative ideas, miracles of futuristic technology, and visionary political and social concepts which contribute so much to successful science fiction and utopian literature, these novels pale in comparison to their socialist counterparts.

Fueled by the resignation of Bismarck and the expiration of the Socialist Laws, many socialist writers felt compelled once again to offer positive alternatives to the status quo. The implicit criticism of German colonial policies of the 1880s and 1890s and their own socialist variations of those policies allowed writers to address in a creative manner the problems of the present and the solutions of the future. The economic, industrial, and environmental dilemmas posed by rapid industrialization and urbanization provided Hertzka, Laßwitz, and other writers with fertile ground in which to cultivate their visions of a society based upon socialist philosophies and a more tolerant and enlightened attitude toward life.

Written in an era in Germany when the rapid industrialization and growing urbanization changed the face of the country, socialist novels offer an optimistic picture of the future, revealing a world shaped by the altruism of socialism, inhabited by the contented, fulfilled products of that ideology. Despite often long-winded discussions of the merits of socialism, which frequently degenerate into dry, defensive economic and political rhetoric, these works remain interesting, readable, and revealing insights into the visions of the future held by German socialist writers in the late nineteenth century. The relative success of these novels would result in other more ambitious works of this genre as the desire to create an alternative to the Second Reich reached a crescendo with the beginning of First World War. But just as the criticism and dissatisfaction with empire of Kaiser Wilhelm II continued to spread beyond socialist and communist circles to the right, so, too, did a more conservative, nationalist vision of the future, culminating in the 1920s and 1930s in xenophobic and racist views of the perfect world.

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6. Robert Elliot, *The Shape of Utopia* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 85.

7. Keith Taylor, *The Political Ideas of the Utopian Socialists* (London: Frank Cass, 1982), pp. 9-10.

8. Laßwitz' *Auf zwei Planeten* was translated into English in 1971 as *Two Planets* by Wernher von Braun; many consider Laßwitz' work the most important science fiction novel in German. See *The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction*, eds. John Clute and Peter Nicholls (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1979), p. 692. See also *The New Encyclopedia of Science Fiction*, ed. James Gunn (NY: Viking, 1988), p. 196.

9. Karl Ballod, *Der Zukunftstaat* (Stuttgart: Dietz, 1898). Published under the pseudonym Atlanticus, this work had the original title *Produktion und Konsum im Sozialstaat*.

10. Ernst Michel, quoted in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Bismarck und der Imperialismus* (Cologne and Berlin: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1969), p. 80.

11. Wehler, p. 88.

12. Craig, p. 172.

13. In subsequent editions, Hertzka lengthened the final chapter. I refer to the English translation of those editions, here *Freeland*, p 436.

14. Anna Bramwell, *Ecology in the 20th Century* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1989), pp. 64-65.

15. Bramwell, pp. 85-86.

16. See Wehler, especially pp. 139-155. See also Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany* (NY: Knopf, 1969), pp. 244-245.

17. Wehler, pp. 333-367.

18. Jost Hermand, *Der alte Traum vom neuen Reich: Völkische Utopien und Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt/M: Athenäum, 1988).

Schwierigkeiten des Autor-Leser-Verhältnisses in der Frühaufklärung

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Die Zeitschriftenautoren des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts sehen den zunehmenden Rückzug ihrer Leser in das isolierte "Studierstübchen" als eine ernst zu nehmende Gefahr, die die Einflußmöglichkeiten der Autoren auf die Leser unterminiert. "Studierstübchen" wird hier nicht als ein genau definierter architektonischer häuslicher Bereich verstanden, sondern steht hier für den Raum, der dem lesenden Individuum des 18. Jahrhunderts Intimität und die zum Lesen nötige Ruhe bietet. Das würde beispielsweise auch den sogenannten "Erker" einschließen, "der eigentlich zum Familienzimmer, zur Wohnhalle gehört [und wo] der einzelne ... seinen Arbeits-, Spiel- und Schmollwinkel [findet]."[1] Das Diminutiv "Studierstüblein" ist sprachgeschichtlich bereits in Texten des 16. Jahrhunderts "reich überliefert".[2] Daß es in dieser Arbeit dennoch im Zusammenhang mit dem 18. Jahrhundert diskutiert wird, hat sozialgeschichtliche Gründe. Denn es ist das 18. Jahrhundert, in dem sich ein neues Leseverhalten mit einem ebenso neuen Lesepublikum, einem Laienpublikum, herausbilden.

Die hier besprochenen Aspekte lassen die Gelehrtenschicht außer acht, da die von den Autoren der Wochenschriften artikulierten Rezeptionsprobleme offensichtlich nicht diese Gruppe betreffen. Schon seit Erfindung des Buchdrucks durch Gutenberg gehört die Privatbibliothek, d.h. ein separater häuslicher Bereich, der ausschließlich dem Lesen, Schreiben oder Meditieren vorbehalten ist, zum Stolz eines Gelehrten. Montaigne z. B. beschreibt in aller Ausführlichkeit die Bedeutung, die die Bibliothek für sein intellektuelles Wohlergehen hat.[3]

Die Autoren der Frühaufklärung, insbesondere aber die Schweizer Bodmer und Breitinger, erkennen, daß "die Kommunikationsstrukturen vormodernen literarischen Lebens"[4] (als Folge des "Verlust[s] kollektiver wie mündlicher Rezeptionsformen"[5]) nicht mehr bestehen. Aus der öffentlichen Diskussion wird das einsame Räsonieren bzw. der stille Dialog zwischen dem Leser/der Leserin und dem gedruckten Werk. Eine äußerst aktive literarische Öffentlichkeit wie etwa in London vermag vorübergehend als Bindeglied zwischen Autor und Publikum zu wirken und z. T. die mit der neuen Rezeptionsform verbundenen Probleme zu verdecken. Diese Entwicklung verläuft allerdings etwas anders in Städten, in denen es ein Kaffeehaus-, Theater- oder Clubleben nicht oder kaum gibt. Dazu gehört z. B. die Stadt Zürich, in der Bodmer und Breitinger mit ihren *Discoursen der Mahlern* die englischen Zeitschriften zum ersten Mal im deutschen Sprachbereich auf originelle Weise nachzuahmen versuchen.[6] (*Der Vernünfftler* von 1713/14 kam über das Übersetzen des englischen Modells nicht hinaus.) Die Wirkung des *Spectator* läßt sich zum Teil damit begründen, daß er öffentlicher Gesprächspartner von sozialen Gruppen ist, die ihn sowohl gemeinsam (vor)lesen, als auch gemeinsam diskutieren. Die Autoren des *Spectator* wissen um die Wirkung ihrer Zeitschrift und machen sich diese Kenntnis für die weiteren Beiträge auch zunutze. Einerseits können sich Steele und Addison, die Herausgeber des *Spectator*, nach dem Geschmack ihrer Leser richten, weil sie ihn genauestens kennen, andererseits—nachdem eine gewisse Vertrauensbasis auf Seiten der Leser hergestellt ist—versuchen sie auch auf ihr Publikum Einfluß zu nehmen. Der Zeitschriftenautor steckt somit gleichzeitig in zwei Rollen: der des Sklaven und der des Herrn des Lesers.

Das an Geselligkeit verarmte Zürich dagegen erlaubt diese Interaktion von Zeitschrift und Leser nicht. Die geringe Wirkung der *Discourse*, falls sich von Wirkung überhaupt sprechen läßt, erfolgt nicht in Zürich, sondern hauptsächlich in Norddeutschland.[7] Da den Herausgebern der *Discourse* die Bedeutung der Techniken des Gesprächs mit dem Leser als Ursache der Lebendigkeit der Zeitschrift und damit ihrer Popularität bekannt ist, versuchen sie diesen Aspekt auch für die *Discourse* zum Tragen zu bringen. Sie müssen diesen Leser allerdings erfinden. Dabei kreieren sie einen Idealleser ihrer Zeitschrift, den es tatsächlich nicht gibt. Im Grunde wissen Bodmer und Breitinger über ihre Leserschaft genauso wenig wie ein moderner Verlag über die seine. Bodmers und Breitingers Leser bleiben anonym.

Die *Discourse* müssen sich also an einen imaginären Einzelleser "im Cabinet" richten und sie machen aus der Not eine Tugend. "Es giebet Leute die immer Gesellschaft haben müssen, wenn ihnen die Weile nicht lang und verdrießlich seyn soll. Sie sind wie todt so sie nicht durch anderer Leuten Zuspruch gestossen, und in Bewegung gebracht werden" (I 7). Dieser "Discours" kann zum einen als Kritik an dem Zwang zur Geselligkeit gelesen werden, er offenbart gleichzeitig aber auch ein für das Individuum notwendiges Defizit an gesellschaftlichen Umgangs- und Kommunikationsformen im Zürich des 18. Jahrhunderts. Da eine Erweiterung öffentlicher Lebensbereiche offensichtlich nicht möglich oder erwünscht ist, muß konsequenterweise die isolierte Existenz im Kämmerlein aufgewertet werden. Nicht nur ist der "Einsame" kein "Unmensch" oder "Misantrop", er findet vielmehr eine sehr viel bessere Gesellschaft bei sich und mit sich selbst. Jemand, der großes Vergnügen an ausschließlich der eigenen Gegenwart findet, gilt als "ein großer und rarer Genie" (I 7). Die Meditation ist der einzig mögliche Gesprächsersatz für den Einsamen. Ohne fundierte Kenntnisse kann ich allerdings kein sinnvolles Gespräch mit meinem Gesprächspartner, d.h. mit mir selbst führen. Andernfalls spreche nur ein hohler mit einem anderen hohlen Kopf. Das Selbstgespräch muß also gelernt werden. Ein wichtiges Mittel dieser Selbsterziehung ist die Lektüre. "Der viel gelesen hat, und selbst gedencken kann, ist niemals weniger einsam, als wenn er allein ist, und hat niemahls mehr Geschäffte als wenn er müssig ist" (I 7).[8] Ein an das Selbstgespräch gewöhnter Mensch ist deswegen nie ohne Gesellschaft, ganz im Gegenteil: "Die Conversation, die ein Gedenckender mit sich selbst halten kann, ist von weit grösserem Nutzen, und hat wichtigere Vortheile, weder der Umgang mit anderen Leuten" (II 6, 41).

Die Mahler sind hier mit einem Problem konfrontiert, dessen Unlösbarkeit im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts immer offenkundiger wird: Das der Kontrolle über den einsamen Leser und Meditierenden. Noch glauben die Frühaufklärer an eine allgemeine Vernunftbemeisterung, die von den bereits Aufgeklärten auf die noch Aufzuklärenden übergeht. Diese von oben nach unten gerichtete Tendenz ist durchaus typisch für das autoritäre Herrschaftssystem Zürichs. Das schließt jedoch nicht aus, daß sich die Zürcher Aufklärer berechtigt fühlen, auf ihre autoritäre Weise ihre Leser dahingehend zu beeinflußen, Autorität keinesfalls ungeprüft zu akzeptieren.

Die Mahler befürchten, daß die unerfahrenen und ungebildeten Leser sich in der einsamen Kammer der Imagination zu sehr überlassen und die Kontrolle darüber verlieren.

> Die Methode mit sich selbst zu conversiren, ist ihnen ein finstres Geheimniß: an statt daß sie unter den unzehlbaren Objecten, welche die äusserlichen Sinne ihrem Gemüthe zu betrachten vorlegen, einen vernünftigen Unterscheid machen, und nur diejenige erwehlen solten, die ihrer Beschauung wirdig sind, und einen gewissen Nutzen mit sich führen, so begehen sie wieder ihren Willen die Schwachheit und nehmen auf Treu und Glauben hin ohne fernere Undersuchung alles an, was ihnen die Imagination vorstellet.... Sie folgen der Imagination ohne Wiederstand. (II 6, 43)

Hier geht es weniger um die Methode zu denken, sondern eher um die Frage, *was* das Individuum jeweils denken soll. Solange der einsame Leser Bücher liest, die von der Zensur abgesegnet wurden, besteht nur eine geringe Möglichkeit, daß er über tabuisierte Bereiche räsoniert, etwa über den Nutzen der Religion oder die Legitimität besonderer Formen politischer Herrschaft. Auf den nichtgelehrten Leser bezogen wird wohl erwartet, daß sowohl bei der Lektüre von Büchern als auch beim Meditieren, das wiederum nicht ohne ausreichende Büchererfahrung möglich ist, der Praxisbezug im Vordergrund steht. Selbständiges Denken ist zwar einerseits Zeichen eines mündigen und nützlichen Bürgers, andererseits sind ihm dort Grenzen gesetzt, wo es die bestehende Ordnung in Frage stellen würde.

Die Schweizer rechnen offenbar mit sehr grundsätzlichen Problemen bei der einsamen Lektüre. Das neue Medium bereitet den neuen Lesern Anfangsschwierigkeiten und die Mahler als gute Pädagogen scheuen sich nicht, die Leser bei der Hand zu nehmen und ihnen am Beispiel eines "Discourses" vorzuführen, wie der stille Dialog mit einem Text vor sich gehen kann:

> Leser: Welches ist der Zweck dieses Discourses?
> Autor: Ich will in diesen Blättern meine Gedancken von

> demjenigen auf die Bahne bringen, welches eigentlich verdienet, daß ein witziger Mensch seine darüber Raillerie auslasse.
> L. Ist denn dieses Thema von so großer Wichtigkeit?
> A. Freylich! Denn es haben die Leute ins gemein falsche Begrieffe von dem wahren Gegenstand der Raillerie, sie spotten über solche Sachen die entweder des Lobes wirdig, oder wenigstens an sich selbst weder gut noch böß sind. (II 6, 47)

Auch dieses Beispiel garantiert nicht, daß der Leser den Text versteht, denn die im weiteren Verlauf des Dialogs gestellten Leserfragen setzen das Verständnis des Textes bis zu einem gewissen Grad bereits voraus. Einer der letzten "Discourse" (IV 17) greift dieses Thema noch einmal auf. Sonnet und Rubeen diskutieren darüber, was einen guten Schreiber und einen guten Leser ausmache. Der Index bringt die hier gemachten ausführlichen Erklärungen auf folgenden Nenner: "Ein Leser ist ein umgekehrter Schreiber" (IV Reg, 130). Während der Schreiber eine Idee, die nicht gegen die Natur verstoßen dürfe, versinnliche, in ein Kunstwerk verwandle, müsse der Leser den sinnlich vorgestellten Werkgehalt wieder in die ursprüngliche Idee rückversetzen.

> Ein Leser verhält sich gegen einen Autor, wie einer der ein Gemählde beurtheilen will gegen einen Mahler. Dieser letztere muß gleicher massen sich erstlich von einem jeden Lineament des Gemähldes eine eigene Idee machen; zum andern diese Idee gegen das Original desselben halten, und außmessen. (IV 17, 111f)

Die Mahler erwarten von ihren Lesern nicht, daß sie lesen, sondern daß sie genau lesen. Der großzügige Umgang mit Worten reflektiere einen ebenso großzügigen Umgang mit Gedanken. Die Autoren der *Discourse* nehmen schon sehr früh die Tendenz des extensiven Lesens wahr und versuchen dagegen die Vorteile des intensiven Lesens auszuspielen. Im sogenannten sokratischen Dialog soll den Lesern mit logischen Argumenten die Gefährlichkeit falschen Lesens nahegebracht werden. In anderem Zusammenhang werden die Folgen dieser Art von Lesen mit Termini aus der Pathologie beschrieben. Ein unersättlicher Leser ist vor allem deswegen abzulehnen, weil sich seine Lektüre und deren Folgen nicht kontrollieren lassen. Zuviel Lesematerial sei abzulehnen, da "eine grosse Bibliothek eben so wohl als ein grosses Buch leicht zu einem grossen Uebel werde, weil man dann allzuviel mittelmässiges und schlechtes unter dem guten mitlaufen läst."[9] Rubeens Gesprächspartner Sonnet, der den unerfahrenen Leser repräsentiert, wendet gegen das von Rubeen propagierte wiederholte Lesen des gleichen Textes ein: "Die Weile würde mich sterbens-lang düncken, so ich ein Buch zum andern mahl lesen müßte. Und ich würde in den Wissenschaften langsam weit kommen, wenn ich deinem Gebrauche folgen wollte" (MS I, 498 f). Es gelingt Rubeen, Sonnet davon zu überzeugen, daß er bisher zu oberflächlich gelesen habe und ringt ihm das Eingeständnis ab: "Ich habe schon so viele Bücher gelesen, und muß erst innen werden, daß ich noch nicht lesen kan" (MS I, 504).

Die Diskussion bleibt jedoch nicht im theoretischen Bereich. Anhand konkreter Wörter und Begriffe versucht Rubeen seinen Partner für die Feinheiten der Sprache zu sensibilisieren:

> S: Ich habe gelernet, daß die Synonyma dazu dienen, damit man abwechseln könne.
> R: Nenne mir einige gleichvielgeltende Wörter.
> S: Wissen, meinen, glauben, darvor halten, sich bedüncken lassen.
> R: Meinest du denn, daß diese Wörter nur einerley sagen wollen?
> S: Was sonst?
> R: Ich lasse dir wohl gelten, daß sie von dem Pöbel in der gemeinen Rede für Synonyma gebraucht werden, aber ich will dir zeigen, daß ihre Bedeutung in der That unterschiedlich ist. Derjenige weiß, der Grund um eine Sache hat. Der meint, der von einer Sache nicht vollkommen versichert ist. Glauben beziehet sich auf eines andern Aussage. Darvor halten ist, gegen einen andern seine Meinung eröffnen. Sich bedüncken lassen, wird von sichtbaren Sachen gebraucht. (MS I, 504 f)

Bodmers und Breitingers Zeitschrift ist anzumerken, daß sie sich ernsthaft um die nichtakademischen Leser, d.h. um deren Erziehung zu guten Lesern bemüht. Der in den frühen *Discoursen* wohl nur akademisch Gebildeten verständliche Ton wird immer mehr zugunsten einfacher, Schritt für Schritt auch einem Laien nachvollziehbarer Argumentation aufgegeben. Gefährlich erscheint den Kritikern modernen Leseverhaltens nicht so sehr die Lektüre eines schlechten Buches, sondern die Unmöglichkeit, die Eindrücke dieser Lektüre durch persönliches Eingreifen (als Vormund, Lehrer, Diskussionspartner, *et cetera*) wieder zu korrigieren. Öffentliches Räsonieren, wie es die Leser des *Tatler* und *Spectator* praktizieren, erlaubt offensichtlich Mißverstandenes zurechtzurücken. Bodmer hat allerdings keine englische Öffentlichkeit als Modell seines Literaturkonzepts im

Auge, sondern eines aus der deutsch-schweizerischen Vergangenheit. "Während er die literaturgesellschaftlichen Beziehungen seiner Zeit vornehmlich durch die Vereinzelung der Leser geprägt sieht, denkt er die der Aera der Hohenstaufen durch eine gesellige Interaktion aller am literarischen Geschehen beteiligten Personen charakterisiert."[10] Bodmer hebt vor allem die folgenden Eigenschaften der mittelalterlichen Literaturprodukte hervor: "Ihre Gedichte waren gemachet, daß sie erzehlt oder vor einer Gesellschaft gesungen, nicht daß sie im Cabinet durchgangen, oder in einem Buch gelesen wurden."[11] Bodmer trauert einer Literatur nach, die unwiderruflich vergangen ist und er versucht einen Leser anzusprechen, der nur in seiner Einbildung existiert.

Es ist natürlich leicht, Bodmer und Breitinger retrospektiv Kurzsichtigkeit vorzuwerfen. Beide haben jedoch die Tendenzen ihrer Zeit sehr gut erkannt, wenn auch die Mittel, diesen Tendenzen zu begegnen und sie in andere Bahnen zu lenken, sich als illusorisch erwiesen. Ihr nicht geringstes Verdienst ist es, in aller Deutlichkeit die Mechanismen erkannt und beschrieben zu haben, die im einsamen Leser bei der Lektüre ablaufen.

Verfolgt man die weiteren Moralischen Wochenschriften durchs 18. Jahrhundert, so läßt sich feststellen, daß der aufgeklärte Leser ein Desiderat bleibt. So schreibt *Der Gesellige* (in Halle erscheinend) noch 1750: "Es wäre zu wünschen, daß, wo nicht im ganzen deutschen Reiche, doch in unserm Lande, an jedem Ort ein besonderer Aufseher über die Bücher gesetzet werden möchte, der die Macht haben müßte, alle den guten Sitten verderbliche Schriften von den Gränzen abzuhalten, und allen Uebersetzungen derselben zu steuren."[12] Es gehört zu den Paradoxen der Aufklärung, daß es vor vor allem die Aufklärer selbst sind, die es nicht lassen können, sich zu den "Vormündern [des größten Teils der Menschen] aufzuwerfen."[13]

ZITIERTE WERKE

Bodmer, J. J. und J. J. Breitinger. *Die Discourse der Malern.* Reprographischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Zürich 1721-1723. Hildesheim: Olms, 1969.

----- und -----. *Der Mahler der Sitten.* 2 Bde. Zürich, 1746. Hildesheim & New York: Olms, 1972.

The Spectator. Band 4. Donald F. Bond, Hrsg. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965.

ANMERKUNGEN

1. Dieses Zitat aus W. H. Riehl, *Die Familie*, 10. Aufl., (Stuttgart: 1889), S. 187, in Jürgen Habermas, *Der Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*. (Neuwied: Luchterhand, 6. Aufl. 1974), S. 308.

2. Siehe Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm (Hrsg.), *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Band X, Abteilung IV (Leizpig: 1854-1960), S. 283.

3. Siehe die ausführliche Beschreibung der Bibliothek Montaignes in Roger Chartier, Hrsg., Übersetzt von Arthur Goldhammer, *A History of Private Life*. Band III. (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1989), S. 134-136.

4. Friedrich Schlegel, *Sich "von dem Gemüthe des Lesers Meister" machen. Zur Wirkungsästhetik der Poetik Bodmers und Breitingers* (Frankfurt/M: Peter Lang, 1986), S. 31.

5. Schlegel, S. 15.

6. *Die Discourse der Mahlern.* Die Zitatangaben folgen im Text unmittelbar nach dem Zitat: die römische Zahl bezieht sich auf die Bandnummer und eine einfache arabische Zahl auf die Nummer innerhalb dieses Bandes. Seiten sind mit S. angedeutet.

7. Eine genaue Analyse der Rezeption der "Discourse" bietet Helga Brandes, *Die "Gesellschaft der Maler" und ihr literarischer Beitrag zur Aufklärung* (Bremen: Schünemann, 1974), S. 33-42.

8. Siehe auch *Spectator* Nr. 4: "I can very justly say with the ancient Sage, 'I am never less alone than when alone'" (I, 4, S. 19). Dieses Zitat wiederum geht wörtlich auf Ciceros *De Oficiis* zurück: "P. Scipionem, M. fili, eum, qui primus Africanus appellatus est, dicere solitum scripsit Cato, qui fuit eius fere aequalis, numquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum, quam sum solus esset." Cicero, *De Officiis*, Band 21 der 28-bändigen Ciceroausgabe, hrsg. und übersetzt von Walter Miller (London: Heinemann, 1975), S. 270.

9. Ich zitiere der Lesbarkeit wegen aus der Neuauflage der *Discourse*: Bodmer, J. J., und J. J. Breitinger. *Der Mahler der Sitten*. 2 Bde. (Zürich: 1746. Hildesheim & NY: Olms, 1972) II, S. 279.

10. Schlegel, S. 19.

11. Zitat nach Schlegel, S. 19.

12. *Der Gesellige*. Eine Moralische Wochenschrift herausgegeben von Samuel Gotthold Lange und Georg Friedrich Meier. Teile 5 und 6 (1750). Neu herausgegeben und mit einem Nachwort versehen von Wolfgang Martens. (Hildesheim, Zürich & NY: Olms, 1987), S. 118.

13. Immanuel Kant. "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?" in *Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik*. (Frankfurt/M: Insel, 1964), S. 53.

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Science Fiction in the Age of Romanticism:
Hans Christian Andersen's Futuristic Tales

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Science fiction is a genre of fantasy with a basis either in scientific fact or in a plausible kind of pseudo-science. Jules Verne is widely regarded as the first significant science fiction writer; his popular *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* (1874) exemplifies the fanciful vision of the future age which is characteristic of the Victorian era. The citizen of the twentieth century is understandably amused by Victorian inventions. However, it seems that the technological revolution of the late nineteenth century inspired writers not only to speculate on fantastic possibilities of the future, but also to consider the cultural and spiritual implications of technological progress.

Often regarded as the quintessential Romantic poet of Denmark, Hans Christian Andersen also wrote fiction about the marvelous technological innovations of the future. In fact, Andersen's first science fiction tale was published in 1852, two decades before Jules Verne published his masterpieces. Andersen's futuristic tales represent some of the most fascinating texts in his entire production. They may be regarded as literary artifacts of the mid-nineteenth century which reveal a dramatic tension between a belief in scientific and technological progress and a conservative romantic ideology. Andersen's futuristic tales demonstrate his unresolved ambivalence towards a new age of the scientific and technological progress.

Andersen's early authorship serves as a fine example of romantic literature of early nineteenth-century Europe. His tales are characterized by a Platonic idealism: a belief in the subjective and intuitive, the view of the poet as an inspired genius or mediator, and a pantheistic view on nature. Andersen revitalized the conventional fairy tale by reworking the genre into more fanciful settings and themes; he was a creative writer, not a collector of folk-tales like his contemporaries the Brothers Grimm and the Norwegian collectors, Asbjørnsen and Moe. Andersen's fairy tales, more correctly termed "literary tales," grew out of his own experiences and imagination, although some of Andersen's early tales were based on traditional Danish folk tales which he had heard as a child in Odense (Bredsdorff 308).

It is well documented that Andersen's tales and travel books were influenced by his contemporary, Hans Christian Ørsted, the natural scientist. In fact, the physicist was Andersen's philosophical mentor and the first to acknowledge his genius. Ørsted's lectures and essays, originally published in two volumes in 1849-50, *Aanden i Naturen* (The Spirit in Nature), sparked Andersen's interest in natural science and his optimistic belief in the possibilities of the future. Specifically, Andersen aspired to Ørsted's ideal that the contemporary artist ought to be endowed with a scientist's clear, truthful and rich perception of the natural world. Ørsted maintained that this perceptiveness would enrich artwork and make it more appealing to the mid-nineteenth century's increasingly well-educated and critical public (155-175).

Hans Christian Andersen embraced Ørsted's teachings with the naive enthusiasm so characteristic of his personality. The specific purpose of this paper is to explore the texts in which Andersen attempted to envision the scientific advances of the future. A close analysis reveals a fascinating dichotomy in Andersen's narratives on the future age. In one narrative voice Andersen describes a miraculously more humane, more democratic and even more "romantic" age made possible by advances in science and technology, specifically in the tales, "Den store Søslange" (The Great Sea Serpent) and "Bispen paa Børglum og hans Frænde" (The Bishop of Boerglum and his Kinsman). Particular chapters from Andersen's travel-books, "Jernbanen" (The Railway) and "Poesiens Californien" (Poetry's California), provide further examples of Andersen's progressive views. In other tales, such as "Om Aartusinder" (In a Thousand Year's Time) and "Dryaden" (The Wood Nymph), Andersen writes in a more skeptical narrative voice; in these tales age-old human faults persist in a more superficial and disharmonious modern world.

Andersen's most poetic travel-book, *I Sverrig* (In

Sweden), concludes with a chapter entitled "Poetry's California"; this chapter functions as a programmatic essay for Andersen's artistic goals (99-104).[1] In it Andersen presents the program which he attempts to carry out in his futuristic tales. On close inspection we see that "Poetry's California" contains the very ideas and metaphors which appear in many of Andersen's science fiction tales.

The central metaphor in Andersen's essay is *Aladdins hule* (Aladdin's cave); it embodies Ørsted's idea that the modern poet ought to seek his treasure land, his "California," in science rather than in the atavistic supernatural world (Andersen 99). Ørsted states that the natural world is a miraculous wonder *in itself*; Andersen poeticizes Ørsted's doctrine when he writes, "Verdens Skatkammer er saa uendeligt rigt" (99) [The treasure chest of the world is infinitely rich]. Furthermore, Andersen proclaims that poetry is not yet dead and that a golden land for poetic inspiration lies in modern science (103-104).

Andersen further illustrates his new program by using two metaphors: an old hag who represents the superstitious beliefs of the romantic ideology, and a young man, the genius of science, who beckons a new enlightened era (*I Sverrig* 99-102). Strikingly, Andersen combines supernatural and futuristic images when describing the arrival of the new age of science:

> Og ud over Jorden selv lød Videnskabens Røst, saa Miraklernes Tid syntes vendt tilbage; henover Jorden bleve tynde Jernbaand lagte, og henad disse paa Dampens Vinger fløj med Svaleflugt de tungt belastede Vogne, Bjergene maatte aabne sig for Tidsalderens Kløgt, Sletterne maatte løfte sig. Og gennem tynde Metaltraade fløj med Lynets Hurtighed Tanken i Ord til fjerne Byer. (*I Sverrig* 102)[2]

In this manner the young genius of science arrives by railway train and dazzles the dark, superstitious world. Andersen's studied effort to include trains and telegraph lines in this description is striking, yet his metaphors and supernatural imagery are clearly characteristic of the romantic mode of discourse.

Ørsted maintains in his essays that the clear, scientific truths about the world will enrapture the educated reader far more than outmoded imagery and expressions (155-175). Andersen writes in Ørsted's spirit:

> Videnskabens Sollys skal gennemtrænge Digteren, med klart Øje skal han opfatte Sandheden og Harmonien i det smaa og i det store, det skal luttre og berige Forstanden og Fantasien, vise ham nye Former der end mere levendegør ordet. (*I Sverrig* 103)[3]

Andersen strives to integrate the scientific perceptiveness of the new age with romantic imagery, although his success at integrating Ørsted's ideals into his tales varies somewhat. Ørsted's scientific doctrines do not always harmonize with Andersen's romantic idealism.

In Andersen's voluminous travel-book, *En Digters Bazar* (A Poet's Bazaar), we find another vivid example.[4] The chapter "Jernbanen" (The Railway) is an inspired description of Andersen's first journey by train on the newly opened railway between Magdeburg and Leipzig. Andersen travelled over sixty miles in three hours and he was full of praise for the speed and comfort of rail travel in the new age. The poet suggests that this modern mode of transportation brings about a more romantic era of travel. Andersen feels that the speeding flight of the train inspires the flight of the imagination. He writes enthusiastically, "O, hvilket Aandens Storværk er dog denne Frembringelse! Man føler sig jo mægtig, som en Oldtids Troldmand! . . .Raskere kunde ikke Mephistopheles flyve med Faust paa sin Kappe" (*Bazar* 1: 44) [Oh, what a great spiritual achievement this invention is! One feels so powerful, just like a magician of olden days. . . .Mephistopheles with Faust on his cloak could not fly more quickly!]. In this text Andersen uses a modern technological invention as a stimulus to the imagination, yet again his description relies on romantic imagery and allusions.

In his essay "Naturvidenskabens Forhold til Digtekunsten" (The Relationship of Natural Science to Poetry) H.C. Ørsted warns the contemporary poet against relying too heavily on poetic expressions which are rooted in "superstition" (155-175). Ørsted writes emphatically: "Digterværket vil forfeile sin Virkning paa Mennesker med sand naturvidenskabelig Dannelse, naar det stiller det Overnaturlige paa en ret afstikkende Maade sammen med det Naturlige" (159) [A poetic work will fail to impress people with a true scientific education if supernatural elements are glaringly juxtaposed with natural elements]. Ørsted's remarks may seem to address Andersen's description of the railway. However, the reader must question Ørsted's assertions. When Andersen combines images of trolls and demonic figures with railroad technology, a fascinating marriage takes place between the discourse on technological progress and the metaphors of romanticism.

These two distinctive voices in Andersen's tales are most obvious in the conclusions to his futuristic tales, "The Bishop of Boerglum and his Kinsman" and "The Great Sea Serpent." In the concluding paragraphs to these tales Andersen attempts to convince the reader of the miraculousness of the modern age of science and technology.

For example, "The Great Sea Serpent," first published in 1871, is a humorous fable about the undersea world. Andersen describes a mysterious snake-like telegraph wire which has been sunk to the bottom of the Atlantic. In this tale the innovative technological device serves as a stimulus for a light-hearted tale about the undersea world. From the viewpoint of the fish, Andersen gives a satirical picture of human civilization. The wise sea-cow explains the mysterious presence of the telegraph-wire to the other fish:

> "De ville have fat paa os," sagde den, "det er det Eneste, de lever for; de spænder Garn ud, kommer med Mading paa Krog for at lokke os. Denne der er et Slags stor Snøre, som de troe, vi skulle bide paa, de ere saa dumme! Det er vi ikke!" (5: 169)[5]

The tale is light-hearted, humorous and satirical, thus the dogmatic conclusion seems somewhat detached from the body of the tale. Andersen inserts a different narrative voice in order to add these concluding words:

> *Den store Søslange* er det, omtalt længst forud i Sange og Sagn. . . .Den er født og baaren, sprungen ud fra Menneskets Snille og lagt paa Havets Bund, strækkende sig fra Østens Lande til Vestens lande, bærende Budskab hurtig som Lysets Straale fra Solen til vores Jord . . .vores Tids *den store Søslange*. (5: 169)[6]

In this tale, the praise of human ingenuity and technological progress seems incongruous in a whimsical tale about the fish world's view of human civilization.

Similarly, the conclusion to "The Bishop of Boerglum and his Kinsman," first published in 1861, seems detached from the body of the tale. Andersen inserts Ørsted's ideas in the closing paragraphs, attempting to contrast the merciless and bloody Middle Ages with the sunny, humane era brought about by advances in technology. He describes the humane treatment of stranded ship passengers in this manner:

> *Tanke-budstikken*[7] naaer til de Skibbrudnes Hjem i fremmed Land, og melder om deres Frelse; da føler Sindet sig let, da kan der trædes en Dands ved Gildet iaften. . . .Velsignet være du! Nye Tid . . .lad dine Solstraaler lyse ind i Hjerter og Tanker! . . .paa din straalende Grund svæve forbi de mørke Sagn fra de haarde, de strenge Tider! (4: 207)[8]

Andersen shuns the gruesome memories of the Middle Ages and paints an idyllic picture of the new, progressive age. It is interesting to note how the introduction of the telegraph suddenly alters the human condition.

"The Wood Nymph," inspired by Andersen's visit to the World's Fair Exhibit in Paris in 1867, presents the most striking example of Andersen's tendency to integrate modern scientific thinking into the romantic idealism of the fairy tale. The tale also addresses the credo of cultural progress which is expressed in Ørsted's essay, "Gamle og Nye Tider" (247-257). In this tale a wood nymph springs from a chestnut tree and tours the World's Fair Exhibit; she is infatuated with man-made innovations. However, soon the wood nymph grows tired and overwhelmed. Because she has been uprooted from her organic element, she quickly perishes.

This tale about a wood nymph's tragic fate expresses most clearly Andersen's ambivalent attitude towards scientific and technological progress. His tale cleverly suggests that humanity's perpetual yearning for progress is the cause of its discontent and spiritual decay. Andersen concludes with these moralistic words about the wood nymph's fate: "Din Længsel og Lyst rev dig op med Rod fra din gudgivne Plads. Det blev din Fordærv, stakkels *Dryade!*" (5: 89) [Your longing and desire uprooted you from your God-given place. That was your ruin, poor *wood nymph*!]. Andersen assumes an organic harmony between the earth and animate objects; at times the harmonious order in Andersen's poetic universe seems violated by Ørsted's dogma of cultural and scientific progress.

"In a Thousand Year's Time" (1852) is the first published and perhaps the most successful and cohesive of Andersen's science fiction tales. Recent scholarship by Erik Dal reveals that H. C. Ørsted's *Luftskibet* (The Airship) from 1836 belonged to H.C. Andersen's private book collection (Dal 7-8). Or perhaps this tale was inspired by the world's first successful airship flight in 1852. There are most likely many sources of inspiration for this clever, satirical tale in which Andersen predicts trans-Atlantic air travel and twentieth-century style tourism. Andersen avoids inserting dogmatic statements into this tale and instead paints a timely picture of American tourists breezing through Europe in eight days: "I Europa er meget at see!" siger den unge Amerikaner; "og vi have seet det i otte Dage" (2: 260) ["There's much to see in Europe!" says the young American, "and we've seen it all in eight days"]. Andersen mentions the cultural treasures, cities, and artists which are unknown to future generations. Rather than attempting to preach Ørsted's ideas about scientific and cultural progress, Andersen cleverly satirizes the universal human traits which persist in a fantastic future age of aircraft. In this tale Andersen implies that spiritual and cultural superficiality will accompany a more technologically advanced civilization; his prophetic vision is truly remarkable.

Hans Christian Andersen's futuristic tales are marked by the mid-nineteenth century transition from Romanticism to Realism. The natural scientist, Ørsted called for an optimistic view on cultural progress; he also urged writers to attempt an almost naturalistic depiction of the environment, a mode of writing which avoided outmoded supernatural figures and imagery. However, in his essay "Poetry's California" Andersen explicitly states his desire to remain an innocent, childlike observer of natural *and* man-made wonders. He cautions that he must remain an innocent romantic, "thi ellers ville Naturkræfternes stærke Aander gribe ham og gjøre ham til deres Tjener" (*I Sverrig* 121) [for otherwise the powers of nature will capture him and make of him their servant]. Andersen's futuristic tales are some of his least known tales, yet some of the most fascinating pieces in his literary production; in these texts Andersen tempers Ørsted's scientific doctrines with the romantic idealism.

Andersen's science fiction makes possible a fascinating study of the mid-nineteenth century discourse on the future age. His tales reflect the great tension between a conservative romantic idealism and the optimistic belief in progress which accompanied the nineteenth-century technological revolution. One narrative voice represents the ambitious and worldly Andersen who wished to present himself as Hans Christian Ørsted's enlightened disciple; the second voice represents the naive and childlike Andersen who belonged to a more conservative era. These opposing narrative voices in Hans Christian Andersen's futuristic tales reveal, in a striking manner, his inherent uneasiness with the far-reaching implications of scientific and technological progress. The modern reader engulfed by the current information revolution is likely to sympathize with Andersen's dubious outlook on the future.

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NOTES AND TRANSLATIONS

1. *I Sverrig*, considered one of Andersen's finest travel-books, has not been published in English translation since *Pictures of Sweden*. Trans. Charles Beckwith. London: Richard Bentley, 1851, and *In Sweden*. Trans. K.R.K. MacKenzie. London: G. Routledge, 1852.

2. This and the following are the author's own English translations of the original text. Trans: And over the earth itself rang the voice of science, so that the age of miracles seemed to have returned. Thin iron rails were laid across the ground and heavily loaded wagons flew upon them like swallows with wings of steam. The mountains opened up for the ingenuity of the era and the plains rose. Quick as lightning, words flew through the thin wires to distant towns.

3. Trans: The sunlight of science will inspire the poet. With clear eyes he will perceive truth and harmony in the great and small things of life. The sunlight of science will purify and enrich the poet's intellect and imagination; it will show him new forms of expression which will animate his words.

4. *En Digters Bazar* is now available in an abridged English translation: Hans Christian Andersen, *A Poet's Bazaar: A Journey to Greece, Turkey and up the Danube*. Trans. Grace Thornton. NY: Michael Kesend, 1988.

5. Trans: "They want to get a hold of us," she said, "that is all they live for. They string out line and put bait on the hooks to lure us. That thing there is a kind of big fishing line which they think we should bite onto. They're so dumb! But we are not!

6. Trans: It is *the great sea-serpent* which was predicted long ago in song and legend. . . .It has been born; it has sprung from humanity's ingenuity and been laid across the ocean floor. It streches from the East to Western lands and brings messages just as quickly as light rays reach from the sun to our earth. . . .It is the *Great Sea-serpent* of our age!

7. *Tanke-budstikken*, telegraphen. Telegraph wires were laid in all of Jutland in the years following 1855. Flemming Hovmann, *H.C. Andersens Eventyr* 7: 288.

8. Trans: The telegraph reaches to the homes of the ship-wrecked in foreign lands and reports their safety. Then the mind is at ease and one can dance at the feast that evening. . . .Blessed is the new age! . . .Let your sun rays shine into hearts and minds . . .on your shining foundation the dark legends from the harsh, severe ages will drift past.

A Rhetorical Approach to Three Norwegian Short Stories

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Students of literature have devoted considerable attention both to the question of how interpretations come into being and to how they acquire validity. Such old-style hermeneuts as E. D. Hirsch, Jr., appeal to the author's intention as a source of valid meaning in a literary text.[1] Many reader-response theorists, on the other hand, incline to the view that meaning is created solely by the activity of readers, and one of their numbers has termed this attitude "readerly idealism" (Mailloux 5). Each of these two perspectives, which in its pure form radically excludes the other, offers certain advantages to the interpreter. By focussing on the concept of the author's authority in his interpretative practice, a Hirschean hermeneut enjoys the security of being aligned with such cultural values as property and propriety. Pure readerly idealists, by contrast, have the freedom to actually create interpretations on their own without feeling constrained by what the author might have had in mind.

In a culture which values manifestations of individual initiative, the Hirschean subservience to the will of the author may seem out of line with the dominant social and cultural attitudes and practices. At the same time, most readers, their best intentions notwithstanding, find it difficult to completely banish the author from their consideration of literary texts.[2] Despite the theoretical contributions of such figures as Michel Foucault and Roland Barthes, this act of exclusion seems counterintuitive.[3]

The following attempts to mediate between the positions of the readerly idealists and the authorial intentionalists, and it will suggest that neither perspective gives a satisfactory account of what actually happens during the reading transaction, when a human mind meets a text which has been created by one or more other human beings. I contend that reading often entails a struggle between the author and the reader, or, in the words of Peter Brooks, that "narrative [is] a process of dynamic exchange" (Brooks 1984, 235), where the dialogue between author and reader is "marked by cooperation and conflict at the same time" (Brooks 1989, 140).[4] The author and the reader "are cooperating in order to create a coherent and illuminating text, but are in conflict about how it is to be interpreted" (Brooks 1989, 140). I also suggest that the struggle between the author and the reader in many cases is inscribed into the thematic and tropological features of the text.

My discussion will be anchored in brief considerations of three Norwegian short stories, Maurits Hansen's "Luren" (1819), Alexander Kielland's "Karen" (1882), and Terje Stigen's "Kisten" (1963).[5] These texts have been chosen because they exemplify ways in which the conflict between the author and the reader becomes visible in the text.

Before proceeding to my reflection on these stories, however, a brief explanation of why some authors and some readers clash over issues of interpretation is in order. In *Reading for the Plot*, Peter Brooks argues that the Freudian concept of transference can be fruitfully used to understand the literary transaction. The notion of transference, however, presupposes a relationship between an analysand and his or her analyst, which again presumes that there is a need for therapy caused by a traumatic experience of some kind. In a classical Freudian analysis, transference is the term for the struggle in which the analyst and the analysand engage for the purpose of producing the text which will cure the patient by relieving him or her of the symptoms which have been caused by the trauma.

We may expect that readers frequently employ a literary text for the purpose of arriving at a greater degree of self-knowledge and, perhaps, a higher level of psychic health. Likewise, a text may be written at least in part in order to help the writer work through and come to terms with difficult personal experience. Such theraputic effects of texts, however, have nothing to do with what I mean by the concept of the literary transaction as transference. The traumas which cause some people to write and others to read for reasons of personal psychic health, are different from an underlying trauma which inheres in the language itself, and which effects authors as such. In its simplest definition, this trauma consists in the author's experience of the disparity between the philosophical and the rhetorical poles of language.

Creating a text constitutes an attempt to find some kind of truth, but this truth can only be expressed through language, which is rhetorical in nature. The author thus becomes the victim of the old conflict between philosophy and rhetoric, which is well known from the history of western thought and which lies at the foundation of the activity of writing. Caught in this conflict, which cannot be sublated in the Hegelian sense, the author feels a profound sense of unease and may fear that he will lose control of the meaning of his work. The author desperately wants his work to express truth, but must, if he is honest with himself, accept its rhetoricity. He is thus compelled to alternate between the perspectives of truth and rhetoric.

My hypothesis is that some writers try to push their anxiety aside by attempting to persuade their readers that the literary work in question has unity, meaning, and/or value, or, in other words, by externalizing an internal conflict. In order to function effectively in an externalized dialogue and to make such assertions, it is essential for the author to have a clear conception of what the meaning is. It may therefore actually be the need to come to terms with the rhetorical aspects of his text which causes the author to decide what his text means, or what truth it is to express. This understanding is coupled with a personal commitment to the identified or intended meaning, which he now feels that he has a moral or aesthetic duty to communicate to the reader.

Turning the internal conflict into an external one makes it easier for the author to accept the rhetorical forces in his text, as the proper use of rhetoric is necessary for him to guard against interpretations which run counter to his intention. In a patriarchal culture, where an author's rights vis-a-vis his texts is closely modelled on the relationship between a father and his offspring, the author's position as originator and primary owner of the text, furthermore, gives him a moral and perhaps even a legal right to control how the text is to be read.[6] The reader, on the other hand, is in a position of weakness, since rebellion against the author's claims is tantamount to ethical transgression. The best hope for readerly liberation is found in a move which is, essentially, the reverse of the move made by the author. As the author externalized the conflict between philosophy and rhetoric within himself, the reader must bring the conflict back to his or her consideration of the authorial position. This can best be done by uncovering the rhetoricity of the text and its language, whereby the reader may successfully demonstrate that there is more to the text than the truth which it proclaims. Thus he or she may gain a measure of independence from the control of the author and perhaps even gain a greater degree of mastery over the text than what is thought to be enjoyed even by the most zealous champions of the reader's right to determine the meaning of a literary work.

A close reading of three brief texts may not successfully demonstrate the truth of my claim that some authors experience the disparity between philosophy and rhetoric as a fundamental trauma. This aspect of the present argument remains hypothetical. What a close reading does show, however, is that texts have certain rhetorical effects on readers, in that the operations of rhetoric may manifest themselves both thematically and tropologically in texts. Maurits Hansen's short story "Luren" offers an example of how rhetoric may be thematized.

"Luren" draws attention to the idea of rhetorical manipulation in several different ways. The tale is itself about a rhetorical feat, as the narrator Carl Mølmann, in his role as the protagonist of the story, brings about a change of both heart and mind in the farmer Thor, persuading him to accept into the family the illegitimate child of Thor's daughter Ragnhild and the child's father, Guttorm. Another act of persuasion which, however, the reader may not immediately label as such, is the exchange through which Ragnhild and Guttorm, Hansen's young couple, successfully enlist Mølmann's aid. A third example, where the rhetorical nature of the relationship is even more carefully covered up, concerns Guttorm's seduction of Ragnhild. There is also a significant rhetorical side to the way in which Mølmann, in his role as narrator, relates both to his subject matter and to his implied audience.

"Luren" also exemplifies how the presence of rhetoric manifests itself in the tropology of a text. The story takes as its theme the concept of authority and control through rhetoric, and authority is portrayed in terms of the sexual relationship between men and women. One example of this is that the valley where the action of the story takes place, is depicted as a feminine entity which possesses both *ynde* (loveliness) and a *favn* (embrace) which, as the narrator stands on a hill overlooking the valley, he believes not to resist penetration by his glance (*Perler* 14). The phallocentrism of this image dovetails neatly with the narrator's patriarchal concept of authority.

Sexuality is an important figure for the relationship between the author and the reader not only in "Luren," but in Alexander Kielland's "Karen" as well. Usually read as a story about seduction and betrayal, "Karen" presents as its title character a young servant girl in a Danish inn who chooses suicide upon discovering that the man who has gotten her pregnant and probably promised to marry her, is already a married man. The seducer, the local mailman, is compared by the author to a fox which is in the process of stalking its prey, a hare. A couple of instances of circular imagery reinforce the story's claim to unity and completion. The strong wind, itself a symbol of the power of sexuality in human life, is portrayed as describing a circle from the west to the south, the east, the north, and back to the west again. The hare runs in a circle as the fox waits for it to bed down. Karen's tragedy is described as a function of her leaving her proper sphere and going to bed with the mailman. The telling of the story is circular as well, since the text both begins and ends with the same phrase, and is explicitly presented as a warning, presumably of the danger of unbridled sexuality.

But "Karen" also gestures at the importance of staying within the proper textual bounds. Kielland presents a woman, the innkeeper's wife, who is portrayed as both lacking in initiative and dependent on her husband. This character may be regarded as a figure for his ideal reader, who will not pursue independent lines of interpretation, but will look to the author for information about the meaning of a literary work. There are also specific instances in the text where the reader is, in essence, told that he or she should now have been able to figure out what the story is about. One of these concerns the innkeeper's wife, who has been looking for her lost keys and finds them at that point in the text where the narrator has just revealed the nature of the relationship between Karen and the mailman to the observant reader. A second such instance has to do with a minor character, the driver of the mail coach, who has been puzzled by the mailman's behavior but who is then said to have begun to understand it. The reader is likewise expected to understand, but the keys which he or she should use to unlock the story's meaning, are those which are provided by the author. "Karen" thus supports the interests of a controlling author both thematically and formally.

Kielland's story is both subtle and elegant, but the argument in Terje Stigen's "Kisten" is considerably more heavy-handed. Stigen's couple, Torvald and Martha, find a chest floating in the sea and are unable to agree on whether or not it should be opened. The chest may be read as a figure for the literary work, and the issue of its opening can be taken as a reference to possible stances of the reader. Torvald shows a great deal of respect for the chest and is in favor of leaving it unopened. He has an almost religious attitude toward it, and becomes both a happier person and a more successful fisherman after the chest has come into his life. Torvald attributes his good luck to the chest, and represents those readers whose worshipful attitude toward a text is coupled with a willingness to yield to the wishes of the author in matters of interpretation. Martha, on the other hand, ends up using an ax and a steel bar to break open the chest, and represents those readers who are inclined to dominate the text. Since the chest, on the tropological level, is identified as a female entity, Martha's treatment of it is tantamount to a sexual violation which is both improper and perverse. Stigen's clincher is that once the chest has been opened, Torvald and Martha are followed by bad luck.

These three short stories offer support for my main point, which is that some authors are concerned about how their textual children will fare in the hands of readers who, by necessity, are strangers to the author. Such authors use the rhetorical means inherent in language to control what kind of meaning their readers will find in their texts. Readers may submit to such attempts at rhetorical manipulation, or they may rebel against controlling authors by uncovering the rhetorical operations of texts.

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NOTES

1. See Hirsch, above.

2. It is interesting that one of the sessions at the 1993 MLA convention bore the title "Dead or Alive? Bringing Back the Author."

3. Two well-known essays are Foucault's "What Is an Author?" and Barthes' "The Death of the Author."

4. Translations are my own.

5. These texts are available in *Perler i prosa*; see above.

6. The genealogocal aspect of the concept of authority has been discussed by Edward Said in *Beginnings*.

Name and Character in Allende's *La casa de los espíritus*

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It is a European literary tradition of long standing to use characters' names to give important clues about their personalities, attributes, and places in the general scheme of things. Sometimes, as in the case of medieval allegories and works such as *Pilgrim's Progress*, the name *is* the character, and there is little development beyond the label. At other times the name is emblematic of the character's leading qualities or conflicts: Tonio Kröger's existential dilemma is summed up in the given name that is at war with his surname; doña Perfecta is certainly just that; and one thinks of Balzac's remarks about the cowlike nature of Emma Bovary. Again, a name can be a brushstroke, putting the defining touch on a Lovelace, a Chillingworth, or a Uriah Heep.

In *La casa de los espíritus*, as well as in other works, the Latin American writer Isabel Allende has used names deliberately to define or illustrate her characters' personalities and roles and to show the relationships between the characters. Most of the scholarship regarding her work has focused on two major themes: magical realism and especially the parallels between *La casa de los espíritus* and García Márquez' *Cien años de soledad*; and feminist criticism, or what Showalter and others have termed the "double-voiced discourse," that is, the duality of female literary expression generated in the language and culture of a "dominant" order, but from the perspective of a "muted" group within that order. A third theme has to do with the many parallels between the novel and Chilean history. Until now, however, little attention has been focused on the important role of names themselves in the structure of the novel.

Allende explicitly states that the women who are the emotional center of *La casa de los espíritus*—grandmother, mother, daughter, granddaughter—all have names with meanings related to light or whiteness (249-250). As we shall see, the etymologies of Nívea, Clara, Blanca and Alba are emblematic of their characters, which are very different in some ways, but which share quiet self-assurance and steadfast love without illusions. Some of the male characters too—three Estebans and three Pedros—have relationships to one another and to the novel's structure, facets of which are shown through their names. And a host of other names delight us with their gentle irony or spot-on rightness.

Clara, meaning 'clear' or 'bright,' is able to see the invisible and talk to the spirits who find a comfortable dwelling place in her home (hence the book's title). Allende makes the most direct and overt use of word associations with this name: chapter three is entitled "Clara, clarividente," and that is repeated throughout the book, almost as a refrain. After Clara's death her widower Esteban, at long last feeling reconciled to his beloved but indomitably elusive wife, calls her "Clara, clarísima" (280).

Clara's clarity in fact amounts to transparency. She is in many ways impervious to mundane reality, her priorities lie elsewhere. She floats through much of the novel being adored and taken care of physically by others (chiefly Nana, her nurse, and her incredibly repressed sister-in-law Férula, whose name means an iron rod of discipline), finding everything "very lovely." As an example of her detachment, when Esteban has moved heaven and earth to make a perfect dwelling for his new bride, she barely notices. Upon their return from the honeymoon, "llevó a Clara a recorrer la casa. Ella paseaba la vista y encontraba todo muy bonito, con la misma cortesía con que celebraba una puesta del sol en alta mar, la Plaza San Marcos o el aderezo de brillantes" (97). Férula at first suspects Clara of being a bit feeble-minded (and is secretly delighted), but this is not at all the case. "Clara se dejaba conducir con una dulzura que no era imbecilidad, sino distracción y gastaba toda su capcidad de concentración en inútiles intentos de comunicarse telepáticamente con Esteban, que no recibía los mensajes, y en perfeccionar su propia clarividencia" (99).

It is not only telepathic communication that fails between Clara and Esteban. In total contrast with his wife, Esteban's preoccupation is with the mundane, everyday world and his obsessive desire to make it, and everyone in it, conform to his will. As we may expect, he gets just about nowhere with the transparent and elusive Clara:

> Era la primera vez que se enojaba con Clara y la primera que ella lo veía en uno de sus famosos ataques de rabia. Esteban gritaba como un enajenado, paseándose por la sala a grandes trancos y dando puñetazos a los muebles, argumentando que si Clara pensaba seguir los pasos de su madre, se iba a encontrar con un macho bien plantado que le bajaría los calzones y le daría una azotaina para que se le quitaran las malditas ganas de andar arengando a la gente, que le prohibía terminantemente las reuniones para rezar o para cualquier otro fin y que él no era ningún pelele a quien su mujer pudiera poner en ridículo. Clara lo dejó chillar y darle golpes a los muebles hasta que se cansó y después, distraída como siempre estaba, le preguntó si sabía mover las orejas. (106)

The question, seemingly an absurd *non sequitur*, is right on target. If we can single out one tragic flaw in this terrible man who considers himself good, who wants to be good, it is that he is incapable of "moving his ears,"of truly listening to another's words and perceiving a different point of view.

Despite her apparent detachment, Clara is the soul of the house, the emotional center of her family. When called upon to do so, she is able to take on the arduous task of rebuilding an estate devastated by an earthquake, simultaneously caring for Esteban (not the most patient of invalids), who had been seriously injured in it. Clara's death, i.e., the death of clarity and light, ushers in a period of decline and darkness that can be surmounted only at great cost.

Clara's mother, daughter and grand-daughter also have names associated with light and whiteness, but there are important differences in connotation. Clara's mother's name is Nívea, which comes from a Latin root meaning 'snow.' In fact, though she is a good and loving mother to Clara, she does not show the warm human understanding that characterizes her descendants. Clara's house is always full of welcomed quests, both invited and uninvited. Clara's daughter Blanca, though very limited in means, gives pottery lessons to retarded children. Her grand-daughter Alba participates in social and political movements because of a sense of solidarity with the suffering. Nívea too espouses social and political causes, but her motivation seems to have more to do with the superiority of 'noblesse oblige.' A wonderfully ironic passage describes Clara's impressions of the visits of Nívea and her socialite suffragist friends to factories where, dressed in fur coats and suède boots, they would harrangue the women workers about oppression and equal rights, and then adjourn to a fashionable café for tea, 'pastelitos,' and lofty political conversation.

> Otras veces su madre la llevaba a las poblaciones marginales y a los conventillos, donde llegaban con el coche cargado de alimentos y ropa que Nívea y sus amigas cosían para los pobres. También en esas ocasiones, la niña escribía con asombrosa intuición, que las obras de caridad no podían mitigar la monumental injusticia (83).

Later Clara the clear-sighted would take her own daughter on visits of charity to the poor, but as she would explain, "Esto sirve para tranquilizarnos la conciencia, hija. Pero no ayuda a los pobres. No necesitan caridad, sino justicia"(133).

Both 'Clara' and 'Nívea' are Latin in etymology; 'Blanca' is Germanic, and related to the English word 'blank.' Here is a more opaque whiteness. Blanca, who is also the daughter of Esteban, is not interested in her mother's conversations with spirits or her experiments with the three-legged table, and she is unable to communicate telepathically. In fact, intuition is largely absent in her makeup, if her experience with the dreadful Jean de Satigny can be considered a clue.[1]

Blanca's tardy realization of her husband's true nature is expressive of another connotation of whiteness, namely purity. Blanca's imagination is utterly wholesome. In a scene reminiscent of "Bluebeard,"Blanca enters her husband's locked photography studio and finds all manner of wonders.

> Pero lo que más la sorprendió fueron las fotografías. Al verlas se detuvo estupefacta. Las paredes del estudio de Jean de Satigny estaban cubiertas de acongojantes escenas eróticas que revelaban la oculta naturaleza de su marido.
>
> Blanca era de recciones lentas y tardó un buen rato en asimilar lo que estaba viendo, porque carecía de experiencia con esos asuntos. Conocía el placer como una última y preciosa etapa en el largo camino que había recorrido con Pedro Tercero, por donde había transitado sin prisa, con buen humor, en el marco de los bosques, los trigales, el río, bajo un inmenso cielo, en el silencio del campo. No alcanzó a tener las inquietudes propias de la adolescencia.... Sus instintos se vieron satisfechos tan pronto despertaron y no se le había ocurrido que la pasión pudiera tener otras formas. Esas escenas desordenadas y tormentosas eran una verdad mil veces más desconcertante que las momias escandalosas que había esperado encontrar. (247)

Blanca's immediate reaction to all this is to flee in order to protect her daughter, yet to be born.

Of all the main female characters, Blanca is the most rooted in the flesh rather than the spirit. Clara absents herself from unpleasant (or even pleasant) realities through inattention, focus on 'el Más Allá,' or silence lasting literally for years. Alba, imprisoned and tortured, survives because of the mental training her uncle had given her and also by making sense of her experiences in the form of a book written solely in her imagination. Blanca uses physical symptoms to bend circumstance to her will. When she is sent away to school, separated from her lover Pedro Tercero, she manages to find a way to get back to him, as she explains when they are reunited:

> En el zumzum de los matapiojos y el croar de las ranas, ella le contó que se había puesto cáscaras de plátano y papel secante en los zapatos para que le diera fiebre y había tragado tiza molida hasta que le dio tos de verdad, para convencer a las monjas de que su inapetencia y su palidez eran síntomas seguros de la tisis.
>
> "¡Quería estar contigo!" dijo, besándolo en el cuello. (165)

Nor is this the only time she resorts to such measures; eventually her health is significantly weakened (265).

With the name of Alba we are back to Latin roots; 'alba' is the light and whiteness of the dawn, and in Alba the character we see the dawning of new hope. The great themes of self-renewal and rebirth are expressed by Alba, the chief narrative voice of the novel. She is able to take her grandmother's 'cuadernos de anotar la vida' and use them, along with her own experiences and memories, to make sense of the past and shine the light of hope into the future—no trivial accomplishment in a society racked by violence and injustice.

Alba is also the agent of reconciliation, even redemption, for her grandfather, the proud, violent, domineering embodiment and mouthpiece of the androcentric version of history. His is the secondary narrative voice, and thus he has the opportunity to express his opinions, his motivations, his griefs, his irritations and rages—an opportunity others do not have. Clara communicates through silence and her notebooks; Blanca has essentially no 'voice,' no say in what will happen to her. Speech that is listened to is reserved for men in this patriarchal culture, and the voice of Esteban the quintessential patriarch is loud indeed.

Esteban's surname, Trueba, sounds something like 'trueno,' a clap of thunder, or like 'turbio.' This word, meaning dim and blurred, or restless, unsettled and turbulent, can be taken to describe both his perceptions and his disposition. It is in clear contrast with the qualities expressed by Clara's name, and the contrast is emblematic of their failure to communicate: he will not listen, she will not speak. They belong to different universes of discourse.

The name 'Esteban' comes from a Greek root meaning 'crown,' and certainly his view of life, and of his proper position in it, is royal if not imperial. Yet Esteban—St. Stephen—was the first martyr of the Christian faith, put to death by stoning.[2] It is interesting to note that Esteban Trueba was in effect stoned, though not to death, in the earthquake that destroyed his estate (154-155). We can see that Esteban, a terrible man who does terrible things, is in many senses a martyr to his beliefs. The 'patrón' of an estate, he believes, must work harder than anyone else, because he must constantly supervise workers who cannot be trusted to do the work, people who cannot be trusted to take care of themselves, and would give all the good food to the pigs and just eat bread themselves and so on and so forth. Pages 54-59 contain the first expression of this rather lengthy discourse, which is repeated on any occasion when social justice or agrarian reform is mentioned. And in fact, though it cannot be denied that Esteban is an oppressive tyrant, he does work very hard. His patriarchal and authoritarian world-view does little to endear him to his children; he is alienated from both those he knows about and those he does not. The latter are the fruits of a series of rapes, and the rage of the victims extends to the second generation, to be visited upon the person of Esteban's beloved grand-daughter. Esteban is alienated from his wife, the love of his life (along with Alba his grand-daughter), whom he never manages to understand during his lifetime, because her world view is too alien for him even to perceive, much less to understand. As in the emblematic case of the telepathy experiments cited above, Esteban just doesn't get the message, and he truly suffers because of this. Finally, he is incapable of perceiving the pernicious effects of his beliefs on society at large. "En los primeros meses [after the coup], el Senador Trueba participó del oportunismo de los de su clase. Estaba convencido de que era necesario un período de dictadura para que el país volviera al redil de cual nunca debió haber salido" (365). He is a member of the government, a senator, but lacks the perception ('claridad?') to realize the danger of violence and oppression even against his own (theoretically protected) family, and it comes as a shock to him when Alba is taken away by the police (379-380).

Although Esteban Trueba does not realize it, he has a son and a grandson who bear his name. They are not children of Clara (light); she refuses to name anyone after him, saying it creates confusion, which in fact it does (114). Esteban the son is largely invisible, and does not figure significantly in the novel. But the rage of Pancha García, the obedient servant, who conceived this son under conditions of abject oppression, fills the mind and spirit of the grandson, and all the violence implicit in the name and character of Esteban Trueba is manifested in this third Esteban, Esteban García. The three of them together embody the unholy trinity of patriarchy: violent, angry, oppressive father; unacknowledged, marginalized, invisible son; spirit of hatred and chaos.

There is another set of three men with the same name: the Pedros. This is a positive trinity of healing, comfort and joyful creativity. The name Pedro, like Esteban, comes from a Greek root, meaning 'rock.' It is the name Jesus gave the disciple who first recognized him as the Messiah.[3] And in fact the powers of death, though they assail, do not prevail. Pedro García is blind, yet he observes all, and he has the power to heal everything from toothache to shattered bones, even for his oppressor (though he is unable to heal his daughter's anguish). Pedro Segundo, his son, also withstands the powers of death. The brother of Pancha García, he clearly sees and understands the oppression of his family and his people, but as foreman at Tres Marías he quietly works to make life possible for everyone. He is Clara's mainstay when she is faced with the task of healing and rebuilding after the earthquake. Pedro Tercero, his son, is a revolutionary in the most positive sense of the word (just as the youngest Esteban practices revolution at its worst). Pedro Tercero creates and sings songs that bring hope to all those who are willing and able to hear their message, a category that does not include any of the Estebans. And Pedro Tercero is the father of Alba, whose mother is the daughter of the enemy who cut off several of his fingers, temporarily destroying his ability to play his songs. It is Alba's woman's voice that gives expression to the hope for freedom, justice, understanding and peace—in short, for life against death.

> En la perrera tuve la idea de que estaba armando un rompecabezas en el que cada pieza tiene una ubicación precisa. Antes de colocarlas todas, me parecía incomprehensible, pero estaba segura que si lograba terminarlo, daría un sentido a cada una y el resultado sería armonioso. Cada pieza tiene una razón de ser tal como es, incluso el coronel García.... Me será muy difícil vengar a todos los que tienen que ser vengados, porque mi venganza no sería más que otra parte del mismo rito inexorable. Quiero pensar que mi oficio es la vida y que mi misión no es prolongar el odio.... (410)

So Allende's major characters and the relationships among them are reflected and enhanced by the names she has given them. Many minor characters, too, have names that act as a gently ironic grace note (Jean de Satigny, for example; or Tránsito Soto, the prostitute whose name refers to the bodily assumption of the Virgin Mary into heaven, from whence she can intervene on behalf of humankind). As we have seen, at times Allende makes overt reference to the links between her characters and their names. Another of her novels, *Eva Luna*, begins with an explanation of the meaning of the character's name, and right naming also figures prominently in her short stories. At other times, the link between character and name is subtle and understated, but surely as intentional. Allende has written of "la magia de las palabras,"and the names of her characters are an excellent example of this magic.

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Notes

1. This name is French, thus hinting at the exotic and suspect. It is close in sound to 'Satanás' and to the verb 'desatinar,' which means to perplex or bewilder. The noun 'desatino' means folly or silliness. The name is also reminiscent of San Juan de Sahagún, a 15th century Augustinian prior at Salamanca. According to Kalberer, "several attempts were made on his life so outspoken was he against oppression and other common forms of vice. It was thought that the complications of which he died were the result of poisoning by an adulteress who was abandoned by her paramour in consequence of Juan's preaching"(198).

2. Acts 6:8-8:1. Roman Catholic doctrine, including the lives of the saints, is part of the general intellectual framework of Latin Americans, whatever their individual beliefs.

3. "On this Rock I shall build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it" (Matthew 16:18).

Amor, deseo y matrimonio en *Tristana* de Benito Pérez Galdós

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El análisis de los personajes femeninos en la novela decimonónica impele una cuidadosa observación de sus contrapartes masculinos que prefiguran, en la sociedad patriarcal, el destino de las heroínas. Se podría decir incluso, que en muchas novelas, la función de los personajes femeninos es demostrar que los hombres son hombres, y que toda valoración del mundo real está supeditada al prisma masculino que lo define y codifica. Tal es el caso de Ana Karenina, Madame Bovary, Thérèse Raquin, Fortunata y Jacinta, Tristana y Ana Azores, por citar algunos ejemplos.

Las *Novelas Contemporáneas* de Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920) ofrecen una gama riquísima de personajes femeninos con los cuales el escritor intenta una revaloración del papel moral y social de la mujer en la sociedad de la Revolución y la Restauración. La singularización de las cualidades físicas y psicológicas de Fortunata, Jacinta y Tristana, por ejemplo, son testimonio de la intención de Galdós de dar realce al individualismo femenino. El alcance de la represión y la dependencia patriarcal, y la desmitificación del tipo donjuanesco, son temas significativos de la estética galdosiana a través de los cuales se problematiza la cuestión moral de la sociedad española del último cuarto de siglo, y la cuestión de la mujer. La ambigüedad que constituye el desenlace de *Tristana* ha dado, no obstante, motivo a posiciones críticas controvertidas.

Tristana (1892), que en un principio es símbolo de liberación y de lucha por la independencia y la dignidad personal, es una de las novelas de Galdós más polémicas por el trágico destino del personaje. La crítica desde el siglo XIX ha tomado posiciones diferentes en torno a la ambigüedad del desenlace de *Tristana*, y a su contenido feminista o anti-feminista. No obstante lo controvertido del asunto, dadas las limitaciones de tiempo y espacio, este trabajo se enfoca en el análisis de las relaciones amorosas en la novela.

En *Tristana*, el motivo amoroso da unidad y dinamismo a la novela, y permite examinar la situación de la mujer dentro del marco de las convenciones de la sociedad restauradora. El triángulo amoroso lo conforman don Lope, Tristana y Horacio, suplantados a lo largo de la narración por múltiples arquetipos literarios que advierten sobre sus cualidades y actitudes ante el mundo real. "Como ocurre en *Fortunata y Jacinta*, el triángulo amoroso es la clave de la acción. Allí, cambian según cambian sus componentes; aquí estos son siempre los mismos, pero cambian su apariencia precisamente por cómo se ven a sí mismos y a los otros" (Gullón 27). Dentro del marco irónico de la novela, el triángulo amoroso se define a través de una trayectoria que se sintetiza en ilusión-realidad-desilusión; proyección ideal y pragmatismo; fusión ideal y mística.

Este trabajo propone en *Tristana* un análisis de los personajes y de las parejas que ellos conforman en las relaciones amorosas, teniendo en cuenta su complejidad psíquica y moral dentro del contexto socio-histórico. Las relaciones amorosas, por la polaridad de sus funciones, presentan dicotomía entre orden natural y desorden moral; imaginación y realidad; conciencia e inconciencia; libertad y opresión; literaturización de la vida y realidad; búsqueda de identidad y rechazo a las leyes sociales; arte integral y fragmentado; cosificación e idealización del amor; movimiento centrípeto y centrífugo.

Tristana representa el dualismo moral con respecto a los derechos de la mujer en la sociedad de la Restauración, y con respecto a la sexualidad y al matrimonio. Don Lope encarna el doble estándar moral del modelo donjuanesco que no es más que perpetuidad de la tradición patriarcal que la estética galdosiana intenta desmitificar. Las relaciones amorosas de la nueva generación de la sociedad restauradora representadas en Horacio y Tristana, que preludian vitalidad e ideales nuevos, se vuelcan inexorablemente hacia el marasmo del pasado.

La relación amorosa de Tristana y el don Juan se cifra en la seducción y el sometimiento. El desequilibrio que ocasiona la polaridad de cualidades y de funciones de la pareja se sintetiza en dicotomía entre orden natural y desorden moral; conciencia e inconciencia; imaginación y realidad; intimidación y libertad; continua oscilación de papeles funcionales.

Desde el primer capítulo de la novela se establece el parentesco de don Lope y Tristana, y el narrador pone de relieve el desequilibrio funcional de la relación. La joven "que parecía de papel" (10), es el objeto hecho a medida y disposición de su aparente protector, y los términos de la explotación sexual son explícitos: "Tristana en opinión del vulgo circunvecino, no era hija, ni sobrina, ni esposa del gran don Lope; no era nada y lo era todo, pues le pertenecía como una petaca, un mueble o una prenda de ropa, sin que nadie se la pudiera disputar" (11).

No obstante y contrario al canon tradicional del arquetipo donjuanesco, el viejo libertino no abandona a Tristana, como Juanito Santa Cruz a Fortunata, porque la joven protagonista representa el último trofeo de sus aventuras donjuanescas. El sentido de objeto erótico que Tristana constituye persiste hasta la amputación de la pierna, y son abundantes los diálogos que hacen explícito los términos de cosificación que definen el vínculo amoroso: "me quedas tú que vales más que cuantas joyas he perdido" (73).

La ironía del narrador, inclemente siempre en toda alusión al "libertino averiado" (71), subraya con frecuencia, los mecanismos de intimidación sobre la joven huérfana: "Los penetrantes ojos de don Lope, clavados en ella la sobrecogían, la dominaban causándole terror" (67). El poder hipnótico de don Lope sobre Tristana, evoca, como señala Roberto Sánchez (118), a los villanos de la novela gótica.

Después del período de encantamiento que sufre Tristana dado el dominio que el don Juan ejerce sobre ella, inicia su despertar moral e intelectual, y descubre los resortes de la grosera relación que les une. Tristana adquiere conciencia de que el vínculo que la une a su opresor, además de reducirla a la posición de esclava, se opone a las leyes de la Naturaleza: "Bruscamente vio en don Lope al viejo, y agrandaba con su fantasía la ridícula presunción del anciano que, contraviniendo la ley de la Naturaleza, hace papeles de galán" (26-27).

La disparidad de edades de don Lope y Tristana constituye una situación estereotípica abordada por la literatura en la comedia romana, en las farsas y fábulas medievales, y en España, en las baladas tradicionales de "la mal maridada." Cervantes a su vez recrea esta situación en la novela ejemplar, *El celoso extremeño*, y especialmente en algunos de sus entremeses, como *El viejo celoso*, *La cueva de Salamanca* y *El Juez de divorcios*. Los elementos básicos de la situación tradicional se plantean también en *El sí de las niñas* de Moratín y en la relación de Tristana y don Lope. Tristana es la "cautiva infeliz" (35) víctima del despotismo de su aparente protector (Sánchez 115). La intimidación y la desconfianza son los resortes de la relación, y así se expresa el tirano al sentir su honor ultrajado: "prometes ser buena y fiel; pero si me engañas, si vendes mi dignidad por un puñado de ternuras que te ofrezca algún mocoso insípido ..., no te asombres de que yo me defienda.... Nadie me ha puesto la ceniza en la frente todavía" (69). La exigencia de fidelidad a Tristana es irónica y revierte en lo ridículo, por cuanto don Lope no es su marido ni ha pensado en casarse con ella, como asevera el narrador a lo largo de la novela.

La continua oscilación de funciones de don Lope de amante a padre de Tristana, es un componente más al desequilibrio psicológico y funcional de la relación. En un momento de sinceridad que escapa a la careta de fingimiento, así se expresa el don Juan: "te miro como esposa y como hija según me convenga" (69). El desequilibrio funcional que persiste durante la primera parte de la novela hasta la aparición de Horacio, se acentúa al final con la amputación de la pierna y la dependencia total de la protagonista. El tirano de apariencia bondadosa consigue, con habilidad, subyugar por completo a Tristana.

Horacio irrumpe en el espacio novelesco como héroe llamado a rescatar a Tristana de su cautiverio y, en un principio, la aparente solidez de su carácter y convicciones anima a la heroína a luchar contra la tiranía de su verdugo. Pero, no obstante la apariencia de hombre mundano decidido a desafiar grandes empresas, Horacio descubre pronto la mediocridad de su espíritu moldeado por las convenciones sociales de la época. Su vocación artística resulta ser una afición secundaria, y su vida se singulariza por entusiasmos efímeros y proyectos inconclusos.

La relación amorosa de Tristana y Horacio desde sus inicios prefigura tensión entre realidad e imaginación; verdad y engaño; libertad absoluta y convenciones sociales; fragmentación e inversión del mundo real a través del arte y la ficción.

Horacio aparece en la vida de la protagonista de la misma forma ideal en que emerge Tristana en el primer capítulo de la novela. El amante es "el desconocido," "el caballero incógnito" y surge como proyección del "bello ideal," como construcción artística de Tristana. Resulta muy interesante al respecto la recreación galdosiana del personaje. Horacio emerge de las sombras y de la algarabía sordomuda de los pobres niños del hospicio con la aureola de héroe romántico, y a partir de entonces, la tensión entre ilusión y realidad, locuacidad y mutismo actúan como constante en la relación de los amantes.

Horacio, al contrario de los héroes románticos, no puede cumplir con la misión liberadora de Tristana y con la instauración de un nuevo orden porque es un hombre débil de carne y hueso, y no un héroe romántico. Por otra parte, el joven amante aparece como paradigma intelectual y artístico de la heroína, pero pronto la alumna supera al maestro y, derrumbada la ilusión de dominio, el maestro abandona el proyecto. Finalmente, para Horacio, al igual que para don Lope y para todo varón de la sociedad restauradora, el amor es posesión única del objeto erótico.

En la primera parte del frenesí amoroso que antecede al viaje de Horacio a Villajoyosa y al de Tristana a los "espacios imaginarios" (132), tres hechos fundamentales — el desinterés de Tristana por las relaciones íntimas, por la progenie, y su aversión al matrimonio — se oponen radicalmente a los deseos del amante, y preludian la inevitable incomunicación y ruptura. El *seño Juan* además de querer conformar un hogar, "ansiaba tener un chiquillín" (84) que llevara, conforme a la tradición patriarcal, su apellido y no el de Tristana, a pesar de los fueros de la naturaleza, argumento que esgrime la heroína. Asimismo, para Horacio, amante de los goces terrenales, las exigencias de su sexualidad no caben en los espacios infinitos del mundo de Tristana.

La subversión de Tristana al orden social a través de su condena al matrimonio, señala muy pronto antagonismo a los ideales de Horacio: "No veo la felicidad en el matrimonio. Quiero, para expresarlo a mi manera, estar casada conmigo misma, y ser mi propia cabeza de familia. No sabré amar por obliga-ción; sólo en la libertad comprendo mi fe constante y mi adhesión sin límites" (104). El rechazo de la protagonista al sagrado vínculo no tiene relación con los postulados donjuanescos de don Lope, sino con su oposición al amor concebido como contrato y como subordinación de la mujer al varón.

La relación amorosa de Tristana y Horacio, dada su imposibilidad real, busca subterfugio en el arte, y particularmente en la ficción. Los amantes se presentan bajo la ilusión de arquetipos literarios múltiples, asumiendo papeles en busca de una identidad real. Parodiando el "bello ideal" renacentista (Tsuchiya 333), Tristana es *Beatrice y Francesca*, y parodiando a personajes de sainete, será la señá Restituta, la Paca de Rímini, y Horacio preferentemente el señó Juan. La oscilación constante entre ficción y realidad, fundamento de la comunicación de los amantes, termina por rendir a Horacio y por alejarle de Tristana. Tristana fabrica un mundo imaginario al margen de la sociedad que le niega el derecho a realizarse. El lenguaje amoroso en esta novela, como en Fortunata y Jacinta, y en Lo Prohibido, tiene un contenido lúdico que subraya la constante necesidad de subterfugios del mundo real. Por otra parte, el vocabulario amoroso varía con frecuencia, poniendo de relieve las inconsistencias en la relación de los amantes.

Tristana y Horacio, rinden culto a las delicias del amor, como sugieren los indicios del narrador, siempre discreto en su mirada de alcoba. Y, aunque el goce del placer carnal parece satisfacer a los amantes, la acumulación de imágenes en desorden, fragmentadas o mutiladas del estudio de Horacio, al tiempo que advierte sobre la condición inacabada de los personajes de la novela, prefigura el destino de Tristana y realza las fisuras de la unión amorosa. "The metaphorical value of the studio is clear. The studio's imprecise location, and the massive disorder and incompletion of its interior, are another projection [sic] of the incomplete projects and personalities that make up this novel" (Anderson 69).

Consumada la relación íntima, Tristana y Horacio inician con fervor la idealización del amor a través de la ficción. No obstante, es Tristana particularmente quien intenta superponer a la realidad la ilusión de la ficción manifestando, al mismo tiempo, desinterés por el contacto carnal. La furia erótica de Tristana rebasa la temporalidad de las relaciones sexuales; la heroína reclama acciones permanentes y absolutas que la sexualidad no puede satisfacer. El interés por el personaje de Lady Macbeth puede interpretarse como insatisfacción sexual, y rechazo al papel subordinado que la sociedad le impele: "¡Aquella exclamación de la señá Macbeth cuando grita al cielo con toda su alma: "Unsex me here, me hace estremecer y despierta no sé que terribles emociones en lo más profundo de mi naturaleza!" (112). La sublimación sexual de Tristana es expresión de su rechazo a los papeles tradicionales de la pareja, y a la existencia fragmentada de la vida familiar y conyugal de la sociedad restauradora. "Tristana has become a standard for the women's cause, and the individual and the subjective are replaced by the universal" (Friedman 215).

La separación y oposición del espacio físico reafirman las actitudes incompatibles de Tristana y Horacio que determinan progresivamente la ruptura final. La metamorfosis del joven pintor en aldeano sedentario, y su adhesión a "las pequeñeces domésticas" (104) revelan, como afirma el narrador, la fatuidad de su vocación artística, y su conformismo con lo cotidiano. La imaginación y las aspiraciones de Tristana implican un distanciamiento físico e intelectual inexorable que no satisface las exigencias inmediatas del amante, según lo expresa con asiduidad en sus epístolas. La imaginación desbordante de Tristana acaba por abrumar a Horacio que no logra conciliar su espíritu libre con el esquema de la mujer tradicional enraizado en sus convicciones: "Esperaba que su constante cariño y la acción del tiempo rebajarían un poco la talla imaginativa y razonable de su ídolo, haciéndola más mujer, más corriente y útil" (82).

La dicotomía entre campo y ciudad, la afirmación y rechazo de valores y papeles tradicionales de la sociedad patriarcal, la lucha de Tristana por un orden integral — en el que sexualidad e intelecto sean componentes armónicos de un paraíso privado — logran su mayor expresión irónica en la propuesta de matrimonio de Horacio, que se enuncia como parodia romántica, y que Tristana destruye con su discurso irónico que raya en sarcasmo: "Casémonos ante este altar incomparable...." (106). "¡Yo de villana, criando gallinitas, poniéndome cada día más gorda, hecha un animal, y con un dije que llaman maridillo colgado de la punta de la nariz!" (107). "Déjate de gallinas y vulgaridades estúpidas" (115).

La desmaterialización de Horacio — parte del proceso de integración/desintegración que plantea la novela — ocurre de manera gradual en la relación epistolar, hasta convertirle en "el Doble" de Tristana, y los dos se funden en un sueño ideal de proyecciones y reflexiones. La comunicación epistolar en la que predomina el desplazamiento constante de la personalidad de los amantes por el artificio de los arquetipos de ficción, impele en Tristana la permanencia única del ideal amado de sus monólogos interiores. Es el triunfo del "Amante fantasma" que discute Kay Engler en el artículo que lleva este título.

La estrategia epistolar dispone de manera simétrica y al mismo nivel, al emisor y al destinatario del discurso, como polos del sistema comunicativo. El ejercicio de la imaginación de Tristana sustituye el mundo real que la margina; el juego escritural de Horacio le sirve para reconstruir su mundo terrestre, transitoriamente amenazado por la lógica de la ficción.

La amputación de la pierna de Tristana, debería interpretarse como metáfora de la realidad inacabada de la protagonista. Las leyes sociales irreductibles se interponen, en su trayectoria vital, a su deseo de integrar Eros y Minerva en uno sólo armónico e indivisible. Tristana toma conciencia de la mutilación que la reduce a una medio existencia, a un fragmento humano inservible que alienta en el amante, como en la sociedad de su época, sentimientos de conmiseración y abandono: "Soy una belleza sentada, una mujer de medio cuerpo, un busto y nada más" (164), ha de decir Tristana.

La amputación de la pierna de la protagonista, que a partir de entonces se la identifica, con mayor frecuencia, como la niña o la muñeca alicaída y no como mujer, marca un cambio radical en la relación con don Lope. El seductor asume definitivamente el papel de padre bondadoso, y su posición de superioridad le permite controlar por completo a Tristana y al amante en retirada de Villajoyosa. El triángulo amoroso se resuelve, irónicamente, a través de la inversión de posiciones y funciones de los personajes. En la cúspide del triángulo domina el Don Juan caído (33) suplantado por el sempiterno padre manipulador, y en los vértices inferiores permanecen Tristana, la mujer inútil para siempre (160) y Horacio, títeres de la representación.

Los amores de Tristana y Horacio fracasan por la polaridad de actitudes de los amantes que revelan sus valores individuales, y los de la sociedad española del último cuarto de siglo. Horacio es un héroe romántico y un libre pensador sólo en apariencia; el afán creativo y el deseo de independencia de Tristana constituyen desequilibrio al orden social que Horacio no está dispuesto a desafiar. Tristana debe someterse al canon tradicional de las leyes sociales, y su gran incompatibilidad con el amante radica en su intento de trascender al mundo de las realizaciones que es dominio del hombre.

La boda de Tristana y don Lope pone de relieve el peso irreductible de las convenciones sociales. Los términos que definen el sagrado vínculo apuntan, como en Fortunata y Jacinta, a la intromisión de las leyes civiles y patriarcales empeñadas en encasillar y controlar la existencia individual. El viejo burlador acepta la fórmula matrimonial que pone fin a su carrera donjuanesca por exclusiva conveniencia económica; para la joven inválida, la boda es un acto fallido más que no implica ningún cambio en su existencia doméstica de la cual se evade a través del fervor místico. En el mundo de ilusión y desilusión de la estética galdosiana de Tristana, el matrimonio, presentado como prisión, es una vez más el pilar institucional que sostiene el aparente prestigio del statu quo. El viejo donjuán transformado en "pacífico burgués" (182), y la joven víctima transformada en beata con muletas, se convierten al final en marido y mujer "honrados", colmo de la ironía. Es irónico que Tristana rehúse la vida oscura y convencional que le ofrece Horacio por oponerse a sus ideales de independencia, para culminar al lado del tirano-artífice de su fracaso individual.

La boda del "anciano galán" (174) y Tristana representa la antiboda, la inversión del desenlace romancesco feliz (Witelmann 199; Anderson 71). Tristana y don Lope, o el viejo y la niña envejecida prematuramente, se entregan a la rutina doméstica que constituye la antítesis del éxtasis del amor matrimonial. Tan rotunda como la amputación de la pierna, la boda para Tristana lleva injertada la semilla del desencanto del amor y de la vida.

La acumulación de polaridades anotadas en la pareja de don Lope y Tristana, subraya hasta el final su destino irónico y el desequilibrio funcional y estético que les caracteriza. La frase epilogal del narrador "¿Eran felices uno y otro? ... Tal vez" (182), fórmula tradicional del feliz desenlace del cuento de hadas es, en virtud de la parodia, inversión irónica de la realidad en el mundo de Tristana y don Lope. La joven beata con muletas no puede ser princesa; el viejo desposado que se chupa los dedos por los pasteles de la repostera, es la antítesis de todo reinado principesco.

El amor en *Tristana* se presenta, al igual que en muchas de las *Novelas Contemporáneas*, como un imposible armónico dentro del marco de la sociedad restauradora. La subversión femenina y la oposición de leyes naturales y sociales, constituyen las fuerzas centrípetas y centrífugas que se rechazan y excluyen ocasionando el desequilibrio funcional en la pareja. Horacio, al igual que don Lope, son caretas distintas de la misma figura patriarcal de la época, y ninguno de los dos ofrece a Tristana una relación amorosa basada en el respeto a la libertad individual. Los valores tradicionales profundamente arraigados en el joven amante y en el *Don Juan caduco* (58), constituyen las polaridades irreductibles que impiden el establecimiento de un nuevo orden social y estético.

Las relaciones amorosas en Tristana representan un microcosmos de la vida española. La España de la Restauración es un país ambiguo, ambivalente, entroncado entre la tradición patriarcal y el espíritu dinámico de la época. Dentro de este marco social y estético, Tristana desborda su energía creadora hacia el porvenir.

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The Appeal to Autobiography in Elena Poniatowska's *Hasta no verte, Jesús mío*

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With *Hasta no verte, Jesús mío* (1969), Elena Poniatowska has written a novelized testimony which seems very much like an autobiography. The "real-life" female protagonist Jesusa Palancares narrates in the first person the story of her life-long struggle to overcome (or at least to survive despite) obstacles of poverty, discrimination, and social disconnectedness within a framework of explosive demographic changes in Mexico as it moves toward modernization during the twentieth century.[1] Thus just as in all other texts which have come to be studied under the genre of autobiography, there is one ego at the core of the narrative which gives cohesion to a series of historical events.[2] This ego, in turn, discovers through the narrative the significance of her life. The narrator's memories, opinions, and observations are subjective, and despite the fact that they do not corroborate so-called "objective" accounts of such events as the Mexican Revolution or the Vasconcelos literacy campaign, we take them to be true within the narrative world of the protagonist's experience. Jesusa Palancares is a witness, seemingly irrefutable in her privileged situation as observer and participant in Mexican history. Her testimony validates the assertions which Elena Poniatowska, as collaborating author of the text, makes about the nature of that history and the role of women within it, despite her effaced presence as a seemingly neutral scribe to Jesusa's discourse. This validation is precisely what Poniatowska seeks as she consciously uses the autobiography as a paradigm for her work.

Not only is *Hasta no verte* an appeal to the tradition of autobiography as it has evolved in the European and North American context; it is also an example of the peculiar characteristics of the genre in Latin America, as described by Sylvia Molloy. In her view, Latin American writers who recount their life experiences do so not only to represent the self, but their region or nation as well, taking a testimonial stance in the attempt to rectify an erroneous portrayal of history to which they have been witness and participant. And too, *Haste no verte* shares Latin American autobiography's catastrophic sense of history in an ever renewed merging of the symbiotic memories of community and individual, of public and private recollection (Molloy 2-9). Because Jesusa Palancares is born in 1899 and her narrative concludes in 1968, *Hasta no verte* is one individual's account of the trajectory of twentieth century Mexican history, seen from the underbelly of the national story of social upheaval and the subsequent attempt to establish a new social order.

This appeal to the autobiographical form follows a favorite formula in Hispanic literature, the picaresque. Jesusa's motivation is primarily the satisfaction of physical hunger, as we see when she says, "Y eso es lo único que importa, no pasar hambre" (308).[3] As the orphaned protagonist goes from *amo* to *amo*, she has the opportunity to observe Mexico's social structure from her privileged vantage point first as revolutionary soldier, then as factory worker, small business owner or manager, hospital worker, domestic servant, and laundress. She fills in as an apothecary, she is a butcher and cabinetmaker. Like Lazarillo before her, or Mexico's own Periquillo, she is ironically and disrespectfully critical of government, religious, and social institutions which oppress her and all of those termed members of the vast underclass. While in important ways Jesusa deviates from the picaresque character—she is a woman, for one, not particularly interested in taking advantage of the "system" in order to use it for admittance to the bourgeois class, and certainly not Periquillo's equal in malevolence or skulduggery—her intelligence and instinct for survival are pitted against a social machinery which would rather suppress her into conformity to a consumer culture radically different from the Oaxacan agricultural society from which she comes. And she resists this pressure to conform, like her picaresque counterparts.

Unlike other later narrators of testimonial literature, Jesusa Palancares is not a conscious spokesperson for her community, yet her story encompasses the struggle of all the faceless urban poor who swell the population of the Mexican capital, described by Poniatowska in 1984 as:

> "lumpen" que en este monstruoso Distrito Federal tritura a los 500 mil mexicanos que llegan al año a resguardarse en sus entrañas. En los primeros años dentro de la ciudad, los recién llegados intentan una vida campesina: por allí entre los desperdicios, el plástico, la lámina y el cartón florea un solitario e imprevisto girasol, pero al cabo de un tiempo se seca o se lo llevan las aguas y acaba pisoteado en un charco, de cara a la tierra, como acaban muchos colonos, aplastados por su propia miseria. (Disneylandia 16)

By 1969, date of publication of *Hasta no verte*, the fiction of Juan Rulfo and several other Mexican writers had validated the representation of the rural indigenous poor in literature, but it seemed that the Mexican urban underclass had been overlooked as nothing but "cannon fodder for anthropologists—material for psycho-sociological, technical, and economic studies," according to Poniatowska (Disneylandia 27, [author's translation]). Although adept at writing imaginative literature, Poniatowska sought a more direct mode of discourse to meet the challenge of representing these forgotten "lumpen," given her political commitment which first appeared in *Lilus Kukus* in 1954 (Bruce-Novoa 514-15). Other genres open to the prolific and well-known Poniatowska were the documental report, the sociological survey or even the literary essay such as she had written almost daily for various publications in Mexico. Yet this essentially non-fiction account of one woman's story, an autobiography, provides a vehicle in which to portray a model—while not a caricature—of the many lives similar to Jesusa's. As with both traditional and non-traditional autobiography, this narrative complies with the provision that the subject be somehow representative, and at the same time exemplary, of his or her epoch and life circumstance.

While following basic tenets of autobiography, Poniatowska and her narrator turn traditional expectations for the genre on their ears, in many of the same ways as do other autobiographies of women studied by Jelinek, Smith, and other analysts of female autobiography. When women write their histories, they paint less the picture of the "great man" who shapes the evolution of Western civilization, as the picture of the reverse side of the weave of the social, political, and cultural fabric upon which the "great man" depends. Theirs is the reverse image of history, sometimes subverting and always expanding the notion of the development of civilization on a basis of hierarchies and privileges accorded to men in patriarchy. However, most female autobiographers studied by critics who seek to retrieve and include women writers in the literary canon seem still to be exemplary in some way—they are political activists (Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Kate Millet), health reformers (Margaret Sanger), writers (Lillian Hellman, Simone de Beauvoir, Anaïs Nin), or religious mystics (Julian of Norwich). They tend to demonstrate the strategies by which they have succeeded in playing in the "men's court," or have somehow transcended boundaries created for them by a male-dominated society. Jesusa and Poniatowska challenge both the established male and female autobiographies as well, in that Jesusa claims no place at all as a player in the shaping of history. Her accomplishment—which Poniatowska holds up to the reader as exemplary—is that of staying alive without compromising her determination to remain outside the "walls of society," as Jean Franco describes her situation. So this autobiography is no rags-to-riches model of successful fulfillment of the dream of progress. It isn't even the story of a successful female challenge to the bastion of a male-dominated power structure. It is the story of an old lady who in her poverty and illiteracy poses no perceivable threat to the-way-things-are. Ironically, a closer reading proves that, by means of the collaboration with Poniatowska, she is quite powerful indeed.

The fact that Jesusa is female is, in itself, a guarantee of obscurity. Long relegated to a private world of home and family, women rarely seek space in a public forum. They are prevented by both the impediments placed on them by male-dominated control of the public space, and by their own self-censorship. Yet both editor and narrator assault these impediments, Jesusa more reluctantly than Poniatowska, to be sure. As a wizened octogenarian, a poor mestiza with only a few chickens standing between her and starvation, Jesusa presents no success story for individuals in a capitalist society to follow. Yet her story shows with prodigious authority the failings of Mexican official political and economic policy—in short, the failings of the Mexican Revolution. She does this by refuting the myths of the Revolution itself, by holding up her personal experience with educational, labor, health care and housing reforms against the myths of advances in those areas, and by taking the reader to zones of experience to which men have limited access, by means of personal witness. These zones of experience are female participation in the Revolution, female struggle to raise children in the capital, typically female employment such as domestic service, female institutions such as clinics for prostitutes, and many more. Jesusa Palancares observes these zones of experience not from the top down, but rather from the bottom up. Her dual perspective as female and also member of the underclass provides Poniatowska, her editor, with two important vantage points from which to continue the criticism initiated in the fictional works of the *Ciclo de la Revolución Mexicana*, yet the relatively unassailable truth of this apparent autobiography lends a force to the criticism unmitigated by the fiction of these previous works.

Political and economic opportunism during this century produces impossible hardship for the poor of Mexico. Rather than providing a way out of the suffering, the Revolution seals the fate of the poor in the very structure it seeks to destroy. Official history has left Jesusa out of its account. Her autobiography disputes this omission by a systematic, chronological and irreverent restructuring of the past.

The war itself is a struggle whose real nature is confusion and chaos, removed from the ideology which inspires the masses to rebel. Although legislation arising from the conflict sets Mexico on a course of reform toward an equitable society governed by democracy and social progress, the shift away from traditional bases of power has not produced a corresponding change in the suffering of the poor. Modernization and industrialization, combined with a tight control of labor, agricultural, military and popular sectors by a one-party system, cannot solve the problem of persistent poverty. It is a new poverty in the twentieth century, an economic poverty exacerbated by a disintegration of cultural ties. For workers in the city, isolation and alienation only aggravate an already intolerable lack of material resources.

Jesusa considers the Revolution itself as an essentially male conflict, whose rivalries remind her of the territorial disputes among men seeking to possess women. Therefore, hers is not an accounting of key battles or military strategy, but rather of the interworkings of the makeshift communities which form out of strictly personal allegiances to the various *caudillos* of the war. Neither is this an explanation of political ideology, for in the midst of Zapata country Jesusa never mentions *ejidos* or the *Plan de Ayala*. The reader sees the war as a collage of personal vengeances and violence without meaning for a majority of the participants. Jesusa says, "Creo que fue una guerra malentendida porque eso de que se mataran unos con otros, padres contra hijos, hermanos contra hermanos, carrancistas, villistas, zapatistas, pues eran puras tarugadas porque éramos lo mismos pelados y muertos de hambre" (64).

This is not news to us; what is new is the willing entry into the circle of violence of a woman not content to remain with the *impedimenta*. She says, "... los balazos son mi alegría.... La balacera es todo mi amor porque se oye muy bonita" (206). Despite Jesusa's entry into a typically male space, however, her focus on female concerns predominates her account of the Revolution. Although Jesusa commands troops as an officer excited by the gunfire and turbulence of battle, she remarks primarily not on military matters, but on the hierarchical, patriarchal structure of society which is nowhere more evident than in the microcosmic communities of war.

Jesusa's estimation of almost-deified war heroes contradicts post-Revolution propaganda. She is particularly critical of Venustiano Carranza, calling him that "maldito bandido," and recounting her face-to-face encounter with him when he denies her the pension legally due her after her officer husband is killed in combat. According to Jesusa's recollection, he tells her: "Si estuvieras vieja, te pensionaba el gobierno, pero como estás muy joven no puedo dar orden de que te sigan pensionando. Cualquier día te vuelves a casar y el muerto no puede mantener al otro marido que tengas," a decision which disadvantages not only Jesusa, but thousands of women like her (136).

After the war, consumer culture replaces a traditional agricultural-based society, and thousands of displaced persons move to the capital. Improved medical care does not much affect the people like Jesusa who live on the margin of society, an improved education system does not reach those who live in the slums of Mexico City, and housing is still makeshift and inadequate. The Church has lost its power to intervene, even if it were so disposed, and the institution of the family loses its integrity and therefore its ability to prevent the marginalized from falling even further through the cracks of a perhaps well-intentioned, but inadequate, government effort to deliver on the promises of the Revolution. Jesusa proves, in a way that dry statistics cannot, that these assertions are true, and her voice becomes a check to the self-congratulatory "official story," a voice of warning for those who have become complacent and resistant to change.

Jesusa's remembrance of an idealized, utopian childhood in Tehuantepec contrasts sharply with her experience as an adult, alone, in the capital. The images of sea, sky, and fruit-laden land, painted with primary colors, are countered by dismal scenes of work as a domestic servant in households where food is rationed and Jesusa must use newspapers as a blanket at night. Factory work is better-paid, yet Jesusa soon recognizes that she is a mere cog in the machinery of modernization. She seeks individuation in the dubious shelter of dance-halls, yet does not fall into the usual solution for a woman alone—prostitution. Labor unions, corrupt and ineffective, discourage Jesusa from collective action to improve her situation. Her description itself echoes the vicious cycle: "Y desde entonces todo fueron fábricas y fábricas y talleres y changarros y piqueras y pulquerías y cantinas y salones de baile y más fábricas y talleres y lavaderos y señoras fregonas y tortillas duras y dale y dale..." (147).

Jesusa's experience with education, health care, and housing are equally bleak. As a girl she is discouraged from learning to read, and as a woman she is treated as an imbecile in a demeaning, irrelevant and ill-devised plan for adult education. "Estos maestros y maestras querían divertirse con nosotros porque estábamos grandes. ¡Quien sabe si sería un nuevo sistema de educación pero yo no les hice caso!" she says (202). Although eager to learn, Jesusa remains illiterate. With the unusual collaboration of Poniatowska and this narrator, the lack of access to the public space which is the common fate of all illiterates is overcome, and with it the common perception that the poor are simple-minded, lazy, and uninterested in education.

Jesusa's narrative demonstrates the reliance of the poor on folk-remedies and *curanderos*, in lieu of modern health care. The account of her experience as an apothecary's assistant, her description of her own cure of syphilis, the memories of her epileptic seizures, and personal experiences with spiritual healings tell us of the inadequate recourse the poor of Mexico have to health care. But it is the insight we gain on women's health care issues that is unique in this narrative: Jesusa assists in many births, and is her friend's companion as that friend seeks abortion after abortion as her only means of birth control. Furthermore, a description of the clinic for prostitutes where Jesusa works opens criticism of the lack of health care for women to the lowest social registers, where other narratives have stopped short.

Jesusa's experience is not comprehensive, so does not expose problems with, for instance, the redistribution of land under the Cárdenas administration. However, urban housing reform is shown to be corrupt under that same administration, and Jesusa participates in a protest against the eviction of herself and her neighbors from a plot of land promised to the poor but given instead to the transit police in payment of a political debt. Her statement expresses her disillusionment with Cárdenas and the Revolution: "Yo vi a Cárdenas, ¡seguro que sí! Y le tenía mucho coraje porque lo conocí de soldado raso allá con los carrancistas, y no de fanfarrón con todo su Estado Mayor, con su gente, dando órdenes de secretito a todos sus achichincles. Pero bien que le oímos: 'Hay que sacar a esos elementos'" (265).

Jesusa ultimately eschews active social protest against this and other injustices. As she says in recognizing the leadership of Micaila in the housing demonstration, "Nunca me habló la Micaila...porque yo no valía nada" (265). Thinking perhaps correctly that she is powerless as a figure on the margin of society, she occupies a space completely unrepresented in the political process. Nevertheless, Jesusa subverts the intentional or unintentional plan which arises out of the Revolution, that of building a new economy based on capitalist investment in industry, fueled by the bourgeois desire for individual economic advancement. This subversion comes with Jesusa's self-proclaimed freedom from the obligation (debt, family dependence, even addictions) which keep most people as bound participants in the new economy. The price for this freedom is high, and the narrative is, above all, the vivid portrayal of Jesusa's alienation within the context of this fight to survive in a hostile environment.

Nonetheless, *Hasta no verte, Jesús mío* is not an autobiography, but rather testimony given in conversational form to an editor/novelist who seeks to use the first-person discourse of Jesusa Palancares in order to refute the "official story" of Mexican progress in the twentieth century. Poniatowska takes the transcription of interviews, which take place weekly over the span of a year, and freely creates out of it a seamless monologue in which the interviewer rarely appears in the text. She says of the manipulation of the original transcription, "elaboré donde me pareció necesario, podé, cosí, remendé, inventé" (10). What evolves is a simile of autobiography whose power derives from the seeming shift in authorship from Poniatowska to an unknown spokesperson for a reality to which Poniatowska has no direct access. In order to convince and persuade, the message of neglect and abandonment must come from the voice of the oppressed herself. Curiously, the narrative shows that Jesusa, while seemingly a victim of this neglect and abandonment, ultimately escapes victimization to the extent that she is able to determine and give meaning to her life as dictated by the struggle for survival in which she is engaged.

The strategy which Poniatowska employs in this narrative is similar to that used by "Sor Filotea de la Cruz" in the famous exchange which gave rise to Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's autobiographical defense of her intellectual activity. In ascribing authorship of his letter to the mythical Sor Filotea, the Bishop of Puebla denies responsibility for the attack on Sor Juana. Under the guise of anonymity, the Bishop is free to voice criticism which he might otherwise have restrained. So too Poniatowska, in ascribing her criticism of Mexican failings in the process of development to the most marginal and proscribed citizen—precisely her opposite in social stature—removes herself from the onus of restraint. Paradoxically, if Poniatowska were to speak in her own words what Jesusa says in her colorful and forthright language, she would be dismissed as a trouble-maker, or humored as a woman of privilege giving out what used to be called "alms to the poor." As it is, with this apparent autobiography she is able to confront the national identity of Mexico, show how that identity has been founded on masculine definitions of power, and refute in the person of Jesusa and with her own example the myth of the Mexican "mujer abnegada."

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NOTES

1. Called Jesusa Palancares in the narrative, her real name is Josefa Bórquez, according to Jean Franco in *Plotting Women*, p. 178.

2. Efforts to define autobiography as a genre have provoked much discussion and little agreement since Georg Misch's study, *History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, was published in 1907. Although essentially a genre with permeable boundaries, autobiography may be defined as a narrative written in the first person, which tells a life from the perspective of a significant event. Successful autobiography gives cohesion to that life, and explores the process of self discovery and identity within a given context. Traditional autobiography was defined as the telling of a life which was exemplary in some way, usually pursuant to the development of Western civilization. That definition has been greatly expanded by the study of female autobiography. Estelle Jelinek introduces her *Tradition* with a summary of conclusions reached by students of traditional (usually male) autobiography, and her findings regarding the differences between male and female autobiographies. Sidonie Smith's *Poetics* analyzes the female voice in autobiography through a discussion of the complexities of self-representation of the woman who speaks from the margin of discourse.

3. Quotes are taken from the text of *Hasta no verte, Jesús mío*, and are indicated only by page number.

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SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 15, 1994

Journal of the

NCFL

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

The 1994 volume has benefitted from the expertise and commitment of many editorial consultants. The Editor of *SELECTA* extends his sincere appreciation to the following colleagues, as well as to a number of others, who have been of significant assistance in the preparation of this volume:

- Ralph Albanese
- Frans Amelinckx
- Keith Anderson
- Ursula Beitter
- Anthony Beltramo
- David P. Benseler
- Tom Carr
- Michael Danahay
- Helga Delisle
- Karen Eberle-McCarthy
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- Thomas Strack
- Peter N. Thomas
- Will Thompson
- Don Heinrich Tolzmann
- Johannes Vazulik
- Charity Cannon Willard

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANCE

A special word of appreciation is due Linda Bricker for much of the word processing and editorial assistance attendant to this volume of *SELECTA*.

SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 15, 1994

Edited by
Craig W. Nickisch
Idaho State University

Journal of the
NCFL

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

The Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages is a non-profit organization of language professionals dedicated to improving opportunities for learning foreign languages at all levels in the United States and Canada. Founded in 1950, through its annual conference, the *PNCFL Newsletter, HANDS ON Languages* and *Selecta*, the PNCFL provides a forum for the dissemination and promulgation of information on the teaching and acquisition of foreign languages, cultures and literatures. The PNCFL has been active in prompting unity and cooperation between many language associations.

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Correspondence on subscriptions, advertisements and exchanges should be directed to: Ray Verzasconi, Executive Secretary PNCFL, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97331-4603.

ISSN 0277-0598

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Bilingualism Among German-Speaking Immigrants In Seattle: Additional Language Maintenance Factors

Ursula M. Erdmann
Edmonds Community College

This empirical study examines factors that lend support to maintaining a balanced individual bilingualism in the USA, specifically in the state of Washington. The notion *individual bilingualism* is used here in accordance with Joshua Fishman's terminology of bilingualism as either an individual or a societal phenomenon: individual bilingualism can be part of a societal bilingualism regulated by language policy, as is the case in Switzerland or in Canada, or it can be unrelated to any societal arrangement, as is the case in this study. According to Fishman, societal bilingualism is relatively stable, lasts usually through more than three generations, and supports individual bilingualism by providing a base for a rather rigid and stable compartmentalization. Fishman categorizes societal bilingualism as bilingualism *with* diglossia.[1] Individual bilingualism by itself, however, is not institutionally buttressed. It is an individual behavioral manifestation and grows out of an uncompartmentalized biculturism, categorized by Fishman as bilingualism *without* diglossia.[2] In this context, Fishman introduces the notion *additional language* for a mother tongue that is used intergenerationally in a family or an ethnic group in addition to the official language of the surrounding linguistic environment.[3] This study deals with German as the additional language that is used within the investigated families, along with English as means of communication in the surrounding environment.

The notion *balanced bilingualism* was coined by Harold Schiffman in his study on language use in the German-American Lutheran churches and schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Schiffman defines balanced bilingual speakers as persons equally fluent in two languages for both thinking and communication in all domains and content with the fact that they are bilingual.[4]

The geographic area of this study is the city of Seattle and its surrounding suburban centers. The author has lived in the target district since 1960, she founded the German Language School for Children in Seattle in 1965 as a non-profit organization and headed this school until 1990. This study's sample of forty-one families was chosen randomly from the close to eight hundred families whom the author had met through the German Language School and from an undocumented number of families to whom the author had gained contact in ethnic German-speaking organizations. The sample encompasses twenty-nine families whose children had entered the German Language School in Seattle between 1965 and 1969 and twelve families whose children had never attended any German language supporting school. Observations of the sample subjects continued for twenty-six years.

The German Language School for Children in Seattle, Washington, functions as a supplementary school for the purpose of supporting maintenance of German as an additional language. Being a non-profit organization, this school is politically independent.[5] It is open to all interested students from kindergarten to high school age. Approximately 1200 students attended the school between 1965 and 1990. A communicative approach in teaching has guided the German language program over the past three decades. Emphasis is placed on teaching communicational, literacy, and writing skills, and the program is conducted by accredited teachers. There are ninety-nine contact hours of teaching during the regular school year, primarily on Saturdays, and the importance of one hour of daily homework is emphasized. The curriculum is periodically adjusted to the changing needs of the students. Some teachers have developed their individual material, particularly for the children on the lower elementary level. Classes on upper elementary school, middle school, and high school levels use textbooks and literary texts that are ordered predominantly from publishing houses in German-speaking countries. All this material is in German exclusively. The students on high school level have regularly scored high in the annual standardized test in German that is administered nationwide by the American Association of Teachers of German (AATG).

The former students in this study's sample had entered the school between 1965 and 1969. They came from stable bilingual homes, although some had only one parent as native German speaker whereas the other parent had acquired German to full bilinguality. These non-native German language parents have various ethnic backgrounds. They share, however, the distinct goal of preserving one additional language, here German, as a family language in order to provide the second speaker generation with the advantage of bilingualism.

During the first years of my observations I became aware of the fact that language maintenance efforts in the family need more supportive factors than a supplementary language school alone can offer. It became noticeable that certain students grew more comfortable and content with their bilingualism than others. With the beginning of their teenage years these differences became more pronounced: Some students reached a plateau that allowed them only limited use of German marked by compartmentalization to the family domain, whereas others developed a highly differentiated use of German in oral and written communication that distinguished them as balanced bilingual speakers. Both types of second generation speakers lived in immigrant families with German as the language of the home, but the balanced bilinguals regularly spent time in German speaking countries, some of them for prolonged periods of time. I hypothesized that modern travel opportunities granted a new language supporting factor to post-war immigrants. My observations discovered still another support factor: The immigrant parents of the balanced bilingual speakers had come to the USA as well educated persons with a high proficiency in English. They had been drawn to Seattle by job opportunities in technical industries and in academic fields. Their acquired bilingualism gave them immediate access to professional occupations and, thus, to a successful economic start. This social reward of bilingualism made them socio-linguistic models for their offspring. Before investigating the observed language maintaining factors further it is necessary, however, to look more closely at the status of German as a second/additional language in the USA and how this status changed over the last century.

The United States census of 1980 elicited the following data: 28.3% of Americans, 51.6 million, reported themselves as of German ancestry.[6] According to the United States census of 1990 which contains more detailed questions on language use, German as an additional language to English ranks second after Spanish, and 5.1 million inhabitants of the United States report German as their first language.[7] The same census lists the total population of Washington State, the greater target area of this study, as 4.8 million with 1,391,322 claiming German ancestry, the highest ethnic descent in this state. English ancestry follows with 897,426 residents of the state. However, only 0.6% of the total population of Washington, i.e., 26,504 current inhabitants, claim German as the language spoken in their home.[8]

Extensive research was conducted by a number of scholars on the use of German in the USA and on the linguistic assimilation of German-Americans to English. Studies done by Heinz Kloss are among the most comprehensive on this topic.[9] Harold Schiffman's studies in this line are among the latest.[10] Most of the literature that investigates the question of German-American bilingualism concentrates on mainstream German immigration waves before World War I, i.e., before German immigration was cut off for the first time by war. Immigration continued again after the First World War but was brought to another close by World War II. A new immigration wave from German speaking countries came to the United States after 1945, until the enactment of a revised US immigration policy in 1968 allowed considerably less immigration from Europe. Although German immigration between the two world wars and after the second one was still substantial, it never again even approached the huge numbers of German speaking immigrants that entered the US before and around the turn of the century. The peak year of German immigration was 1882.[11] This was the time when a great number of German immigrant communities were founded, particularly in the mid-western states. Later immigration no longer resulted in the formation of German speaking settlements. This fact explains that most studies on German-American bilingualism concentrate on developments in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. In targeting periods of German mass immigration, research has been primarily concerned with societal bilingualism. During that period, bilingualism with German as the dominant language served as an ethnic identifier in pioneer settlements. Consequently, those studies investigate the question of loyalty to an ethnic speech community versus assimilation to the surrounding English speaking population.[12]

This study investigates intergenerational bilingualism among speakers of German who immigrated to the United States after World War II, between approximately 1953 and 1963, and their children. The first generation of the target population came to the state of Washington from Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. The research project discovered five decisive social differences between the newer immigrants and immigrant waves of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The impact of the following five social factors on language maintenance efforts has to be considered:

1. Most of the immigrant parents in this study are professionals in the fields of science and engineering or in other academic fields. Their educational level is typical for the majority of German speaking immigrants who came to the target area in the 1950s and 1960s, whereas the majority of German speaking immigrants of earlier investigated eras had mostly been farmers, tradesmen and craftsmen.

2. Almost all of the more recent immigrants came to the state of Washington with a good command of English, whereas immigrants of the early periods had, generally, only scant or no competence in English at the time of entry. A high level of education accompanied by proficiency in English as a second language gave the more recent immigrants an immediate economic advantage over earlier monolingual German speaking immigrants who had to start on a low socio-economic level.

3. Immigrant families of this study settled in urban centers with modern industries and academic institutions and they have exclusively lived in English speaking neighborhoods, whereas the investigated earlier immigration moves had preferred rural areas or small communities where the newcomers settled in ethnic clusters with German as the dominant language.

4. Immigrants of the post-World War II period made their move to America for reasons of greater professional opportunities. Many of them, however, although in the majority now US citizens, have remained privately and often also professionally mobile between their new place of residence and their country of origin. Modern means of travel have provided them with opportunities of mobility after their immigration, whereas immigration was the final act of mobility for German speaking immigrants of earlier periods.

5. Earlier and more recent immigrants of German language background met with widely differing socio-political attitudes toward the German language in America. Up to World War I, German language maintenance efforts could rely on a strong support system of ethnic communities, churches, and schools.[13] This support system, however, was totally lost during World War I and after World War II German speaking immigrants encountered an adversity to bilingualism in general and in some cases to German in particular.

With these factors in mind, I monitored the language behavior of a total sample of ninety-four (94) second generation speakers from forty-one (41) families between 1966 and 1992. All the investigated second generation speakers share two common linguistic denominators:

1. They had German as the language of their parental home.

2. They attended American public or private schools for mandatory education.

Otherwise they represent three differing categories: Group A: forty-two (42) speakers attended a German language supporting school, here the German Language School for Children in Seattle, Washington, for at least eight years. Group B: twenty-five (25) speakers attended the German language supporting school for two to three years. Group C: twenty-seven (27) speakers never attended any German language supporting school. Observations of these speakers were not based on structured interviews or questionnaires but on informal personal conversations and discussions with the subjects that took place once or twice a year over a period of twenty-six (26) years. The speakers' language competence was recorded in a journal and was rated as follows:

1. Full bilinguality, i.e., high active and passive language competence in German and English. This requires that the speaker should be able to lead conversations on more sophisticated topics in German as well as in English and that he or she should function in both languages in the effective and the affective domains alike.[14] In Fishman's terms, this would signal bilingualism *without* diglossia as the languages are not compartmentalized, but the speaker uses both of them with equal ease in a public, i.e., effective environment as well as in a more private, i.e., affective situation.

2. Partial bilinguality, i.e., medium active and passive competence in German. This would signal that the speaker's language use is compartmentalized, with German applied primarily in the affective domain, in Fishman's terms bilingualism *with* diglossia.

3. Passive bilinguality with primarily only passive competence in German, since language maintenance efforts had not been supportive enough to keep German viable in any domain.

Observations of the three categories of second generation speakers in this study elicited the following data: None of the twenty-seven (27) speakers in group C qualifies for active competence in German as an additional language, although all these speakers display medium to low passive competence. They qualify as bicultural but not as bilingual. Of a sample of twenty-five (25) speakers in group B, eighteen (18) display medium active competence in German and seven (7) show only low active competence. These seven speakers function slightly in German in the affective domain but not at all in the effective one. They can be categorized as bicultural, not as bilingual. The eighteen persons who fully function in German in the family domain have to converse, however, in English on topics that do not relate to home life. They qualify as partially bilingual. According to Fishman, these eighteen speakers display bilinguality *with* diglossia. Of a sample of forty-two (42) in group A, thirty-six (36) speakers display equally high active and passive competence in German and English in all speech domains, they also read and write in both languages more or less on the same level, and they even function in their occupations in English and German alike. These thirty-six speakers qualify as balanced bilinguals. They are content with their bilinguality and present, in Fishman's terms, bilingualism *without* diglossia. The remaining six speakers in this group display the same features of bilingualism with the exception that they would not be able to function in their occupations in their additional language, i.e., German. Thus, they qualify as bilinguals *with* diglossia.

The thirty-six stable bilingual speakers of this study's total sample attended the German Language School in Seattle for at least eight years, and one might be tempted to credit this language supporting factor with the result of creating balanced bilingual speakers in the second generation of immigrants. This conclusion, however, would not take into consideration additional factors that are needed to stabilize intergenerational use of an additional language. As Fishman puts it: If a school or church language is to be assured inter-generational continuity then these institutions, the bulwark of the written and formal spoken language in most modern societies, must be sufficiently societally protected, societally rewarded and societally rewarding to withstand outside influences on an inter-generational basis.[15] Groups B and C in this study support Fishman's conclusions, insofar as maintenance of an additional language in the home alone does not carry societal rewards, and attendance at a language maintenance supporting school without sufficient societal protection is also not societally rewarding enough to preserve full competence in the additional language. The thirty-six subjects in the sample of second generation speakers who qualify for stable non-compartmentalized bilingualism must have benefitted from more language supporting factors than the two we had considered so far, i.e., a German language environment in the parental home and in the supplementary school . This study has tried to find the other factors that have added language maintenance support for the bilingual speakers. The research findings show three additional factors that have supported German language maintenance efforts in the families of the thirty-six speakers who are fully bilingual:

1. a high educational level and proficiency in English at the time of immigration in the first generation,

2. regular visits in the native country made possible by global travel and business,

3. a new awareness of multiculturism in the United States of America.

In analyzing these three language maintaining factors, I drew the following conclusions:

1. The well educated immigrant parents had succeeded in their occupations and professions without delay because high quality bilinguality, acquired before the time of immigration, had given them an immediate economic advantage over immigrants with poor or no knowledge of English. They have, thus, served as socio-linguistic role models for the second generation.

2. Global travel and business opportunities of the jet-age act as a favorable factor for the maintenance of bilingualism and biculturism because they enable the immigrants and their descendants to keep close and frequent contacts with their countries of origin and to benefit linguistically from regular exposure to new developments and changes in the German language. The parents of the thirty-six fully bilingual second generation speakers in this study exposed their children continuously and conscientiously to bilingualism and biculturism at home, in the German language school, and in German speaking countries at regular intervals.

3. After a time of American linguistic isolationism following World Wars I and II, a growing awareness of multiculturism and diversity has developed in the United States since the enactment of the civil rights laws in the 1960s. The second speaker generation in this study has benefitted from this change in the cultural climate. American-German bilingualism, and bilingualism of English and other additional languages for that matter, has been considered an asset for the past twenty-five years because it has opened new occupational and business opportunities on an international scale. Multicultural awareness in America is, thus, acting as another favorable factor for maintaining an additional language. The thirty-six stable bilingual second generation speakers in this study have fully benefitted from the three new factors that favor additional language maintenance in modern times. These speakers are currently working in places and professions where they can actively apply their bilinguality.[16] In conclusion it should be stated that these thirty-six speakers of a sample of ninety-four are now in their early to mid-thirties. They have their primary residence in Seattle and vicinity, yet they regularly spend time in Austria, Germany, or Switzerland for professional or personal reasons. They represent a new type of a stable individually bilingual speaker of English and German in the state of Washington. Societal rewards, as coined by Fishman, are received from a multicultural society on an international level, not from a nationally confined society or an ethno-cultural minority group.

Further studies will be needed to evaluate continued intergenerational American-German bilingualism for the third generation of this investigated speech group. However, a strong bicultural component in friendships and marriages can be observed among the bilingually competent second generation speakers of this sample. That component is re-enforced by continued connections with central European countries and by some renewed efforts to raise the next generation in bicultural and bilingual ways that have proved beneficial.

Notes

1. Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective* (Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1989) p. 185.

2. Fishman p. 184.

3. Fishman pp. 184-186.

4. Harold F. Schiffman, "Losing the Battle for Balanced Bilingualism: The German-American Case," *Language Problems and Language Planning*, ed. Jonathan Pool, 11 (1987) pp. 66-81.

5. The administrative business of the German Language School for Children in Seattle, Washington is conducted by a board of directors that is elected from and by the full membership, i.e., the parents of the students. The board members serve for a minimum of two years and without financial gain. The board of directors appoints the principal and the vice principal, who are responsible for developing a curriculum and hiring qualified teachers. The school rents classroom space from an accredited independent private school. Rental charges, teachers' remuneration, and insurance are covered by an annual student tuition and by funds endowed to the school through donations. Textbooks and additional material are available for a fee.

6. US Bureau of the Census, *Twentieth Census of the United States: 1980*. I. Population.

7. US Bureau of the Census, *Twenty-First Census of the United States: 1990*. I. Population.

8. Scott Maier and Barbara Laker, "Washington State: Foreign-born shaped profile more than in any decade since the '20s," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 8 May 1992: p. A4.

9. Heinz Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman, (The Hague: Mouton, 1966) pp. 206-252.

10. Harold F. Schiffman, "The Balance of Power in Multiglossic Languages: Implications for Language Shift," *Language and Society Papers: Linguistic Decisions* 4 (Seattle: U of Washington, 1990).

11. Schiffman, "Balance of Power," p. 16.

12. Heinz Kloss, "Types of Multilingual Communities," *Sociological Inquiry* 36 2 (1966)

13. Schiffman, "Losing the Battle."

14. Ursula M. Erdmann, "Language Maintenance versus Assimilation," *ZDL Beihefte* 70 (1992), p. 56: The linguistic domain which is governed by emotions ... will be referred to hereafter as *affective* domain. It encompasses close relationships in the family, with friends and relatives, religious thoughts and expressions, and all other speech acts that convey intimate personal feelings. The affective domain is the realm where language loyalty is primarily supported by emotional ties to traditional allegiances.... The linguistic domain which is function oriented ... will be referred to hereafter as *effective* domain. In this domain language use is influenced by social customs or rules that help the speaker function effectively in public ..., it is the realm of public activity and it includes the work place and public dealings of various kinds.

15. Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity*, p. 179.

16. The thirty-six stable bilingual speakers currently hold job positions where their language skills can be considered beneficial: eight are business professionals in multinational companies with branches in the United States, Switzerland, and Germany; two are attorneys specializing in international law; nine are engineering professionals in US companies that deal extensively with firms in German speaking countries; three are active in urban planning; four are physicians who spent periods of study time in central Europe; one is an art historian; two are teachers of German; three spent several years in Germany or Austria in order to complete an apprenticeship in a chosen trade that is now the foundation of their own business in the United States.

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Bilingualism and the Paradox of US Language Policy

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Language professionals are aware that the policy of the Federal Government has been to promote the acquisition of foreign language proficiency for native speakers of English. This has been true since the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958. The Federal Government has also promoted bilingual education as a remedial strategy to teach English to minority children since the passage of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) in 1968. Bilingual education programs are not designed to maintain the ethnic languages of the minority populations served. In recent years the language policy of the Federal Government has been criticized. On the one hand it promotes foreign language acquisition, while on the other it appears to encourage the loss of ethnic languages among the groups served by bilingual education programs. James Crawford, one of the most well-known critics of Federal language policy, has gone so far as to claim that it is guided by "schizophrenia" because foreign language proficiency is promoted for English speakers while "bilingualism" is perceived as a social problem to be addressed with "remedial" bilingual education programs for minorities (Crawford 253).

This paper will illustrate that Federal policy is not schizophrenic and has been developed in order to serve the best interests of both English speakers and minority groups. In order to clearly understand our federal language policy, it will be helpful to review the history of the legislation pertaining to bilingual education. In 1968, a series of bills promoting educational programs specifically for students of limited English-speaking ability (LESA) were merged into a single measure known as the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) which was adopted under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This legislation enables school districts with significant populations of LESA students to apply for federal funds in order to provide programs to ease their integration into the mainstream of public education.

The BEA primarily addressed the Hispanic population, and was largely a voluntary program designed to make LESA students proficient in English while encouraging the teaching of native language skills and cultural heritage. As they were learning English, the students received subject area instruction in their native tongue until they were proficient enough to be mainstreamed. A short six years later, in 1974, native language instruction became a civil right when the Supreme Court issued its ruling in the now famous "Lau vs. Nichols" case. The Court granted relief to nearly 3000 students of Chinese ancestry in San Francisco who argued they were entitled to legal protection against a school system that provided instruction in a language they did not speak. The Court decision was based on Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This was an unprecedented turn of events in a nation which, until this time, promoted the need for a unifying language to hold its cultural mosaic together.

As a result of this momentous 1974 Court decision, the BEA was again amended in 1975 to include some critically important provisions loosely referred to as the "Lau Remedies". The first of these mandated that, in order to receive funding for LESA students, school districts were required to provide instruction in the students' native language. Another important amendment mandated bicultural instruction which would emphasize the cultural history of the students in the bilingual program.

In 1978 the BEA was again amended to change the definition of the student population from those with "limited English speaking ability" to those with "limited English proficiency" (LEP). This led to the expansion of the pool of eligible applicants and resulted in a longer period of transition to the mainstream classroom. The programs funded under the BEA are designed as "Transitional Bilingual Education" (TBE) programs in which students receive instruction in subject matter areas in their native languages until they become proficient enough in English to make the transition to the mainstream classroom. Such programs are "transitional" in the sense that students are expected to make the switch to the standard curriculum after three or four years of instruction in English language skills. This is the pedagogical approach that quickly became institutionalized to meet the goals of BEA legislation.

To this day the proponents of TBA programs, in spite of their best efforts, have failed to show that such programs are successful. To be sure, the task is complex, the teacher shortage extreme, the numbers of students who qualify large and the logistics so impossible that it will be some time before reliable data becomes available. Until now every major study of bilingual education programs employing the TBA approach has revealed that they are failing (Crawford 220-226, Chavez 19-26).

As a result of the evidence indicating that the TBE model for bilingual education has failed to produce successful students, the 1988 reauthorization of the BEA mandates that twenty-five percent of grant funds may be used for instructional programs that do not follow the TBA model. This is in contrast to four to ten percent in previous authorizations. The new mandate will allow use of federal funds for immersion programs in which all instruction is given in English by a bilingual teacher who provides native-language assistance when needed, and for programs of English as a Second Language (ESL). ESL allows the schools to concentrate on teaching English language skills as a first priority and reduce the amount of time students spend in bilingual classrooms. Both approaches place very little emphasis upon maintaining native language skills and would clearly lead to a decreased emphasis on the teaching of native cultures. Former Secretary of Education, William Bennet, testifying in favor of the bill, took the position that the primary goal of bilingual programs is to make non-English speaking students proficient in English. Opponents argue that, if schools are allowed to choose alternative methods of instruction, they will choose to place emphasis on the method facilitating the most rapid acquisition of English and minority children will quickly lose their sense of cultural heritage. This point is well taken and it illustrates the apparent paradox of federal policy toward foreign language teaching.

This paradox might be stated in the following manner: "The study of native languages should be eliminated from bilingual education programs in favor of methods that foster the most rapid acquisition of English while, at the same time, every American student should learn a foreign language." Former Secretary of Education, William Bennet, championed the teaching of foreign languages when he was Chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities and took the same position as a Reagan cabinet member, when he testified in favor of alternate methods of bilingual education (Crawford 217).

The report of The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education reached a parallel conclusion when it recommended that federal funds supporting bilingual programs be used to teach non-English speaking children English language skills and that, "every American public school student have the opportunity to acquire proficiency in a second language" (20th C Fund 10).

This contradictory set of conclusions has been labeled as "transparent hypocrisy," and as a "blatant contradiction" by one of the more persuasive and scholarly proponents of bilingual education, Ana Celia Zentella (37). Critics like Zentella and Crawford may very well have adopted such a disingenuous attitude in order to make their criticism of federal policy appear more persuasive. However, they must be aware that "official" policy does not support the expenditure of federal dollars for the purpose of maintaining the language and cultural heritage of immigrant groups. This policy decision would be unacceptable to the public; because it would raise issues impossible to resolve in favor of immigrant groups.

Once language skills disappear between the second and third generations, the fourth becomes the first to be raised by parents who cannot speak the native tongue of their ethnic group. While some measure of ethnic distinctiveness will endure, the loss of language severs the vital link to the cultural past. As children reach adolescence, linguistic ability becomes lateralized, usually in the left side of the brain, through an anatomically demonstrable process of hemispheric specialization (Konner 160). Once this process is completed, it becomes more difficult to acquire native fluency in a second language for a variety of reasons (Brown 51).

Language is not just a phonological system of sounds but the very means by which we develop a sense of individual and cultural unicity. Peter Reynolds has observed that humans can acquire any phonological system they are exposed to as infants just as white-crowned sparrows can learn any song of their species they are exposed to as nestlings. He further observes that, "as in the white-crowned sparrows, the historical continuity of human language can be interrupted at any point by rearing children in different linguistic environments, but the new language immediately locks in and begins anew the process of historical continuity" (33).

It is this historically imbedded tradition of human continuity which is interrupted when ethnic groups lose their language. While it is possible to retain aspects of ethnic distinctiveness, the vital link to the cultural past has been severed and eventually, the majority culture becomes the focus for one's identity and allegiance. Of course this process will be resisted by ethnic groups because they understand the role of language in preserving cultural identity.

For example, in the inaugural issue of the Spanish-language magazine *MAS*, the Editorial Director, Enrique Fernandez, states his rationale for publishing a Spanish language magazine of national scope in terms of ethnic group unity. He characterizes Spanish as the "linguistic cement" of Hispanic unity. He observes the irony of the fact that the national heroes of Latin American independence all dreamed in vain of a united Latin America only to emigrate to the US where real Latin American unity has been finally realized. Near the end of his editorial, he asks rhetorically if there can be a Latin American people more conscious of their Hispanic unity than those living in the US (6).

There is clearly a role for ethnic leaders themselves in fostering the preservation of their heritage. Unfortunately, the expression of such efforts engenders fears about the potential development of future disharmony and conflict as America moves in the direction of becoming a balkanized society. At the extreme end of the scale of reactionary responses to such fears lurk the lobbyists of "US English" and "English First" who are working to promote an English Language Amendment to the US Constitution which would declare English as the official language. The April 9, 1990 issue of *Time* dedicated its lead story to reasoned exploration of these issues.

Whether reasonable or unreasonable, those who would dismiss such concerns as ethnocentric, racist or otherwise ill-founded, would do well to familiarize themselves with the wealth of literature on the role of language in ethnic conflict (De Vos and Romanucci). Even James Crawford, an opponent of the official emphasis on the early and rapid acquisition of English in bilingual programs, admits that we need to pay attention to the Canadian example of Quebec as a "cautionary example" which should warn us of the dangers of linguistic balkanization (235). An examination of the literature concerning ethnic conflict (Horowitz) and language acquisition leaves no doubt that language differences can lead to and exacerbate ethnic tensions.

It is therefore an entirely reasonable policy to advocate an official position that favors the early acquisition of English in bilingual education programs even if this comes at the expense of the maintenance of native languages and cultures. This position is not at all at odds with the position that every American public school student should have the opportunity to acquire proficiency in a second language. There is an enormous difference between promoting the learning of a second language and promoting a linguistically based cultural separatism which lends itself to the political manipulation of special interest groups.

The reasons for acquiring proficiency in a second language are well known and often repeated in the media. One of the earliest, and certainly the most unabashedly nationalistic arguments, was made by Mario A. Pei in a book published just after the Second World War and aptly titled: *Language for War and Peace*. Pei suggests that the learning of foreign languages will serve our national interests in the postwar world which is, "destined, by reason of the constant advances in mechanical civilization and the spiritual point of view to become more and more a single political, economic and cultural unit" (14).

This wonderful old book is scarcely read any more, but its message is still embraced even by foreign language professionals of today. The Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages is a prestigious national organization which sponsors an annual conference for foreign language educators. This organization's *Newsletter* of September, 1989 reproduced the text of the keynote address given that year by Congresswoman Claudine Schneider of Rhode Island. Portions of her address are reminiscent of Pei's position. She says: "Right now, we are involved in a war. Despite our F-16's, despite our missiles and various warheads, despite all of these things it is a war that we are ill-equipped to fight. We are in an economic war" (18).

Congresswoman Schneider is the co-founder of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus, a two-hundred member bi-partisan legislative organization which is charged with developing initiatives to strengthen the performance of American companies in the global marketplace. She wishes to add another "weapon" to the U. S. "arsenal", strategic languages, and thus is an advocate of second language learning in our public school system. This is precisely the same attitude expressed by the authors of the Twentieth Century Task Force.

Even proponents of native language/cultural maintenance have attempted to use this argument in order to promote their agenda. Zentella has suggested that bilingual programs using the traditional TBE approach be protected because minority language students constitute a resource we should not waste. In her view, minority language students, having preserved their linguistic skills, can then become a resource to help develop national foreign language competencies (37). Crawford suggests much the same thing when he suggests we enlist speakers of other languages to assist in helping Anglo-Americans in overcoming their monolingualism. He says "Language conservation offers a more realistic hope of increasing our linguistic talent than the current reliance on foreign language instruction" (252). Neither suggests any practical way in which the legions of speakers of other languages will somehow be appropriately educated and integrated into the public education system in order to save the nation.

The position they take in this regard is rather cynical since their real agenda is the preservation of native languages at all costs. Zentella commits herself as strongly to the preservation of native languages as to the mastery of English (38). Both are aware that if current trends continue, the process of assimilating ethnic minorities will proceed as it has in the past. Joshua Fishman, whose research is cited by both Zentella and Crawford, has indicated that: "Neither the revival of ethnic awareness in the United States during the late 1960's and early 1970's nor the bilingual education movement of the same era seems to provide any major promise for the long-range maintenance of most language and ethnic heritage in the United States" (637). While we have all been made aware of the rapid rate at which our Hispanic population is increasing according to the new census data, most Hispanics aspire to join the American mainstream. The results of The Latino National Political Survey, recently reported in an essay by Richard Brookhiser in the March 1, 1993 issue of *Time* reveals that Americans of Latin American origin prefer to think of themselves as urban Americans (72). Crawford cites the current research which indicates that the rate of linguistic assimilation is not slowing down at all, but is actually speeding up (126-127). He then proceeds to advocate the conservation of native languages and suggests language choice should be a constitutional right. This right, he insists, is currently being violated and he suggests, amazingly, that, "tomorrow's balkanization thrives on today's denial of minority rights" (26).

Ultimately, all of those who advocate the retention of native languages and cultures do so by appealing to our sense of fairness. They, at least on the surface, appeal to the Civil Rights legislation which was the basis for the Lau decision. They assert that no one can be denied the right to full participation, not only in the system of public education, but in society at large because of linguistic and cultural differences. This is not a responsible position to take because it ignores the body of research on language acquisition, pays no heed to the research on the role of language in ethnic conflict and avoids the central question of the viability of such a position as public policy.

Perhaps the worst failing of those who hold such a position is that, by opposing serious revisions to the manner in which minority language children are taught, they are ultimately responsible for denying them the very rights they pretend to defend. If there is any true "blatant hypocrisy" in this debate, this is where it lies. It is precisely the ability of an individual to participate fully in society which is, according to Pedalino Porter, denied to those who exit from our public school system with serious linguistic deficiencies: "Unable to communicate adequately in the language of the society, one then is unable to participate equally and at first hand, without intermediaries, in the communal life of a free society" (164). In his moving account of his experience of growing up as an underprivileged Mexican-American child and learning English, Richard Rodriguez observes that "middle class ethnics" scorn assimilation and tend to trivialize the problems that the socially disadvantaged encounter in a linguistically alien society (22).

A national language policy must focus on the needs of the population it serves and not be dictated by the philosophical or political agendas of interest groups of educated, middle class professionals. It must take into account the realities of the process of public policy decision-making. The 1988 amendments to the BEA encouraging alternate methods of teaching LEP students is a step in the right direction. The rapid acquisition of English language proficiency is the best guarantee that students will be able to participate fully in the communal life of American society. We must come to grips with the fact that the public education system will never have the resources to adequately fund programs designed to maintain mother-tongue proficiency. We must also understand that the acquisition of English language proficiency for minority language speakers is an issue completely separate from the promotion of second language learning for native speakers of English.

Neither law nor judicial decree have established linguistic and cultural maintenance as objectives of bilingual education. The most important and beneficial change that needs to take place is a modification of bilingual legislation to prioritize funding for those programs which document that they teach English and integrate students into school curriculums quickly and efficiently.

However, we cannot ignore the fact that the loss of one's native language has serious implications. The most important debate on educational policy should focus on how schools include the teaching of race and ethnicity in the curriculum. We must focus on this question if we are ever going to seriously engender a climate of cultural self-esteem for minority children and, at the same time, develop an ethic of inclusion and tolerance for cultural differences among future generations of majority culture students. Our history and the research on immigrant groups makes it clear that the process of assimilation will continue to characterize the American experience for future immigrants. Those who would hold out the false hope of maintaining the linguistic and cultural traditions of these groups as part of a national education policy only succeed in creating a climate of divisiveness and delay the development of true racial and ethnic tolerance.

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Applying the Findings of a Sociolinguistic Study to Teaching German: The German Tenses

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The structural and semantic complexity of the German tense system has consistently attracted scholarly inquiry.[1] The actual use of the tense forms, in particular in spoken German, on the other hand, has received relatively little attention. There is abundant information on the formation and meaning of the tenses, but little systematic work on their realization in everday speech.[2] This has affected both German grammars and foreign language textbooks: the leading grammars provide little insight into spoken German.[3] Textbooks, which rely on standard grammars, largely present (written) standard forms, but seldom refer to alternative forms in colloquial German. In the case of the German tenses, current textbooks focus on their construction but pay much less attention to their spoken uses. Indeed, they present grammatical structures, including tense forms, in strikingly similar ways. To achieve the goal of engaging students in authentic communication, we must use current, empirical data on native speech to update foreign language textbooks.

This article will first describe the current linguistic situation in Germany, then provide a brief overview of the German tense system and its presentation in leading German textbooks. Finally, it will report on study on tense in spoken German and its implications for the foreign language syllabus.

1. The German Linguistic Situation

German has a written standard, the traditional dialects, and the colloquial standard.[4] This speech variety of everday interaction dominates urban areas, but also surrounding regions, where it has virtually replaced the traditional dialects. Where they still exist, the traditional dialects are restricted to small rural populations, and generally lower social strata.[5] The colloquial standard will, however, accommodate some dialect features of a particular region, usually phonetic and also lexical, and it shares, of course, many elements with the formal standard. Similarly, the written standard may incorporate characteristics of the colloquial standard and even traditional dialects. However, the written standard, formalized by standard grammars, is the most stable and least tolerant. Keller, as early as 1978, described the German linguistic situation as a continumm by referring to two poles and the fluid form of the colloquial standard in between them. Current models use the term continuum more explicitly and place colloquial speech between the formal standard and the traditional dialects.[6] Indeed, it is the colloquial standard that constitutes the continuum.

German grammars and also orthographical and phonological guides define the formal standard, which is considered the norm.[7] Colloquial speech, on the other hand, has not been fully documented, although scholars have pointed out consistent phonological characteristics, and also features of the lexicon and the syntax. Keller points out that the colloquial standard does not diverge from the formal standard in its basic sentence structures, but rather the application of grammar. For example, the colloquial standard prefers analytic verb forms and coordinate word order.[8] This existence of a colloquial standard carries important implications for the foreign language classroom, in particular for teaching grammar. When teaching spoken language we need to inform students that one of its most important features is grammatical variation. The particular grammatical form of an utterance always represents just one of several structures possible. Furthermore, grammatical features vary from one standard to the other. A given form may be appropriate in the written, but not the colloquial standard, and vice versa. While this paper is limited to the tense forms, the same applies to other areas, such as mood, active/passive, and word order.

2.1. The German Tense System

German has two grammatical tenses, present and past. To refer to an event in the past, speakers use either the synthetic preterite (*er schrieb*), or the analytic perfect with an auxiliary (*haben* or *sein*) and a participle (*er hat geschrieben, er ist gelaufen*). Synthetic refers to clause formation with a single verb, for example, 'he went,' analytic to clauses with at least two, e.g., 'he has gone.' In the majority of contexts, the two past tense forms, preterite and perfect, are interchangeable and functionally identical. How speakers resolve the competition between the two forms is discussed in the next section.

The past perfect, for farther removed events, is formed similarly to the perfect, but with the auxiliary in the past (*er hatte geschrieben, er war gelaufen*). It is a relative tense, since its time reference depends on that of another tense, the preterite.

The future can be expressed with a periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *werden*, as, for example in *er wird schreiben*, or the present tense if the future reference is otherwise clear (*er schreibt morgen*). The future perfect (*er wird bald geschrieben haben*) can be replaced by the perfect (*er hat bald geschrieben*) with a future adverb, such as tomorrow or soon.

Systematic descriptions of the tenses are often based on the distinction between synthetic and analytic tense formation. Thus standard grammatical works refer to the synthetic tenses, (present and preterite) as main, and to the analytic tenses (perfect, past perfect, future, and future perfect) as secondary.

2.2.1. Presentation of the Tenses in Four Current Textbooks

Present and Future: The four textbooks first introduce the German present tense and its multiple English meanings.[9] Three of the four textbooks stress that the present tense is commonly used to refer to future events if the context clearly establishes the future time reference. Even though the textbook examples always include a future adverb, for example *morgen*, in the same sentence, one should view context more broadly. The forth textbook equates the future use of the present tense in German with English, although in English it is the auxiliary 'is going to' that occurs in the present tense rather than the main verb.

All of the textbooks delay the future with *werden* until one of the final chapters. Three emphasize its use as necessary only when the context does not suffice, but otherwise as limited to special emphasis. One of the four, however, interprets context much more narrowly and makes the future with *werden* obligatory when no specific time reference, i.e., a temporal adverb, exists. At the same time they introduce the future as a tense, the texts also mention its modal use (probability) for both present and future reference.

2.2.2. Perfect and Preterite

The perfect form for all main verbs is taught early in all four texts as the past tense for conversation. Two include the preterite for both *haben* and *sein* in the same chapter, and one introduces *war* separately before the perfect. The preterite for main verbs does not appear until almost the end in three texts. The forth textbook teaches the conversational use of the preterite with *haben*, *sein*, *werden*, *wissen* and the modals in the same chapter as the preterite of main verbs for recognition. Two texts adopt the traditional distinction between the perfect as the past tense form for conversational exchanges and the preterite for connected, usually written narratives. One text teaches the perfect for conversations and the preterite for recognition in written German. The fourth text offers the most thorough analysis of the past tense uses and assigns the perfect to spoken German and also informal writing, and the preterite to mostly written German and more formal situations.

2.2.3. Past Perfect

All four texts introduce the past perfect with the preterite as a relative tense that places one past event before another. Thus, almost all examples of the past perfect occur in complex sentences, for example with *nachdem*. Two texts teach its use as obligatory in German where the preterite regularly occurs in English, as in: *Nachdem ich ein Aspirin genommen* (PCPL) *hatte* (AUX PRET), *ging* (PRET) *es mir viel besser*. The third text teaches it only for recognition, but it does not explain why its production is not necessary, nor does it provide students with alternative ways of sequencing events.

3.1. The Study: Data Collection Methodology

Over a period of three months during the summer of 1989 interviews were conducted with seventy-five native German speakers in the city of Nürnberg. The one-on-one interview is considered the most reliable source of speech data; other sources can be used to supplement interview data.[10]

After eight representative sets of one to four districts were identified, the Nürnberg city directory was used to select an nth number of residents, for example every seventh or every tenth, in a representative street.[11] Letters, which stated the purpose of the study as "an investigation of the speech in the city of Nürnberg," were dropped at 300 different residences. A follow-up phone call then set up an appointment, for which only native Germans over eighteen were eligible. Forty-six females and twenty-nine males participated in the 30- to 45-minute, tape-recorded interviews.

The success of a sociolinguistic interview depends on the interaction between the interviewer and the participants. As a former resident I could discuss the participants' concerns as citizens, which helped make the interviews natural and informal.

3.2. Results

The following three sections will show the distribution of the tense forms, give examples of the contexts in which they occur, and then discuss pedagogical implications. The first table shows the frequencies for all tense forms.[12] The future perfect never occurred, and its substitute form, the perfect with future reference, only twice.

Table 1: Distribution of All Tense Forms

TENSE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Present	3848	51.3
Perfect	1895	25.3
Preterite	1532	20.4
Past Perfect	108	1.4
Elliptic Perfect	95	1.3
Double Perfect	13	0.2
Future with *werden*	9	0.1
Non-Past	3857	51.4
Past	3643	48.6

The topics of the interviews promoted reference to both the participants' current situation and their past experiences. Non-past (present and future forms) and past (preterite, perfect, and past and double perfect) are almost equally distributed.

3.2.1. Present Tense and Future

The present tense in German, as in English, can refer to all time frames, present, future, and past:

Table 2: Present Tense and Time Reference

REFERENCE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Present Time	2896	75.26
Past Time	381	9.90
Future Time	335	8.71
No Time Reference	230	5.98
Past Before Past	6	0.16
Totals	**3848**	**100**

The category "no time reference" separates gap-filling phrases and formulaic expressions from events set in a specific temporal frame. Future time reference, which is common for the present tense, occurred infrequently in the interviews only because the topics discussed focussed on the speakers' present and past experiences. While the use of the present tense for future time is unmarked, speakers achieve special effects when they switch from past to present tense during a past narrative.[13] The present tense transports an event into the "right now" and dramatizes it for the listener. On the other hand, a simultaneous switch to third or second from first person removes the personal aspect and makes an experience or event more generally valid. In the following example, a speaker describes her previous neighborhood: *Des Schlimmste war* (PRET) *eigentlich diese Häuserfluten. Na du gehst* (PRES) *halt einfach durch von zu Hause zum Kaufmarkt, ... is* (PRES) *nie irgendwas, Schaufenster, irgendwas, wo's de was anschauen kannst* (PRES). The speaker shifts from a personal experience of living in the "floods of houses" to a universal description of modern life, marking this shift with the "timeless" present tense as well as the use of second and third person.

Textbooks do not mention this use of the present tense, although it regularly occurs (just as it does in colloquial English), probably because standard German grammars do not describe such colloquial uses. However, if we desire to teach students conversational German, we should expose students to additional meanings of the tenses that do not correspond to the written norm. Indeed, such variation is what spoken language is all about.

3.2.2. Past Tense: Perfect and Preterite

When comparing the two dominating past tense forms, preterite and perfect, the use of the preterite with 20.4% appears only slightly lower than the perfect forms with 25.3%, or 26.6% when elliptic perfect forms are included.[14] However, the preterite's strong presence is largely due to its frequent use with *sein* as Table 3 shows:

Table 3: Preterite for Auxiliaries[15], Modals and Main Verbs

VERB TYPE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
sein	1036	67.62
Modals	247	16.12
Main Verbs	150	9.79
haben	85	5.55
werden	14	0.92
Totals	**1532**	**100**

The table shows the relative frequencies of the preterite with the *haben*, *sein* and *werden* (referred to as auxiliaries in the heading), the modals and main verbs. The next table shows the different verb types with the perfect:

Table 4: Perfect for Auxiliaries[15], Modals, and Main Verbs

VERB TYPE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Main Verbs	1770	88.9
haben	104	5.2
sein	40	2.1
Modals	40	2.1
werden	35	1.7
Totals	**1989**	**100**

While speakers almost always use the preterite with *sein* and also the modals (which only occurred in 40 instances with the perfect), they prefer the perfect for main verbs and shift between the two forms for *haben*. Only the high-frequency main verbs, *kommen, gehen* and *es gab* appear regularly with the preterite. Otherwise, as Table 5 shows, speakers employ it sparingly, though more frequently with irregular than regular verbs:

Table 5: Frequencies of Main Verbs With Preterite

	Frequency	Percent
High Frequency Verbs		
gehen	29	19.34
kommen	28	18.66
es gab	15	10.00
Subtotal	72	48.00
Irregular Verbs	Frequency	Percent
finden, stehen, wissen	21 (7x3)	14.00
ziehen	6	4.00
fallen, kennen	8 (4x2)	5.33
denken, liegen	6 (3x2)	4.00
fahren, lassen, laufen, sitzen, sprechen, scheinen	12 (2x6)	8.00
beginnen, bleiben, heißen, schießen	4(1x4)	2.67
Subtotal	57	38.00
Regular Verbs	Frequency	Percent
brauchen	3	2.00
kennenlernen, wohnen, machen	6 (2x3)	4.00
auftauchen, dienen, fragen, glauben, hören, packen, meinen, passen, rollen, stellen, suchen, wundern	12 (1x12)	8.00
Subtotal	21	14.00
Total	**150**	**100**

These findings, which confirm and expand on previous observations on the two competing past tense forms, have important implications for the foreign language syllabus. Most first-year textbooks first teach the perfect for conversational purposes and then the preterite, mostly for recognition in written German. Although they explain its conversational use, they delay the preterite for the modals until much later, and none includes the preterite of high frequency verbs. This encourages students to place the emphasis on the structure of the tenses rather than their use, since the two tenses that native speakers mix in conversation are largely taught separately. In other words, students will associate the perfect with conversation and the preterite with written German, but will not differentiate between the different verb types. The syllabus should introduce, together, the perfect for main verbs, the preterite for *sein*, the modals and *kam* and *ging* as lexical items, and both forms for *haben*. This will provide students with authentic forms to express past experiences in spoken, informal German.

The preterite with main verbs is associated with formal, written German, but also occurs in public speech such as newscasts, public discussions, and lectures. Its particular status in conversational German provides a vehicle for introducing students to the communicative uses of a marked grammatical form. If the preterite occurs with verbs other than the high-frequency verbs in conversation, it may signal the beginning of a past narrative, as the following example illustrates. The speaker "announces" a past experience with such phrases as 'for example,' and 'don't know if this fits here,' which also indicate her heightened awareness of the narrative situation: *Ich bin* (AUX PRES) *da mal, zum Beispiel, durch'n Park gegangen*, (PCPL) *weiß* (PRES) *net, das paßt* (PRES) *jetzt vielleicht net so ganz her*. After making the listener aware that she is about to "tell a story," she says: *Da saßen* (PRET) *halt zwei Fixer auf der Bank, es war* (PRET) *nachmittach, die Sonne hat* (AUX PRES) *geschienen* (PCPL). The first sentence of the narrative contains the preterite form 'sat' before the story continues with the perfect. The preterite sets the stage for this "story," before the speaker switches to the perfect for the majority of the narrative. This contradicts the traditional classification of the preterite as the preferred form for connected narratives, which still appears in several current textbooks. Instead, the perfect (for main verbs) dominates in spoken German in all contexts, narrative and conversational. Precisely because it does not usually occur in spoken German, not even in narratives, the marked preterite can perform functions such as the one described above. It is not so important to teach students one particular function, but rather that speakers use the grammatical features of a language for their own communicative purposes.

3.2.3. Past perfect

According to the data, the past perfect plays only a minor role in spoken German. Lexical means, for example temporal adverbs, usually suffice to establish reference to farther removed events. German textbooks, however, make the past perfect obligatory in a complex sentence with two past time frames: *Bevor wir in den Urlaub fuhren* (PRET), *hatten wir alle Rechnungen bezahlt* (PAST PERFECT). Neither the complex construction as a whole nor the past perfect much occur in colloquial German. Even if a speaker used the 'before'-construction, the utterance would more likely appear like this: *Bevor wir ... gefahren sind* (PERFECT), *haben wir ... bezahlt* (PERFECT). Since the adverb *bevor* marks the sequence, the past perfect becomes unnecessary. In fact, in the interviews speakers used the past perfect more often when the context did not otherwise make the time of the event clear. The past perfect, then, should not be taught as an obligatory form in the complex construction with *bevor* or *nachdem*, but as just one of many ways (and indeed the least common one) of temporally situating an event. This approach to teaching grammar has particular significance in a classroom that encourages students to create with the language. Creating with the language entails making grammatical choices.

4. Summary

For many students, the foreign language classroom is an introduction not only to the structure of a language, but, more importantly, to the idea of language as communication. This creates the opportunity to sensitize students to issues relevant for all languages, such as the existence of multiple standards and variation in speech. Therefore, the uses of grammatical structures, which vary from one standard to the other and also within the colloquial standard, need to receive greater attention.

Even though most textbooks emphasize communication, they also largely follow a traditional sequence for their presentation of grammatical structures such as the tenses. For example, even though they mention the conversational use of the preterite with modals, they nevertheless teach it at the same time as the perfect for main verbs. Similarly, the past perfect is introduced as obligatory in a two-clause construction with two past events, although in spoken German alternative ways of sequencing events are much more dominant.

In addition to teaching students how to form the tenses, we should encourage them to experiment with the possibilities each form offers. A switch to the present tense when telling a past event is not necessarily a mistake, but may fulfill a particular communicative function, for example distancing oneself from the event. Similarly, students should be introduced to the past perfect as only one of several ways of sequencing events in the past.

Students learn a number of different tenses in their first year of language study. Textbooks tend to present the uses of grammatical structures as yet another set of rules rather than a range of communicative possibilities. But rules alone cannot predict which tense is going to be used. Instead, speakers choose from a range of forms to express their own meaning. That is also what we want students to do.

Notes

1. Examples: Glinz (1969), Gelhaus (1969), Admoni (1970), Kroeger (1977), Latzel (1977), Fabricius-Hansen (1986), Leiss (1992).

2. General studies on spoken German have only appeared sporadically, for example Bresson, Daniel *et al. Zur gesprochenen deutschen Umgangssprache* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1982). These works do not include broad, systematic data collection. A recent guide to current German usage is Durell and Martin. *Using German. A guide to Contemporary Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992). Brief descriptions (in Durrell's case about three pages), though useful, do not meet the need of systematic, empirical investigations into the current use of the German tenses.

3. Duden. *Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. 4th Edition (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1984). Also Heinz Griesbach. *Neue Deutsche Grammatik* (München: Max Hueber, 1986). Gerhard Helbig and Joachim Buscha. *Deutsche Grammatik. Ein Handbuch für den Ausländerunterricht*, 3rd edition (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1989).

4. *Umgangssprache* translates as the 'language of interaction'. English equivalents include colloquial speech, colloquial standard, and colloquial German. Colloquial standard, used here, best represents the generally accepted form of every-day communication.

5. Michael Clyne. *Language and Society in the German-Speaking Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), pp. 50-51.

6. Stephen Barbour and Patrick Stephenson. *Variation in German. A Critical Guide to German Sociolinguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990).

7. Duden. *Rechtschreibung der deutschen Sprache und der Fremdwörter*, 17th ed. (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1974a). Duden. *Aussprachewörterbuch*, Vol 6 (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1974b).

8. R. E. Keller. *The German Language* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1978), p. 522.

9. Di Donato, Clyde and Vansant. *Deutsch Na Klar. An Introductory German Course* (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1991). Terrell, Genzmer, Nikolai and Tschirner. *Kontakte*. 2nd edition (NY: Random

House, 1992). Widmaier and Widmaier. *Treffpunkt Deutsch: A Student-Centered Approach* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1991). Moeller and Liedloff. *Deutsch heute* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988).

10. William Labov. *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1972), p. 209: "No matter what other methods may be used to obtain samples of speech (group sessions, anonymous observation), the ony way to obtain sufficient good data on the speech of any one person is through an individual, tape-recorded interview ...."

11. The *Statistisches Amt* of the city has identified the dominant social marking for urban districts, determined by the population's occupational and educational levels.

12. Past perfect and past subjunctive forms are listed together under past perfect in this table. The double perfect mostly occurs in Southern Germany and refers to the "past before past." It is formed with two participles, as in *Er hat das gesagt gehabt*.

13. The substitution of the present tense for a past tense has traditionally been called the historical or narrative present tense; see Nessa Wolfson. *The Conversational Historical Present in American English Narrative* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1982).

14. The elliptic form consists of the present tense form of the auxiliary *sein* (only seldom *haben*) and a locative, for example *zu* or *in*.

15. For the sake of simplicity, "auxiliary" here also refers to their use alone.

Construction d'une Nation: Influence et Exploitation de l'Histoire Romaine dans la France Révolutionnaire

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Comme l'indique Paul Martin, "l'influence des philosophes du XVIII^e siècle sur la pensée révolutionnaire de 1789 est connue et point n'est besoin de la démontrer. Ce qui a été moins mis en valeur, c'est l'influence des événements passés sur ladite Révolution" (217). En effet, en étudiant les discours et l'art révolutionnaires, on ne peut qu'être frappé par le grand nombre d'allusions à l'antiquité romaine. L'objet de notre étude sera d'exposer la profonde influence de la Rome antique sur la France révolutionnaire. En outre, nous souhaitons souligner comment les partisans de la République française mirent en valeur certains aspects de l'histoire romaine pour promulguer leurs idéologies, et justifier leurs actions.

Commençant par une étude de deux peintures qui illustrent la France de 1789, l'on peut constater qu'il y avait dès les premières années de la Révolution une tendance à associer les événements contemporains à l'antiquité. Le peintre David, qui prit une part active aux activités révolutionnaires, devint député de la Convention et fut le peintre officiel de la République, aborde dans *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume* un thème de l'histoire contemporaine en l'assimilant à l'histoire romaine.

Renommé pour *Le Serment des Horaces* (1784) et pour les *Licteurs portant à Brutus le corps de ses fils* (1789) - deux peintures qui furent très admirées pour leurs ferveurs républicaines - l'Assemblée Constituante lui commanda *Le Serment du Jeu de Paume* en 1790. Cette immense composition, dont David ne finit que le dessin, représente les députés de l'Assemblée Nationale prenant la ferme résolution de rédiger une constitution. La promesse que les députés firent ce jour là est d'extrême importance, car le serment marque la naissance d'un nouveau contrat social, et l'aspiration à une nation unie par le patriotisme. David dépeint cet événement contemporain et surtout les députés qui y prirent part, en leur donnant des traits de l'antiquité. Ne pouvant analyser le tableau, car il ne fut jamais terminé, nous pouvons néanmoins considérer les nombreuses ébauches des députés qui devaient remplir la composition finale. Certains dessins, surtout ceux qui devaient représenter Robespierre et Mirabeau, sont d'abord ébauchés comme des soldats romains. Nous voyons, par exemple, l'esquisse de deux soldats romains portant un casque, une épée, et un bouclier. Les ébauches qui suivent montrent la métamorphose de ces soldats de l'antiquité. Ils gardent leur position et leur corps, mais sous l'habile pinceau de David leurs visages prennent forme. La première figure, ronde et à l'expression ferme et stoïque, représente Robespierre. La deuxième évoque la physionomie de Mirabeau. Les deux combattants de l'antiquité sont ainsi transformés en deux députés révolutionnaires.

En regardant les diverses esquisses des députés qui figurent dans la composition finale, l'on ne peut douter que David associa le Serment du Jeu de Paume à l'antiquité romaine. Il rapprocha l'avènement de la Révolution française à celui de la République romaine, car dans les deux histoires la naissance d'une république entraîna l'abolition d'une monarchie. La vertu et le courage anciens, tant admirés de David, renaissent dans cet acte solennel qui édifia une constitution et fonda la nation française. Ainsi, en observant les représentations des députés l'on peut se demander si David eut l'intention de représenter des Français du dix-huitième siècle ou des soldats de l'antiquité. Dans son étude sur David, Antoine Schnapper y répond: "c'est comme si l'homme nouveau renouait avec l'homme antique, ou plutôt, par un fantastique renversement de l'histoire, devenait l'homme antique" (76).

Parfois, les références à l'histoire romaine montrent l'acculturation du présent au passé, car cette même histoire incite les citoyens français à l'action politique. La gravure de N. Ponce qui parut en 1789, *Le Don Patriotique des dames artistes,* témoigne de l'étendue de l'influence romaine sur l'esprit des Françaises. *Le Don Patriotique* illustre une délégation de femmes qui offrent leurs bijoux à la nation. La gravure représente un fait qui eut vraiment lieu. Le 7 septembre 1789, Madame David était parmi la délégation de 21 femmes artistes ou femmes d'artistes menées par Madame Moitte qui allèrent à Versailles pour offrir au président de l'Assemblée, une boîte contenant leurs bijoux, qu'elles offrirent à la nation. Cette gravure, qui au premier abord semble représenter un événement on ne peut plus contemporain, illustre l'influence de la Rome antique sur la France révolutionnaire. Dans son histoire romaine, Plutarque avait raconté qu'après avoir gagné la guerre, les Romains avaient fait le serment d'offrir un calice en or à Apollon. La tribune ne pouvant trouver l'or nécessaire, les Romaines offrirent leurs bijoux. Ce même épisode fut conté de nouveau en 1738 par Rollin dans son *Histoire Romaine*, et il fut illustré par Brenet dans sa peinture, *La Piété et la Générosité des Femmes Romaines*, qui fut exposée au Salon de 1785 (Schnapper 73). Ainsi le 7 septembre 1789, les citoyennes, en offrant leurs bijoux à la nation, reproduisent un geste romain. L'action des femmes patriotiques illustre donc l'ascendant de la Rome antique sur leurs pensées. Ces citoyennes ne se tournèrent pas vers le passé pour chercher simplement une affinité, mais aussi pour modeler leur conduite sur celle des Romaines.

La prémisse romaine qui était souvent édifée pendant les années qui suivirent la Révolution, et qui est bien illustrée dans cette gravure était le service du citoyen à la nation. Quoique nous trouvions la présence et l'importance de cette idée dans la gravure, il est important de signaler qu'au fur et à mesure que le gouvernement révolutionnaire se définit et gagna du pouvoir, cette vertu devint obligatoire. Peu à peu, les députés de la Convention, tel Robespierre, exigèrent que les citoyens se dépouillent de leurs biens pour les offrir à la République. Par exemple, le 18 germinal 1794, Couthon proposa à la Convention de perfectionner la morale publique en obligeant tous les membres à rendre compte de leur fortune. Le jour même, Robespierre soutena cette proposition, en rappelant aux citoyens les vertus qui font la base des républiques, dont la plus importante est de servir la patrie en lui offrant les dons de la richesse: "... les patriotes sont purs, s'il en est à qui la fortune ait accordé des dons ... ils n'ont pas de plus grand désir que d'en faire un noble usage.... Les preuves que nous devons exiger, c'est une vie dont les momens sont tous marqués par des actions vertueuses; une vie remplie de sacrifices faits à la patrie" (Huant 40). D'ailleurs ceux qui ne veulent pas rendre compte de leur fortune, ou la mettre au service de la patrie, deviennent pour Robespierre des conspirateurs: "Il n'y a que les conspirateurs qui mettent leur intérêt à les [les dons de la fortune] soustraire à la vue du peuple.... Cette réflexion doit soutenir votre justice et notre vigilance, et nous engager à ne pas abandonner les grandes mesures contre les conspirateurs" (40).

Il est certain que dès son adolescence, l'antiquité romaine eut une grande influence sur les pensées républicaines de Robespierre. Dans ses *Mémoires* il souligne l'importance d'un de ses professeur de Collège, M. Hérivaux, qui vint à lui parler des anciennes républiques. Cet homme, dont l'âme sympathisait singulièrement avec celle de Robespierre, lui avait longuement exposé les bienfaits de la République romaine:

> Les paroles de M. Hérivaux m'ouvrirent les yeux: il évoquait les vieilles ombres des Gracques, reconstruisait la tribune au milieu du Forum, ou la chaise curule des sénateurs, et remplissait le sénat, la place publique, de vieillards vénérables blanchis au service de leur patrie, ou d'une multitude immense, d'un peuple entier délibérant sur le choix de ses délégués, accusant, jugeant et punissant; puis, ses chefs en tête, retournant à la charrue, après avoir rendu grace aux dieux. Je voyais le mont Aventin, et j'enviai le sort de ces tribuns courageux, chargés de mettre frein aux empiétements du patriciat et de sauvegarder les droits du peuple. (Robespierre 182)

Ces descriptions pittoresques eurent une influence incontestable sur la pensée politique de Robespierre. Il affirme qu'elles lui "ouvrirent les yeux," tout comme si, en écoutant les discours de M. Hérivaux, le jeune collégien avait subit une conversion. Robespierre se sert d'une terminologie quasi mystique - qui fait écho à celle de Saint Augustin et de Rousseau lors de leur conversion - pour décrire le renversement qui s'effectua dans son esprit: "Je l'avoue, tout ce monde nouveau au milieu duquel mon professeur me transportait excita du bouleversement dans mes idées; mais bientôt la lumière jaillit, et mes incertitudes furent fixées. Je dois à ces premières instructions, que l'étude a depuis rectifiées, les semences de mes invariables opinions" (183). M. Hérivaux fit sortir Robespierre des ténèbres monarchiques pour le guider vers la lumière républicaine.

Ces descriptions de la république romaine frappèrent profondément Robespierre et se gravèrent dans son cœur. Il n'est donc point surprenant que pendant toute la durée de son règne, il s'efforça de faire revivre dans la République française, les récits idéalisés qu'il avait entendu sur les bancs de l'école. Robespierre ne cessera de parler du droit du peuple à accuser, juger et punir: "Moi qui n'ai reconnu de pouvoir souverain que dans le peuple dont ces lois émanent" (*Mémoires* 275). Il s'acharnera sur les abus de l'aristocratie, tout comme les plébéiens s'étaient "chargés de mettre freins aux empiétements du patriciat." Et surtout, l'image du citoyen qui blanchit au service de la patrie, devriendra la plus grande aspiration de Robespierre. Dans ses *Mémoires*, il se repésente de la manière suivante pour la postérité: "Ambitieux en effet, comme l'ont été Brutus et Washington; comme il est donné à bien peu d'homme de l'être! Ambitieux sans égoïsme, avec le mépris invincible pour mon propre bien-être; mais avec le zèle le plus imperturbable pour faire rendre au peuple les droits sacrés et imprescriptibles dont il a été dépouillé!" (274).

Les principes moraux auxquels Robespierre s'attacha, et qu'il voulu donner à ses concitoyens, il les puisa aussi dans ses études de l'antiquité: "Or, quel est le principe fondamental du gouvernement démocratique ou populaire, c'est-à-dire le ressort essentiel qui le soutient et qui le fait mouvoir? C'est la vertu; je parle de la vertu publique qui opéra tant de prodiges dans la Grèce et dans Rome, et qui doit en produire de bien plus étonnants dans la France républicaine" (*Discours*, 327). Ces mêmes études le menèrent à considérer le déplorable contraste entre le comportement et les principes humains: "Le monde moral, beaucoup plus encore que le monde physique, semble plein de contrastes et d'enigmes. La nature nous dit que l'homme est né pour la liberté, et l'expérience des siècles nous montre l'homme esclave ... Le genre humain respecte Caton, et se courbe sous le joug de César" (*Discours* 349). Toutefois, Robespierre refuse d'accepter cette disparité, et s'inspirant de Brutus, il invite les Français à ne point désespérer de l'humanité et à lutter pour leur liberté: "La postérité honore la vertu de Brutus; mais elle ne la permet que dans l'histoire ancienne... Ne dit pas cependant, ô Brutus, que la vertu est un fantôme! Et vous fondateurs de la République française, gardez-vous de désespérer de l'humanité, ou de douter un moment du succès de votre grande entreprise!" (*Discours* 349).

D'autre part, Robespierre proclame ouvertement avoir développé ses convictions en étudiant l'histoire romaine, et il souligne cette affinité pour mieux marquer l'importance ou le poids de ses doctrines politiques et morales: "Si les principes que j'ai développés jusqu'ici sont des erreurs, je me trompe du moins avec tout ce que le monde révère: prenons ici les leçons de l'histoire." Ses plus illustrent maîtres, auxquels il fait souvent appel, ne sont autres que Caton et Brutus, héros et fondateurs de la république romaine: "Caton ne balança point entre Épicure et Zénon. Brutus et les illustres conjurés qui partagèrent ses périls et sa gloire appartenaient aussi à cette secte sublime de stoïciens, qui eut des idées si hautes de la dignité de l'homme, qui poussa si loin l'enthousiasme de la vertu, et qui n'outra que l'héroisme." Ce stoïcisme ayant survécu la mort de Brutus, "Le stoïcisme enfanta des émules de Brutus et de Caton jusque dans les siècles affreux qui suivirent la perte de la liberté romaine," (*Discours* 363) Robespierre s'acharnera à le ressuciter dans la France républicaine.

De plus grande importance, cependant, sont ses nombreux recours à l'histoire romaine pour excuser s es abus judiciaires. Ayant fait exécuter les soi-disant conspirateurs de la République, sans leur donner le droit de plaidoirie, Robespierre fut accusé de s'être détourné des lois de son pays. Pour sa propre défense, il monta maintes fois à la Tribune et attesta la rectitude de ses actes: "La lenteur des jugements équivaut à l'impunité; l'incertitude de la peine encourage tous les coupables; et cependant on se plaint de la sévérité de la justice; on se plaint de la détention des ennemis de la République" (*Discours* 335). Taxé de tyrannie, Robespierre s'écria: "On cherche ses exemples dans l'histoire des tyrans, parce qu'on ne veut pas les choisir dans celle des peuples, ni les puiser dans le génie de la liberté menacée" (335). Il fait appel à l'histoire du peuple romain, pour justifier sa conduite et pour inculper ses dénonciateurs de tyrans: "A Rome, quand le consul découvrit la conjuration, et l'étouffa, au même instant par la mort des complices de Catilina, il fut accusé d'avoir violé les formes. Par qui? par l'ambitieux César, qui voulait grossir son parti de la horde des conjurés, par les Pison, les Clodius et tous les mauvais citoyens" (335). Robespierre défend ses actions et sa justice implacable en associant les ennemies de la république et les mauvais citoyens à César. En exploitant ainsi l'histoire romaine, il arrive à renverser l'accusation; il se représente comme le protecteur de la République, tandis que ses accusateurs sont assimilés à l'homme qui complota contre la liberté romaine et finit par la détruire. Tout au long de la Terreur, Robespierre exploita la peur du césarisme pour légitimer ses abus. Dans ses discours, il s'associa invariablement à Brutus - l'homme qui expulsa les Tarquins de Rome et institua la république romaine - tout en menaçant ses ennemis en dénonçant leur césarisme.

Dans un des articles de la *Gazette Française*, un journal qui donne des nouvelles détaillées des guerres révolutionnaires et des séances du Tribunal Révolutionnaire, nous trouvons un discours qui eut lieu à la Convention le 24 ventôse 1794. Celui-ci illustre d'une manière significative, une semblable exploitation de l'histoire romaine par les partisans de la Terreur. Le comité du Salut-public venait de dévoiler une conspiration, probablement celle de Danton, et plusieurs orateurs montèrent à la Tribune pour mettre au grand jour les crimes des conjurés. Pour mieux faire valoir l'horreur des crimes des accusés, un député de la Convention, dont le nom ne nous ait pas donné par le journal, fit un long discours qui associe cet épisode contemporain à un événement qui eut lieu pendant la république romaine:

> Pour montrer combien il y a ressemblance entre les factions qui viennent d'être dévoilées, et celles qui furent sur le point de perdre la république romaine, nous allons faire ici quelques rapprochements historiques qui peuvent servir à éclairer le peuple. Catilina avoit machiné dans le gouvernement un changement qui menaçoit Rome d'une ruine entière; il prêchoit la guerre civile et la sédition, il méditoit le renversement du sénat; ses manœuvres criminelles furent découvertes, et la plupart des conjurés perdirent avec la vie l'espoir d'étouffer la liberté romaine. Lentulus, et Céthegus, plus audacieux encore que Catilina, renouèrent les fils de la conspiration, ils voulurent se signaler par de plus grands attentats, ils formèrent le projet de détruire Rome de fond en comble par le feu, et de renverser l'empire par les guerres civiles combinées avec les guerres étrangères. Les dieux qui veillent au salut des républiques, détournèrent encore cet orage formé contre la liberté: le complot fut découvert et dévoilé par Cicéron à la tribune du sénat. Tous les sénateurs indignés vouoient à la mort les assassins de la patrie; César adoit à profiter de toutes les passions, osa implorer la clémence des Romains; l'éloquence de César ébranla les sénateurs, qui condamnèrent les condamnés à la prison, jusqu'à ce qu'on eut reçu de plus grands renseignements. Cet avis fatal à la liberté, alloit être unanime, lorsque Caton, l'infaillible Caton, se leva, et prononça un discours foudroyant d'énergie et d'éloquence contre César. «Il lui reprocha de chercher à renverser la réplublique et à épouvanter le sénat, tandis qu'il devoit craindre lui-même et s'estimer heureux s'il pouvait paroître innocent de tout ce qui avoit été fait. Il l'accusa hautement de se montrer insensible aux malheurs du peuple romain qui alloit être victime d'une conjuration, et de réserver ses larmes pour les scélérats qui n'auroient jamais dû naître.» Caton l'emporta sur César, et la liberté triompha. (Huant 23).

L'orateur compare ici le complot des conjurés à celui de Catilina pour mieux marquer à la fois la culpabilité des accusés et la gravité de leur crime contre la République française. En assimilant ces deux épisodes, il construit habilement l'argument que les conjurés ont droit à la même justice qui frappa Catilina et ses partisans. C'est-à-dire qu'il veut les condamner à mort sans leur donner le droit de défense. Or, en 1794 les actes juridiques assuraient aux inculpés le droit à un procès. Ce droit, l'orateur tache de le leur retrancher. Tout appel à un procès est interprété comme une demande d'adoucir les châtiments contre les conjurés, car l'orateur souligne que César "osa implorer la clémence des Romains." En outre, l'auteur de cette harangue dissuade tout citoyen de réclamer cet acte judiciaire, en signalant qu'à Rome le seul à prendre la parole en défense des conspirateurs fut l'insidieux César. L'éloquence de César, affirme-t-il "ébranla les sénateurs, qui condamnèrent les condamnés à la prison, jusqu'à ce qu'on eu reçu de plus grands renseignements." Le discours de César, en apparence raisonnable, est ici désigné "fatal à la liberté", et seul Caton en réclamant la mort immédiate des conjurés, fit triompher la liberté. Ainsi, tout comme Robespierre, le député de la Convention exploite l'histoire romaine pour mieux faire valoir sa justice impitoyable. Il assimile la conspiration qui venait d'être dévoilée à celle de Catilina, pour convaincre les autres députés de la justesse de la condamnation et pour menacer de césarime, tout individu assez audacieux pour s'opposer au jugement.

Pendant les années qui suivirent la Révolution française, les Français tournèrent avec insistance leurs regards vers Rome. David associa les députés de l'Assemblée Nationale à des soldats romains, tandis que Ponce illustra l'ascendant de l'histoire romaine sur les actions de certaines citoyennes. Les institutions politiques romaines servirent de modèle aux nouvelles institutions républicaines qui prirent le même nom: la Législative, la Convention, le Directoire, le Sénat (Martin 218). Robespierre puisa ses principes moraux et politiques dans l'histoire romaine. Tout comme d'autres partisans de la Terreur, il exploita et mit en valeur des épisodes spécifiques de la justice romaine pour justifier les massacres de ses ennemis. Ici, il serait bien de signaler que Robespierre et ses alliés interprétèrent l'histoire romaine à leur façon, pour mieux promulguer leurs idéologies. Cela est mis en évidence quand on constate que Napoléon Bonaparte interpréta l'histoire romaine, d'une manière très différente. Comme l'indique June Burton, les manuels scolaires du premier Empire soulignent les bienfaits de César - qui est assimilé à Napoléon - et représentent Brutus comme un fanatique républicain qui fit plonger son pays dans la misère. L'importance de l'histoire romaine dans les années qui suivirent la Révolution, ne laisse point de doute. Les interprétations de cette histoire, cependant, ne servant souvent qu'à soutenir les idéologies dominantes, sont aussi variables que les régimes.

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The Lycanthropy Metaphor in Marie de France's *Bisclavret*

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Of particular interest in the lays of Marie de France is her use of lycanthropy in the *Bisclavret*. The physical metamorphosis of the baron from human into animal is counterbalanced by an equally dramatic symbolic transformation of his wife's character. The use of language and gesture in these two transformations is intriguing. How do the werewolf topos and language/gesture fit together in the lay and how do they fit into the medieval social scheme? This paper addresses these questions. Three topics will be examined: firstly, the werewolf topos in general; secondly, the metamorphoses, both literal and symbolic, of Bisclavret (the baron) and his wife; and lastly, the function of language and gesture in these two transformations.

Kathryn Holten has done considerable research on the animal imagery of Marie's *Lais*, noting a departure from the traditional use of animals to a more metaphoric use that allows the animal-character to play the role of protaganist. She refers to the werewolf as "probably the oldest and most internationally known metaphoric animal legend" (Maréchal 193). Attitudes towards the wolf in general, before any linking to human transformations, are none too positive, really amounting to a taboo status, as we well know from our own readings and associations in modern times. Traditionally, the wolf has been unfavorably depicted by both writers and artists as ferocious and evil, an animal not to be trusted. Negative references to the wolf can be found in works dating back to Plato and Plinius Secundus. Common was the Greek and Italic belief that eye contact with a wolf caused muteness and the Roman belief that the she-wolf represented lust and cruelty. Both attitudes figure into Marie's depiction of the werewolf in the story under consideration here. Holten comments on the wolf figure's presence in medieval jurisprudence, quoting from William Sayers on the *Laws of Canute* (7:3): "Lupinum enim gerit caput quod anglice wulfes heafod dicitur" (194). She explains that the condemned "became literally as a wolf, living in the woods, scavenging for food and dressing in the skins of other beasts." The removal of one's clothing, a symbol of social membership, becomes of central importance in the *Bisclavret*. Kirby Smith also emphasizes the association of wolves with crime, informing us that it was the custom during medieval times to hang a wolf next to the condemned on the gallows (27). In addition to these influences, we have the prominent *Fables* of Aesop as well as Biblical references that portray the wolf as a treacherous and ignoble beast.[1]

It is not at all surprising, then, given the multitude of associations of wolf to man, that transformation tales would evolve. Holten agrees: "so much representation of the wolf in literature and legend is anthropomorphic that the rise of the werewolf myth seems almost inevitable" (195). Moving to the werewolf legend itself, we read of its common usage as a literary topos. Writes François Suard: "De Pline l'Ancien à Claude Seignolle, en passant par Marie de France, du texte littéraire à l'étude critique et au récit populaire, innombrables sont les témoignages de l'intérêt qu'on a pris et qu'on prend encore aujourd'hui pour le thème du loup-garou" (267). A common feature of literature using the werewolf topos is a depiction of the frenzied desire of the beast for human flesh. This will factor into the wife's intense fear upon learning of her husband's lycanthropic condition in *Bisclavret*.

The werewolf's transformation from human to animal underscores the theme of a "beast within" man: "une animalité d'abord étrangère, hostile même; l'homme ne tarde pas à découvrir en elle une animalité ancestrale," writes Pierre Brunel (90). Suard describes the metamorphosis as a broken contract that results in man's loss of identity: "Le contrat entre l'homme et l'univers est rompu puisque se trouve niée la médiation qui les reliait; l'homme perd donc son identité vis-à-vis de l'univers; il se métamorphose, se met à courir, commet des actes monstrueux" (272). The real violence of the transformation, though, lies not in the change from man to beast, but rather in a loss of humanity. As Smith observes, the werewolf, imprisoned in his animal state, retains his human thought processes (4). He could recognize his own animality but would be helpless to communicate any sense of humanity, having lost his ability to communicate in socially understood conventions, that is, through the mediation of language. "The werewolf *becomes mute*, loses his name and identity, *loses his clothing*, and finally loses all reason," writes Holten, "as a bestial ferocity *cuts him off from society and himself*, allowing a simmering violence to erupt in erotic insanity and enraged destructive behavior" (195 italics mine). We will return to these italicized aspects of the werewolf topos as our discussion continues. Marie de France's Bisclavret seems most definitely to fit into this conception of the werewolf, where mediation is lost and man and beast merge into one, the human ability to think and to perceive one's humanity, however, remaining. Lost is the ability to communicate that humanity through speech. Yet Marie's rendering of Bisclavret allows him to preserve some dignity and even to communicate that dignity through gesture to his human associates. This communication marks a rehumanization of the baron that allows Marie to explore in her story not only the beast within the man, but the man within the beast as well. The werewolf becomes a metaphor for human nature, both noble and bestial. Marie's use of "Bisclavret" as the baron's proper name ("Issu fu Bisclavret trahiz," we read in line 125) underscores this duality.

Before beginning an examination of the werewolf metaphor in the *Bisclavret*, let us distinguish between the voluntary and the involuntary werewolf, since this distinction enters prominently into the respective transformations of the baron and his wife. While the voluntary werewolf controls through his/her own will a deliberate transformation, the involuntary werewolf is a cursed victim under the control of some external force. Repentance and rehabilitation is only possible for the involuntary werewolf (Holten 196). Marie de France portrays Bisclavret as a victim who retains his noble human characteristics in spite of his imposed lycanthropy. She portrays the wife, however, as voluntarily demoniac. Her metamorphosis from loving, devoted wife to traitor and adulteress reveals inherently base characteristics. Bisclavret is gradually rehumanized, his wife gradually animalized. One transformation is dependant upon the other, that is, Bisclavret's rehumanization is simultaneous with his wife's animalization. Her symbolic transformation into the moral equivalent of a werewolf provides the necessary substitution that releases him from his own physical lycanthropy. She is, after all, responsible for her husband's "death," so to speak, since it is she who orchestrates the theft of his clothes, without which she knows he cannot return to human form. Werewolf legends maintain that the only release from the curse is substitution: another must take the place of the original victim. Holten asserts that the substitution theme is present from the beginning of *Bisclavret*, an opinion shared by Suard. "The actual violence of the werewolf (vv.65-66) is gradually matched by that of his wife (vv.60, 87), until she, also, finally commits the equivalent of murder by stealing his garments," writes Holten (199). According to Suard, "telle est, en effet, nous semble-t-il, l'idée fondamentale qui oriente le récit de Marie de France: montrer comment, à partir d'une métamorphose traditionnelle (le chevalier devenant Bisclaveret), s'opère, sur un modèle psychologique puis physique, un phénomène de substitution" (273). The physical transformation to which Suard refers hinges on Bisclavret's attack of his wife towards the end of the tale. He bites off her nose, leaving her in a physical state much like that of a leper; she becomes socially unacceptable and is soon banished by the king.[2]

Let us now consider the author's specific use of lycanthropy. The tale begins:

> Quant de lais faire m'entremet,
> Ne voil ublier Bisclavret:
> Bisclavret as nun en bretan,
> Garwaf l'apelent le Norman.
> Jadis le poeit hume oïr
> E sovent suleit avenir,
> Humes plusers garual devindrent
> E es boscages meisun tindrent.
> Garualf, c[eo] est beste salvage:
> Tant cum il est en cele rage,
> Hummes devure, grant mal fait,
> Es granz forez converse e vait.
> Cest afere les ore ester;
> Del Bisclavret [vus] voil cunter. (Rothschild 92-93)[3]

The name "Bisclavret" appears a number of times.[4] The first use refers to the lay that is going to be recounted. The second use describes a type of beast referred to by the Normans as "garwaf" (also referred to as "garual" in line 7). Thus Marie acknowledges the contempory use of the topos. Next we read a description of the beast as brutal and man-eating, living in the depth's of the forest. Remembering the common belief in the werewolf's bloodlust, the reader will naturally initially sympathize with the wife's fear of her husband when he confesses to be such a creature. Marie rather neatly reverses this sympathy, however, as the story progresses and it becomes evident that her own sympathies lie clearly with the baron. The last use of "Bisclavret" marks a move from the general to the specific as Marie introduces us to *the* Bisclavret, i.e., the baron.

The shift is curious in its abruptness. Rothschild's work on the author's narrative technique suggests that Marie's change of direction from a discussion of werewolves in general to the naming of a specific lycanthropic subject perhaps indicates a separation of two themes: "Marie seems ready to drop the subject ('Cest afere les ore ester'), in favor of the theme of *le Bisclavret*, as if they were indeed two different themes" (93). At the outset of this paper, we noted that Marie's use of the werewolf as metaphor represents a departure from other treatments of the topos. There is indeed a separation between the werewolf in general and her werewolf. Another possible interpretation of this change in direction can be found in line 153 where the author begins to describe the baron-werewolf as "ceste beste." Any trace of individuality has been removed as the baron is locked into an animal state by his wife's treachery. His former friends no longer recognize him as any more than a beast; he can no longer communicate as any more than a beast. His loss of humanity and his loss of language in particular have reduced him to an abstraction. So we see a shift via the poet's language from the general to the specific and back to the general. The end of the story again returns to the specific as the baron is rehumanized. The abrupt change between lines 13 and 14, then, ties in with the baron's loss of identity as he metamorphoses from man to beast to man.

The baron is initially described as a member of a social group, noble and brave of character, well-thought of by his peers and loved by his wife:

En Bretagne maneit un ber,
Merveille l'ai oï loër;
Beaus chevalers e bons esteit
E noblement se cunteneit.
De sun seinur esteit privez
E de tuz ses veisins amez.
Femme ot espuse mut vailant
E que mut feseit beu semblant.
Il amot li e ele lui; (Rothschild 93)

Rothschild suggests that the choice of "il amot li e ele lui" over the more common, to Marie, "s'entr'amer" introduces a nuance of separation into the story (94). Husband and wife love each other but in different ways. The nuance is reinforced in the succeeding line as the author immediately upsets the blissful picture she has just painted by inserting a "but": "Mes d'une chose ert grant ennui." The wife is concerned over the baron's frequent absences from home, suspecting him of consorting with another woman - which is ironic, since it is she who is very soon guilty of infidelity. The baron's love for his wife proves to be his undoing. In his desire to assuage her fears, he promises to tell all. It is language that betrays and eventually silences him as he is reduced to gesture in the animal state to which he will shortly be condemned. His initial reaction to his wife's questions indicates a knowledge and fear of the result of disclosing his plight: "mal m'en vendra, si jol vus di,/ Kar de m'amur vus partirai/ E mei meïsmes en perdrai." He finally reveals his lycanthropy, which confession sets the stage for the reciprocal transformation: "Dame, jeo devienc bisclavret:/ En cele grant forest me met,/ Al plus espés de la gaudine,/ S'i vif de preie e de ravine." We are returned to the forest of the lay's opening lines and remember Marie's description of the werewolf's vicious man-eating behavior. Curiously, the wife shows no outward display of revulsion, contrary to what one would expect. Instead she asks, "s'il se despuille u vet vestu," the response to which confirms the baron's werewolfery, the casting aside of one's clothing being a necessary pre-condition to the metamorphosis. Her next question betrays an unspoken desire to rid herself of the now horrible figure of her husband: "Di mei, pur Deu, u sunt voz dras." This concern over the hiding place of the clothes is suspicious, of course. What other motive could she have for wanting the information other than as the means to permanently rid herself of this man-beast? The clothes become central to the story. They represent, as has been noted, an accepted social convention, and as such are a symbol of civilized man. The baron's reduction to the animal state results from his wife's plotting their theft, which effects the erasure of his identity as a social being (as described in lines 15-24). His return to human form, and to society, hinges on their return.

Marie now turns her attention to the wife's reaction to Bisclavret's revelation:

> La dame oï cele merveille,
> De poür fu tute vermeille;
> De l'aventure se esfrea.
> E [n] maint endreit se purpensa
> Cum ele s'en puïst partir;
> Ne voleit mes lez lui gisir. (Rothschild 103)

It has been observed that the questions posed by the wife already hint at a negative but unstated reaction, but the above lines openly portray her revulsion. So great is her fear that she ponders ways to separate herself from her husband. The fact that she no longer wishes to sleep with him (line 102) feels pivotal, though I have had some trouble formulating an entirely satisfactory explanation for this impression. The key, I believe, lies in the sexual act's being an unmediated act of communication, where two are, though only momentarily, one. Language has betrayed both baron and wife. The revelation of his lycanthropy sets in motion the revelation of her symbolic lycanthropy. As she plots to betray him, he, at her insistence, betrays himself. As this last sexual act of communication is removed, he loses his standing as a social being capable of mediated discourse. The inevitable separation of husband and wife was foreshadowed, we remember, in line 24 of the lay ("Il amot li e ele lui"). Holten interprets the rupture of the sexual relationship as a catalyst to the dehumanization of both baron and wife, terming it a "narrative inevitability" (198).

Marie's portayal of the wife is replete with sexual implications. Her first suspicions concerning Bisclavret's absences focus on a possible infidelity. Following his confession, she determines not to sleep with him, which decision is immediately followed by the involvement of a soon-to-be lover in the plot to steal Bisclavret's clothes. The wife's adultery proves to be her final undoing. Though Marie does state that the wife legally remarries, it is clear that her actions are adulterous, given the fact that her husband still lives. Bisclavret as wolf attacks first the new husband, then the wife, biting off her nose. "L'énasement," observes Faure, "est le châtiment réservé aux traîtres dans la chanson de geste" (335). *L'énasement* was, in medieval times, the standard punishment for adultery. Bisclavret, then, though in the animal state, exhibits some human awareness. The attack on his adulterous wife is tantamount to a discriminate meting out of social justice. It marks one of the final steps in his rehumanization.

The king recognizes this human awareness in Bisclavret when he encounters him in the forest: "de si qu'il ad le rei choisi;/ Vers lui curut quere merci./ Il l'aveit pris par sun estrié,/ La jambe li baise e le pié" (Rothschild 110). With these lines Marie sets in motion the Bisclavret's rehumanization. Though he cannot verbally communicate, his gesture towards the king, reminiscent of the gesture a vassal would make to his lord, belies his animal appearance and reveals a sense of humanity. We see an interesting parallel between the king's reaction to Bisclavret and the wife's. Both fear him, but as Rothschild points out, their fear and amazement at the "merveille" that is Bisclavret are operating from two very different perspectives. The wife senses the beast in the man, the king, the man in the beast (112). Might Marie be trying to provoke a reaction similar to that of the king's in her readers?

"Cum ceste beste se humilie!" observes the king. "Ele ad sen de hume, merci crie" (153-154). These lines continue the beast-in-man/man-in-beast theme, reaffirming the dual nature of man through the beast's plea for mercy, a human act of contrition. The king reciprocates Bisclavret's gesture of fealty and accords him his protection: "A la beste durrai ma pes." The previously sworn oath of fidelity between king and knight is thus resumed. He returns to his castle, accompanied by Bisclavret, marking the latter's re-assimilation into society. No longer is he a hunted creature isolated in the forest. From this point on, his rehumanization is inevitable. Marie re-attributes to him the human characteristics of the beginning of the lay: "Tant esteit franc e deboneïre" (179). Once again he is loved by his peers: "N'i ad celui que ne l'ad chier" (178).

The ensuing attack on the wife's new husband reveals the animal in the animal and surprises the knights: "Mut s'esmerveillent li plusur;/ Kar unkes tel semblant ne fist/ Vers nul hume kē il veïst" (204-206). They persist, however, in stark contrast to the wife's instant change in love and devotion, in believing in the beast's humanity, as they perceive the attack to be out of character for Bisclavret: "Ceo dïent tut par la meisun/ Ke il nel fet mie suaz reisun" (207-208). Without the mediation of language, Bisclavret's gesture is totally subject to interpretation by the knights. Their interpretation, unlike the wife's, is favorable; they feel there must be some provocation behind Bisclavret's violent behavior. It is clear that Bisclavret only intended to maim his wife - not to kill her - to reduce her, as he had been reduced, to a savage, less-than-human appearance. Marie's personal aside to the reader ("Oiez cum il est bien vengiez!/ Le seis li esracha del vis./ Quei li peüst il faire pis?" (234-236) amounts to a judgment of the wife's treacherous and faithless behavior. Kirby Smith has made an interesting observation concerning the moral implications of Bisclavret's attack, which observation is entirely in concert with our earlier comments on involuntary lycanthropy:

> Exceptional is the fact that, in this case, the author takes the part of the werewolf, the only example I know of in literature. We must suppose then that she looks upon the Bisclavret's transformations as an unfortunate necessity which nature has imposed upon his organization. He is to be pitied as an innocent victim. (13)

Last to be addressed in this discussion is the role of language in the lay. Holten contends that Bisclavret's crisis of language is the key (202). To understand this statement, an exploration, albeit brief, of the social implications of language in medieval times is in order. This places us squarely in the ongoing debate between historicists and new historicists over issues of text and context. Gabrielle Spiegel's social logic of the text grants an inextricable connectedness between social and discursive practices - "material and linguistic realities that are interwoven into the fabric of the text" (Spiegel 85). Language is both descriptive and constructive, that which mediates human awareness of the world (Spiegel 200). Spiegel's work on vernacular historical writing in thirteenth century France indicates a sensitivity of literary form to the medieval processes of social structure. Interpretation of medieval texts requires an understanding of the social world of medieval authors and their patrons (Speigel 78). Stephen Greenblatt would concur. His essay on "Resonance and Wonder" suggests that texts are relics, cultural artifacts that are inextricably tied to the world in which they first existed. "They enable us to glimpse the social process through which objects, gestures, rituals, and phrases are fashioned and moved from one zone of display to another," he writes (162). Unfortunately, books give us, the reader, a false sense of stability. They tend to hide the historical transactions and interconnectedness of the processes and traditions through which they evolved or were developed. Greenblatt's cultural poetics illuminates the intersection between the historicity of texts and the textuality of history, pointing to the multiplicity of conjoined and even conflicting discourses and practices that result from representing the world in written discourse. "In effect," maintains Louis Montrose, "this project [cultural poetics] reorients the axis of inner-textuality, substituting for the diachronic text of an autonomous literary history the synchronic text of a cultural system" (17). Greenblatt, Montrose, and Spiegel all attest to mutually constitutive interdependent processes that operate within a text as well as on that text's initial production and subsequent receptions by its audiences. Just as our understanding of a text necessarily proceeds from our own historically, socially, and institutionally shaped vantage points, so too was the text thus shaped (Montrose 23). As Lucien Febvre quite rightly points out, it is important (I would add even paramount) to ask ourselves how the readers of the time in which a text was written received that text, a posture that requires examination of traditions contemporary with the text (5). We have already established some of the medieval attitudes towards the wolf in general and the werewolf in particular. Marie herself acknowledges these beliefs in the opening lines of the lay. Now let us turn our attention to the use of the oath in the feudal social system and to the author's use of it within her story.

Linguistic structure was the basis for medieval social identity, the swearing of oaths the glue of political and military relationships. The vassal swore an oath of fidelity to his lord, which oath operated a reciprocal relationship of obligation, the vassal to the lord and the lord to the vassal. Husband and wife were likewise bound together by mutual vows of loyalty. Bisclavret's wife's deliberate breaking of that oath guarantees her eventual expulsion from the social group, since that social group's stability depends on the honoring of oaths. We remember her coaxing Bisclavret to trust her, as she reaffirms, though most falsely, her love for him:

> "Sire," la dame li respunt,
> 80 "Jeo vus eim plus que tut le mund:
> Nel me devez nïent celer,
> Ne [mei] de nule rien duter;
> Ne sembereit pas amisté.
> 84 Qu'ai jeo forfait? Pur queil peché
> Me dutez vus de nule rien?
> Dites [le] mei, si ferez bien!" (Rothschild 101)

Upon succumbing to his wife's hypocritical pleading, Bisclavret is henceforth mute, but the wife speaks again. Her admission of guilt at the end of the lay (261-274), prompted in part by the king's torture, seals her fate. Because she has violated a social system based on the honoring of verbal contracts, she is expelled from that system: "La femme ad del païs ostee/ E chacie de la cuntree" (305-306). Her subversion of the system cannot be tolerated.

As the wife's metamorphosis parallels Bisclavret's, so does her banishment from the kingdom parallel her relegating Bisclavret to the animal state in the forest. Rothschild offers an additional possibility for Marie's choice of banishment as punishment, aside from underscoring the inverse metamorphoses. She suggests a rapprochement in medieval days of banishment and outlawry. We recall the earlier cited quotation from the Laws of Canut on the punishment for outlawry: "Lupinum enim gerit quod anglice wulfes heafod dicitur." The outlaw was essentially banished, relegated to the status of wolf, with all the negative connotations attached to that status by medieval beliefs. Rothschild refers to André Réville's "'L'Abjuratio Regni,' Histoire d'une institution anglaise" as support for her equating of banishment to outlawry. Réville claims that the outlaw lived as one banished from social circles: "Etre un *outlaw* ... c'est être exilé; rentrer en grâce, c'est revenir dans la patrie" (136). It is clear how Marie fits Bisclavret's reacceptance into society and his wife's simultaneous banishment from it into the contemporary practices of justice.

While his wife is expelled from the social system because of her attempted subversion of it, Bisclavret is rewarded for his constancy to it. He is reintegrated into the system. The lay seems to question the fragility of feudal society. Its stability is contingent upon its members' respect for their moral obligations. Marie's portrayal of the inverse metamorphoses of Bisclavret and his wife emphasizes the necessity of subjugating personal desires in favor of those obligations. "According to the metaphor [of Marie's werewolf], the feudal system works," claims Holten, "but only through men, like Bisclavret, of extraordinary valor and honor" (205). The last four lines of the lay confirm this statement:

> L'aventure ke avez oïe
> 316 Veraie fu, n'en dutez mie.
> De Bisclavret fu fet li lais
> Pur resemblance a tutdis mais.

Marie insists on the truthfulness of the story she has just recounted and on the necessity of its being remembered by her audience. The stability of the social system depends upon observance of the *Bisclavret*'s moral lesson of loyalty to one's obligations. Fidelity and love are portrayed as socializing forces in the lay. Their violation signals the destabilization of social relationships and the loss of the civilizing forces of medieval life.[5]

Notes

1. For an extensive discussion, see *A Lycanthropy Reader: Werewolves in Western Culture*, Charlotte F. Otten, ed. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse UP, 1986).

2. William Sayers suggests *bliez claffet* as the Breton term for *biscravet*, the *claff* being associated with leprosy. See "*Bisclavet* in Marie de France: A Reply." *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* I (1981) pp. 77-82.

4. For etymological comments linking the term *bisclavet* with human reason and social banishment, see H. W. Bailey's essay, "*Bisclavet* in Marie de France." *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* I (1981) pp. 95-97.

5. One wonders if this is too neat a conclusion. Might we take it a step further, following Greenblatt's reasoning on the recording of scatalogical and carnivalesque activities (this text clearly does not fit that category) in which he posits a direct connection between the eventual disappearance of such practices and their being recorded? I would suggest a simultaneity of effects, that is, that the lay both reaffirms and undermines the value system it records, but that it also attempts to contain any subversiveness through its author's admonition to her audience to accept her tale as a true standard by which to judge its own moral behavior. Obviously, this idea requires a much closer examination than can be accomplished within the constraints of this essay.

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The Narrative Masks of Jean Lorrain

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Effortlessly slipping into pseudonymous disguises evoking Riviera flowers, buffoons in parti-colored tights, dead authors into whom his failing health was inexorably transforming him, the infamous Jean Lorrain (1855-1906) continued over the course of his career to sign an array of aliases to his truculent *chroniques*: Saltarella, Arlequine, Mimosa, Bruscambille, Stendhaletta, Santillane, and finally Le Cadavre. Alternately dressed as a recumbent Gallic warrior, an itinerant Neapolitan singer, his tattered rags adorned with irises, an Abyssinian ambassador with blue powder in his beard (Jullian 268), Lorrain with his tinted hair, emphatic mustache, and languorous eyes paraded a cast of costumed selves through the carnival of life. The privileged theme of masking that one sees in Lorrain's writings conveys the author's impulse toward exhibition and concealment, his titillation of the public whose gaze he solicited and shunned. Each fiction Lorrain authored was a contorted cardboard face, a disposable, painted surface that hid a changeable identity. He was the Fécamp native and fledgling writer, "hautain et familier" (*Villa mauresque* 37), the mystifying ironist at once sentimental and sarcastic, the ghetto-cruising journalist who sought "un document humain" (*La Maison Philibert* 19), and a friend to thieves and brothel-owners who loitered in *barrière* cafes (*Hélie, garçon d'hôtel*). He was the grandiloquent impostor who preyed on bored and naive listeners (*Monsieur de Bougrelon*), and the cosmetically touched-up flotsam beached on Nice's sunny shores, an intestinally ruined exile with his "fantaisies sado-masochistes" (Jullian 275) (*Le Vice errant*). A trafficker in scandal cashing in on public outrage, Lorrain flaunted his homosexuality the better to generate reproof. Yet the notoriety he cultivated as publicity for his books, the grooming of his image as a *fanfaron des vices*, encouraged readers to impose on him a mask of social censure, another disguise that Lorrain was all too happy to assume.[1]

Having benefitted from the "regain de faveur de l'époque 1885-1900" (McLendon 104), Lorrain has drawn attention primarily for his flamboyant eccentricities, for his legendary duel with Proust, his feud with Robert de Montesquiou, his relationship with Huysmans, Rachilde, Barbey, and Sarah Bernhardt. Documenting the excesses of "la ville empoisonnée," he was the most familiar, amusing, and reviled of the capital's literary figures. Famous for exhaling "une odeur de marais dans le panthéon fin de siècle" (Jullian 11), he was an enigma who concealed himself behind a provocative public face. Biographical exegesis of Lorrain's life construed as fiction has overwhelmed attempts at seeing him embodied in his texts, which are masks used to protect him from apprehension by his critics.

More than bearing out the platitude that one is mirrored in others' eyes, that "the masks he ... presents to the world ... are fashioned ... upon ... anticipations of their judgments" (Anseth 9), Lorrain created texts that preemptively conditioned their reception and authored the opinion his scabrous novels reconfirmed. By repeatedly enacting the role of critic of his stories, he alternately donned and viewed the fictive masks that he had crafted. Will McLendon writes compellingly of the mask in Lorrain's writings, as "un instrument de ... tromperie dirigé contre l'adversaire" and as "un moyen de fuite, d'évasion que l'individu emploie pour et contre soi-même" (108). Yet as this essay argues, Lorrain employed the figure of the mask out of more than an aspiration to a metamorphic freedom. The public pose that Lorrain struck and that was subscribed to by his readers was a way for him to experiment with alternative identities - whence his desire to "s'incarner en des personnalités multiples ... pour sentir s'accroître ses pouvoirs" (Buraud 93). But the evidence of fraud that seems to run through Lorrain's *oeuvre* extends to the sense of emptiness of the stories he devises. Despite his insecurities about the substance of his stories, Lorrain's texts succeed as exposés of the hoaxes that are perpetrated, both by characters disguised to solicit audience attention and by a narrator/pretender intent on unmasking those he tells of. Like the masked stranger who gazes at his image in a mirror, Lorrain's stories are reflections of their own inauthenticity, studies that reveal their subtle strategies of deception.

Having smeared his face with the clownish deviant's greasy, garish make-up, Lorrain infiltrates the audience whose disapproval he provokes, and closed in upon himself in the act of self-display, proves that "[l]'élément social intervient toujours dans l'acte de se masquer" (Buraud 121). Lorrain does not define himself as the author of his stories but as the creator of a narrator whose discursive practices he questions. By labelling his storytellers as neurasthenics, former addicts, hypersensitive ether-users whose accounts are unreliable, Lorrain undermines the credibility of his narrative as *histoire*, as a mask that he removes to show its fabrication as *récit*.

Norman Holland writes of the split reaction in the audience for fiction, their participatory immersion in the literary fantasy, and their subsequent disengagement as its analysts-observers.[2] Corresponding to Holland's model for the divided consciousness of readers, who are engrossed, engulfed or swallowed up in enjoyment of a story, then critically alert, interpretively separate from the text, is their contemplation of a mask and curiosity as to what it covers. Lorrain is doubled not only as the wearer of the mask, but as the trickster who dissimulates and the false face he puts on. He also is duplicitous in being the audience and viewer, in peering out through holes in masks and relaying readers' judgments. Coveting the ability both to show and see the other - "Pas de dissimulation habile sans ostentation," says Bachelard (18) - he was a creator who experienced the inadequacy of his works. Not only did disguises provide him with self-knowledge, and enable him to see himself transposed in his creation. They also facilitated his indulgence in regenerative inconsistency, his molting and abandonment of obsolete personae. At ease in editorial offices, theater galas, sparkling drawing rooms, Lorrain was also comfortable in the world of *la pègre*, as he frequented male brothels, dingy taverns, cheap hotels. "Il court les bals populaires, les bouges en bord de la Seine, les foires .... Il rapporte dans les salons des relents de banlieue et de gargotes" (Kyria 15). The promiscuity of the *déclassé* belonging everywhere and nowhere, blending into all societies, yet non-existent when alone, is indicative of Lorrain's status as a consummate social being, who required other people to impersonate and mimic. The professional insecurity of the unremarkable Fécampois, who dressed his ordinariness in the clothes of eccentricity, shows that the plagiaristic tendencies of the writer defined as a blank page are related to his desire to mask, "de voler le visage d'autrui" (Buraud 4).

Symptomatic of Lorrain's fascination with the mask is the story with which he opens his collection *Histoires de masques* (1900). There the dissemblance that is practiced by the narrator is to disguise himself by posing as an interpreter of masks. Transposing into language his subject's fertile unknowability, the deceptive surface fostering inexhaustible conjecture, the narrator defines a mask in terms of its reception, as the inconclusive questioning as to the reasons for its use. By taking on the counterfeit persona of a reader, the narrator deflects attention from the suspect role he plays to the disillusionment resulting from the empty tales he tells.

The title of the story conveys its subject's ambiguity, as "L'un d'eux" paronomastically likens oneness to addition, and thus alludes to one of the many *figures masquées* in the volume, to the first of several narrative voices through which the author speaks, and to the multiplicity of perspectives that readers bring to the collection. The narrator asks what drives some people to follow this behavior, intimating that masking is not a sign of creativity, not the exuberant production of selves that are worn and cast aside. Instead of fooling others with dizzying inventions, taking part "par une autosuggestion idéale à une vie magique [et] libre" (Buraud 58), mask wearers are motivated by a self-destructive impulse, wishing only "de cesser d'être ce qu'ils sont; en un mot, de s'évader d'eux-mêmes" (*H. de masques* 3). The migratory consciousness of the impostor, clown, and harlequin may be liberated or expanded by inhabiting different shells. Yet the motive of the mask-wearer is not just to experience the multiple, but to accede to anonymity and suppress his sense of singularity.

What "instincts," asks the narrator, prompt these elusive, guilty beings to hide behind the gaudiness of grotesque, painted cardboard, the protuberant noses, bushy beards, the suggestive velvet half-masks? Paradoxically since it is instinct creating pierrots, false clerics, the disconcerting androgynes, the hooded monks with brooding eyes, the transformational power of those concealed by masks of fiction is not enhanced but rather blocked by their assumption of a mask. "Statique, figé, le masque est incapable de traduire l'infinie variété des émotions ...; il fixe, en la simplifiant, une passion - joie, désir ou terreur" (Trembley 36). With each text expressively freezing the passion that initially inspired it, the energy directed at change is exteriorized and obstructed. Surprisingly, it is readers who are endowed with creativity, who problematize appearances and so engage in endless guesswork. Only when the story ends and the teller's mask is taken off is he freed from the spell that bound him to a single false identity. Each mask is thus a carrier of the germ of its obsolescence, is a passing experience whose point is to end and enable the wearer to forget his own origins. Gypsies, fugitives, morphine addicts seek the intoxication of self-forgetfulness, the periodic oblivion punctuating discontinuous, broken lives. It is these spectral figures gliding by behind their masks of silk or velvet, enveloped in the billows of their costumed incognitos, that the narrator, who wears the mask of elucidative tour guide, invites the reader to follow through the dark and noisy streets.

It is on nights of Mardi Gras, masked balls, that the city teems with phantoms, larval beings mutating into their horrible exteriors.[3] Parading masks through the dimly illuminated pages of his story, the narrator is likened to the figures that he analyzes. Incriminated by his insistence on maintaining anonymity, malevolent and guilty in seeking "à tromper l'hypothèse" (4), manipulatively dangerous in modelling his audience's responses, he shows children seized by fits before the throngs of painted grimaces, the erotic thrill that women feel in the presence of a mystery, men's lascivious fancies triggered by the sexual ambiguity of the costumes (5). Like texts, masks are the substance of what is voided of reality, surfaces that falsify what they cover and contain, self-denouncing fictions distorting the truth that underlies them: "c'est la face ... troublante de l'inconnu, c'est le sourire du mensonge" (5).

Idleness and coincidence are what the narrator alleges had brought him to the city and caused his tour of shabby neighborhoods. Like his avatars in other books who frequent slums and taverns, he is a vagrant, empty storyteller on the look-out for material. Repeatedly throughout the night he sees a costumed figure who appears in different places long after the *brasseries* have closed. A chalky, livid form wrapped in a cowl of silver fabric, he wears a mask evoking a leprosarium, swamp, and cemetery. The piquancy of the disguise that serves to blur the wearer's gender, which simultaneously calls to mind a prostitute and priest, leads the narrator to abstract him as an embodiment of Lust, "la Luxure impuissante" (12), the frustrated prurience of guesswork. Fortuitously materializing on the same train as the narrator's, the man, who stretches out beneath the folds of his burnoose, whiles away the time by gazing at a little pocket mirror, in the sterile unity of the lone performer and his disenchanted audience. Uncaring of the scrutiny to which the narrator subjects him, he gets off at a train station outside the city limits, in a swirling gust of snow, "dans le noir, dans le froid, dans ... l'inconnu" (13).

As the narrative is identified with its vague, elusive subject, the sterility of ignorance couples with impotent curiosity, and makes "L'un d'eux" a reflection of the enigma it does not clarify. A glimpse of the disguised man is the pretext for the story, gives impetus to a narrative framed as questions that go unanswered, "car où finira l'aventure?" as the teller had inquired: in the extra-textual, unknown space from which it had emerged and which images the unseen face which is covered by the narrative? In taking the perspective of both the narrator and subject, who peer out through the holes made in the fabric of their fictions, the text shows that reality is the reader's point of view, the gaze that probes the darkness and gazes into the unknown.

Indeed, the fictional identities that he confected and refined, Lorrain's ever-changing image as a novelist and journalist, as a *malfaiteur*, critic, and chronicler of tawdry *moeurs parisiennes* were works collaboratively authored by the writer and his readers, who fitted on his face the masks he painstakingly designed. Yet Lorrain also feared being mistaken for his characters, being locked inside disguises that served to publicize his books. Jullian cites a letter to a journalist in Nice, in which Lorrain complains of being trapped in an obsolete persona, confused with the protagonist in his most sensational piece of fiction: "Que de malades, que de curieux, que de fantaisies malsaines je traîne après moi .... Quand cesserai-je d'être pour toutes ces folles et ces fous le triste M. de Phocas?" (276). Thus, a prospect just as frightening as being unwatched and unnoticed, a clown whose self-demeaning show plays to an empty hall each night, is being thwarted in the creative propagation of new selves, a charlatan whose repertoire consists of one unchanging role. As the mask transforms the wearer into the false face it displays, and is an instrument delivering him from the prison of consistency, the success of its effect may make it harder to remove. Reified as the reputation which has captured his identity, he no longer is an author, but a text assigned one meaning.

The satisfying freedom of refiguring the self as proliferating narratives of caricaturized others is succeeded by the horror of a fixed disfiguration, being misidentified as the object of others' confining, hostile readings. In "Le Masque," Lorrain describes a cafe rendez-vous at midnight, a costumed crowd of body parts made fetishistically more appealing by the fact that amidst the horse-hair beards, painted grins, and cardboard noses are the real white breasts, the powdered arms and amber necks of disguised women. Yet the best mask is the one the narrator is unable to take off, the *visage charcuté* of a patient discharged from the hospital, the ghastly, skinless, pink scar tissue "d'une tête d'écorché" (44). "L'être condamné à porter éternellement le même masque," as Buraud says, is "la victime d'un tourment infernal, celui de ne jamais changer, d'être toujours la même monotone et hideuse chose" (58).

What Lorrain most desires is to be set free by his masks, so that at the end of every narrative, he may consign his mouthpiece to the closet. Yet desiring not just to wear his masks but to witness them as well, Lorrain assumed the guise of reader of the fictions he proposed. In "Janine," Lorrain creates the part of a penurious musician, who reads the author's stories and yet finds defects in their premise, asserting that beyond the masks of colored, mottled wax are human faces "figés d'hypocrisie, masques de dissimulation" (133). In "Histoires du bord de l'eau" (in *Un Démoniaque*), Lorrain invents an unnamed letter-writer who denounces the disingenuousness of certain points made in the story. Another who describes himself as "un de vos lecteurs assidus" (52) interjects himself in *Le Vice errant* to amend the tale in progress, is created by the author so that he may play the role of editor, incorporating in the text details of its production and reworking. The inclusion of personae who act as simulated readers, evaluating the impact of the masks that he displays, allows Lorrain to act at once as the artist and his audience, to create new selves assessed as texts by others in his stories.

The fantasy enacted in a host of Lorrain's fictions is to multiply the author as his passing textual avatars, as the thousand eyes of readers who appraise and judge and damn him, and as the single masked performer who can scan his public's faces. Sculptor of posterity, Lorrain wrote his reputation, describing the perspective of those whose imagined views he borrowed. Like Charles Vellay, whom Lorrain cites in *Monsieur de Phocas*, he craved the immortality that came from stealing others' eyes - "car je ne mourrai pas, et mes yeux vivront, parce qu'ils ne sont pas miens, parce que je les ai formés de tous les yeux avec toutes leurs larmes et tous leurs rires, et je survivrai à la dépouille de mon corps, parce que j'ai toutes les âmes dans mes yeux" (*M. de Phocas* 78).

It is the prerogative of gods to wear the form of their creations, to experience the fertility of their capacity for change, by descending into works which then admire or despise them. Narrative is the flesh that Lorrain shaped into his creatures, the medium reflecting him in his protean abjection. Prowler along the riverbank among the drunks at Point-du-Jour, flamboyant "tante mythique" (Jullian 59) befriending butcher boys and wrestlers, denizen of the *zone* cajoled by ragged, preening streetwalkers, Lorrain put on masks to hide the emptiness beneath them. As the object of the fascinated censure of society, Lorrain also was the dandy with his fancy clothes and jewelry, the whimsical buffoon with pink carnations in his buttonhole. As he flaunted the incarnation of his exaltedness and infamy, he envied the fecundity of self-propagating gods, but, like God, aspired "au masque le plus misérable pour mieux comprendre son oeuvre" (Buraud 232).

Ultimately Lorrain existed only as a performance, as the writer and public figure whose roles were commercially interchangeable. The totalizing experience of being author, work, and audience, a tawdry god that readers masked with hermeneutic deformations, eluded Lorrain, who sought to hide his lonely singularity behind a guise affording him the illusion of completeness. False transactions in which the reader pays and seemingly gets nothing, Lorrain's novels offer emptiness dressed in meretricious brilliance. The people seeking knowledge of the genuine Lorrain find him only in the trail of colored costumes left behind. In picking through the incidents of authorial self-disclosure, they examine Lorrain's writings in hopes of glimpsing the real author, but see him only as distortions of his reflection of their image. Not frightening masks designed to warn an audience away, Lorrain's texts invite the interpretations with which his readers clothe him, yet also are the hiding place from which he views the world while seeking new material for his fictions of the self.

Notes

1. "Il livrera une légende," as Pierre Kyria says of Lorrain, "autant dire qu'il établira un mur d'enceinte autour de son vrai moi, de son moi profond" (16).

2. "Analysts speak of a 'participant ego' and an 'observing ego,' meaning that while one part of the patient is giving his fantasy full rein in free association, another is, as it were, watching him do so and commenting on the significance of what he is saying.... The feeling is not at all unlike one's feelings as an audience or reader" (Holland 85).

3. A. David Napier remarks on significance of the larva, which, as he says, means a ghost, specter, or mask, "the insect's first stage being the mask (disguise) of its last one. That *larva* came to have truly sinister overtones is, in the view of André Chastel, explicit and incontrovertible: 'Comme le latin *larva*, qui désigne le spectre en même temps que l'instrument du déguisement, le mot *masque* ... a dû désigner anciennement une strige, une création fantomatique du caractère démoniaque'" (Napier 11).

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Methodology and Language in the Work of Lichtenberg

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Long a figure of conflict and contradiction within the environs of late eighteenth-century German literary culture, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-1799) not only participated in the German Enlightenment's final phase; his scepticism and imagination also undercut and surpassed the Enlightenment.[1] A staunch apologist for rational thought and reasoned action, he was yet ever fascinated by the irrational and inexplicable eccentricities of human nature, both private and public.

What is more, as physicist and lifelong physics professor at the University of Göttingen, Lichtenberg is known today largely for his literary contributions. Among these, the many journal essays on contemporary culture published during his lifetime were soon outdated, but his aphorisms, personal notes, rough drafts, observations, and sundry remarks published posthumously in his *Sudelbücher* have carried his fame into the twentieth century.[2] It is due to just such contradictions, according to Dieter Lamping in his recent study of Lichtenberg, that the writer has become "nicht immer historischer sondern immer aktueller" (16).

This article is predicated upon the premise that Lichtenberg's modernity - his understanding of the contradictions or dialectic of enlightenment - is mediated and structured through his understanding of language.[3] Not the *what* of his essays' and aphorisms' content and topics, but the *how* of their methodology and strategy is the key to Lichtenberg's thought and epistemology. And Lichtenberg's use of language remains the key structuring principle of that methodology and strategy. As Joseph Stern notes in his essay on Lichtenberg's aphorisms or *Sprachspiele*: "Sprache und Welt, das Wort und das Ich stehen in diesem Lebenswerk in einem analogischen Verhältnis zueinander" (74).

The following pages will explore Lichtenberg's theory and practice of language from the standpoint of the relationship between language and method. They will examine some representative essays and aphorisms that deal not only thematically with language, but which are even more revealing for Lichtenberg's critique of the Enlightenment through the manner in which they utilize language as a mode of discovery and structure language into communication.

Two brief satires of Lichtenberg may serve well as entrance points to his linguistic perspective of the contemporary enlightenment. In his "Verzeichnis einer Sammlung von Gerätschaften (welche in dem Hause des Sir H. S. künftige Woche öffentlich verauktioniert werden soll)," published in 1789 in the *Göttinger Taschenkalender*, a short essay functions as the prologue to a list, a catalogue alleged to be the personal effects of a certain Sir Hans Sloane.[4]

After rendering thanks to his mentor Jonathan Swift - the list in question is said to have been discovered on the back cover of a volume of Swift's works, and it is said to carry the subtitle "in the manner of Dr. Swift" - the author succinctly interprets the list to follow as "eine ziemlich treffende Satyre auf einen damals verstorbenen reichen aber unwissenden Naturalien-, Artefakten- und Raritäten-Sammler, der mit ungeheuerem Aufwand eine Menge des unnützesten Plunders in seinem Cabinet aufgehäuft habe" (451).

The "Verzeichnis" itself consists of an ironically annotated catalogue of thirty items, all of which, due to their absolute uselesness, reveal the empty pedantry of collecting useless things. From "ein Messer ohne Klinge, an welchem der Stiel fehlt" (452) to "ein Gespann Pferde, denen der Verstorbene das Makulaturfressen beigebracht hat" (457), the nomenclature of fantastical nonsense is here fashioned into an allegory for the "non-sense" on the part of the collector, the systematizer.[5]

While the "Verzeichnis" was among Lichtenberg's last writings, one of his first, his "Patriotischer Beitrag zur Methyiologie der Deutschen" (1773) also deals with the subject of language - here, common idioms in high German and in various German dialects for denoting alcoholic inebriation - as a parodistic tool against the abstract systematism of classic rationalism.

After a mock dedication which parodies that of the traditional, scholarly treatise - "Allen hochwürdigsten, hochgeborenen, hochwürdigen, hochwohlgeborenen, wohlwürdigen, wohlgeborenen, ehrwürdigen und hochedelgeborenen, wie auch allen großachtbaren, wohledeln und wohlehrenfesten launigten roten Nasen ..." - the author in the essayistic prologue or *Vorrede* gives the appearance of grave patriotic concern, lest another country surpass Germany in its obsession with systematic knowledge. He accordingly and with much irony justifies his list (the perfect system) of the nomenclature of intoxication: "Was mich hauptsächlich hierauf aufmerksam gemacht hat, ist der Einfall, den ein Engländer zwar noch nicht gehabt hat ... aber vermutlich haben wird, ich meine, den Gedanken, die Kunst zu trinken, systematisch zu behandeln" (18). Consequently, in order to accomplish perfect organization the "Beitrag" itself presents to the reader precisely 144 - that is to say, 12 times 12 - idioms.

And yet, at the conclusion of the "Vorrede" Lichtenberg leaves his readers with an allusion to a possible solution to the dilemma being satirized, that is, the extremes of absolute systematism - collecting and cataloging the nomenclature of drinking and absolute chaos - the experience of alcoholic intoxication itself. Arguing on the one hand that "in einer Wissenschaft nicht viel mehr geleistet werde, sobald man sie systematisch zu behandeln anfange" (20), Lichtenberg recommends that one drink with reason and moderation, so as to attain a golden mean between cold, hard sobriety and hopeless intoxication. He suggests that:

> ohne etwas Wein und etwas Beifall keine poetische Ader offen gehalten werden kann, und es verdient wenigstens einmal versucht zu werden, was auch die Vernunft auf den Flügel des Champagners ausrichten könne, da die Einbildungskraft Wunder auf denselben tut. (20)

The above allusion to *Einbildungskraft* or to a third way of thinking or manner of mediating between head and heart, between rationalism and sentimentalism, even between art and science is developed further in Lichtenberg's prose fantasy "Daß du auf dem Blocksberg wärst. Ein Traum wie viele Träume" (1799). The text's centerpiece is a dream, recounted by a fictitious friend of the author, in which the former finds himself in a carriage travelling up the fabled *Brocken* or *Blocksberg* in the Harz mountains:

> Ich ruhte dabei aus und schlief ein. Sogleich saß ich in einem leichten Wagen mit Vieren, und fuhr in einer Nacht bei sternen-hellem Himmel frisch zu. Ich kann nicht sagen, daß mir die Fahrt sehr gefallen hätte. Vermutlich hatte sich beim Einschlafen etwas von Walpurgis-Nacht auf meinen Traum-Apparat niedergeschlagen, so daß ich mich bei meinem Postillion nicht viel besser befand als Bürgers Lenore gegen das Ende ihrer Reise bei ihrem Dragoner. (328)

The reader soon learns that the significance of the dream is a linguistic one already alluded to in the title. Indeed, explains Lichtenberg in a footnote, the curse "daß du auf dem Blocksberg wärst" was as well-known a proverb as the mountain itself: "Man wünscht oder verwünscht gewöhnlich Dinge dahin, deren man in hohem Grad überdrüssig ist" (328). After recognizing many friends and acquaintances similarly cursed and wearing on their backs the name of their tormentor, the narrator awakens to the sound of his own laughter at the dream's absurdity.

But more relevant than the narrated dream itself is the essayistic frame surrounding it, that is, the comments of the narrator's fictive friend, the author himself, according to whom he and his friend often: "... spielten, statt mit Karten, die wir beide unversöhnlich haßten, mit Einfällen und Projekten aller Art, oft in die späte Nacht" (325). Among these, the author continues, was their habit of collecting curses in a green book entitled *Echt deutsche Flüche, und Verwünschungen, für alle Stände, nebst einem Anhange von Sprichwörtern und Fiktionen* (325).

It was, of course, subsequent to reading in this very book that, while asleep, the narrator (the author's friend) had succumbed to one of its curses. More important, he claims that the experience of the dream had been most revealing, that possibly a condition between dream and reality may be an ideal condition, because it would place fantasy and imagination within the vicinity of rationalism for the benefit of both:

> Du sagtest einmal bei dem Sprichworte: "hierüber muß ich mich beschlafen,'' es gelte bei verwickelten Angelegenheiten des Lebens, wo es gewöhnlich gebraucht werde, nicht vom Schlaf, sondern vom Wachen im Bette ..., doch sollte man da lieber sagen: hierüber muß ich mich beträumen. (337)

The otherness that derives from a dream or from intoxication functions for Lichtenberg not only as a stimulant, but also as a metaphor for the imagination, for an alternative to logic, rationalism, and reason.

Located between the extremes of fantasy and rationalism, Lichtenberg's understanding of language as instrument of enlightenment is best evident in his *Sudelbücher*. Both the title and the purpose of Lichtenberg's personal and life-long journal derive from the journal itself - the designation *Sudelbücher* is the title of "Book F" and "Book J," containing the notes of 1789-1793, described itself in the subtitle as "Vermischte Einfälle, verdaute und unverdaute Begebenheiten, die mich besonders angehn. Auch hier und da Exzerpte, und Bemerkungen, die an einem andern Ort genauer eingetragen oder sonst von mir genützt sind" (367).

Indeed, Lichtenberg's *Sudelbücher* are nothing less than an allegory for his understanding of enlightenment, for the perception of the self and the world through subjective, yet critical organization of experience and experiment. In describing his *Schmierbuchmethode*, Lichtenberg himself employed a bookkeeping metaphor:

> Die Kaufleute haben ihr Waste book ..., darin tragen sie von Tag zu Tag alles ein, was sie verkaufen und kaufen, alles durcheinander ohne Ordnung, von diesem wird es in das Journal getragen, wo alles mehr systematisch steht, und endlich kommt es in den Ledger at *double entrance* nach der italienischen Art Buch zu halten .... Dieses verdient von den Gelehrten nachgeahmt zu werden. Erst ein Buch, worin ich alles einschreibe, so wie ich es sehe oder wie es mir meine Gedanken eingeben, alsdann kann dieses wieder in ein anderes getragen werden, wo die Materien mehr abgesondert und geordnet sind, und der Ledger könnte dann die Verbindung und die daraus fließende Erläuterung der Sache in einem ordentlichen Ausdruck enthalten. (220)

For Lichtenberg, such an organizing of one's thought was not so much an apology for systematic epistemology as it was an opportunity to think about or examine something in the first place.[6] Such a movement between chaos and order, such a collecting, organizing and articulating of his experiences and experiments, his "Pfennigswahrheiten," was ultimately a collecting, organizing and articulating of language.

His journals are replete with the recognition of the relationship among language, methodology, and knowledge: "Wenn man die Menschen lehrt *wie* sie denken sollen und nicht ewig hin, *was* sie denken sollen: so wird auch dem Mißverständnis vorgebeugt" (292) or "Ein guter Ausdruck ist so viel wert als ein guter Gedanke, ..." (252). He consequently argues in the vein of the classic Enlightenment that the defining moment of all enlightenment centers around correct concepts:

> Ein gutes Mittel, gesunden Menschenverstand zu erlangen, ist ein beständiges Bestreben nach deutlichen Begriffen, und zwar nicht bloß aus Beschreibungen anderer, sondern soviel möglich durch eigenes Anschauen. Man muß die Sachen oft in der Absicht ansehen, etwas daran zu finden, was andere noch nicht gesehen haben; von jedem Wort muß man sich wenigstens ein Mal eine Erklärung gemacht haben, und keines brauchen, das man nicht versteht. (525)

However, the dilemma of language began for Lichtenberg in the conventional confusion of thing and thing named, of confusing language for the reality it represented, that is, in the problem of nomenclature or the *Wörterwelt*:

> Es ist ein ganz unvermeidlicher Fehler aller Sprachen, daß sie nur genera von Begriffen ausdrücken, und selten das hinlänglich sagen was sie sagen wollen. Denn wenn wir unsere Wörter mit den Sachen vergleichen, so werden wir finden, daß die letzteren in einer ganz anderen Reihe fortgehen als die ersteren. (76)

Such a confusion between the general and the specific leads less to an enlightenment than to an obscurity through language: "Was Baco von der Schädlichkeit der Systeme sagt, könnte man von jedem Wort sagen. Viele Wörter, die ganze Klassen ausdrücken, oder alle Stufen einer ganzen Leiter, werden wie von einer Stufe als individua gebraucht. Das heißt die Wörter wieder indefinieren" (159).

Lichtenberg suggests therefore that language be understood, not as a means of defining the world, but as a means for suggestion, allusion, or referral:

> Man schreibt sehr viel jetzt über Nomenklatur und richtige Benennungen, es ist auch ganz recht, es muß alles bearbeitet und auf das Beste gebracht werden. Nur glaube ich, daß man sich zu viel davon verspricht, und zu ängstlich ist, den Dingen Namen zu geben, die ihre Beschaffenheit ausdrücken. Der unermeßliche Vorteil, den die Sprache dem Denken bringt, besteht dünkt mich, mehr darin, daß sie überhaupt Zeichen für die Sache, als daß sie Definitionen sind. Ja ich glaube daß gerade dadurch der Nutzen, den die Sprachen haben wieder zum Teil aufgehoben wird. Was die Dinge sind, dieses auszumachen ist das Werk der Philosophie. Das Wort soll keine Definition sein, sondern ein bloßes Zeichen für die Definition. (459)

This small number of exemplary journal entries must suffice here to represent the many others sprinkled throughout the *Sudelbücher* which attest to Lichtenberg's belief that the structure and strategy of epistemology and methodology, is one suspended in words. The final segement of this article will attempt a brief examination of the linguistic strategies Lichtenberg engaged in organizing his methodology.

Upon first glance, Lichtenberg's use of language in his critique of eighteenth-century German Enlightenment is evident in his sceptical style subversive of the status quo and allowing for other possibilities and perspectives. Accordingly, for Albrecht Schöne in his *Aufklärung aus dem Geist der Experimentalphysik* (1982), such a sceptical style is articulated through the subjunctive mood. Thus would an attitude of hypothecization be applied to the cultural world, just as scientific methodology applied experimentation to the natural world. For Schöne, Lichtenberg's penchant for the grammatical mode of the subjunctive articulated the author's sceptical position toward what was and the hypothetical dynamic toward what might be.

An open-ended dynamic that undercut the closed stasis of classic rational theory and systematism was further driven by Lichtenberg's eclectic methodology, his empirical observations which were subjectively mediated.

In his famous essay on Lichtenberg, Max Rychner postulated this eclecticism to have been structured by the author's "desultory" manner of writing - subjective, selective and polycentric:

> Indem er immer beschleunigter zugriff, unterschied, verknüpfte, Bezüge wob oder zerriß, blieb sein Denken wesentlich gleichartig: sprunghaft rasch, unsystematisch. Er hat eine "desultorische," das heißt umherspringende [Methode] als sein höchstes Vergnügen bezeichnet, weil schlechthin alles, was er lesend anfaßte, gegenseitig auf sich und auch auf ihn verwies; seine hervorbringende Kraft gab sich in kleinen Ladungen aus, Experimentierblitze, die aufeinanderfolgend von einer Kugel nach den verschiedensten Richtungen in den Raum zuckten. Das Aufgreifen und Fallenlassen eines Gegenstandes vollzog sich bei ihm in flinkem Wechsel; später kam er auf manchen zurück. (7)

Lichtenberg's desultory or meandering writing and thinking - his changing the subject and straying off the discursive trail - are immediately evident not only in his occasional essays, but characterize the very nature of his *Sudelbücher*, wherein each entry represents a fresh start in a different direction.[7]

Yet, unceasing divergence alone, brought on by endles rifts and ruptures, leads nowhere and inevitably subverts enlightened communication altogether. To understand how Lichtenberg instrumentalized his desultory style of linguistic divergence and diversion for the benefits of communicative enlightenment, we must first examine briefly the stylistic and structuring principle of eighteenth-century wit.

Often implying a higher level of intelligence and creativity, the eighteenth-century understanding of wit (*Witz, esprit*) represented more than the courtly decorum of correct conversation and behavior. Wit was understood by Leibniz as early as 1666 to be the creative and synthetic, yet logical act of cognition, which brings forth new conclusions through correct deductions from familiar knowledge.[8]

More significantly for the eighteenth century, Christian Wolff in his *Deutsche Metaphysik* identified wit as the faculty of perceiving similarities in things, whereas Gottsched interpreted such a synthetic strategy as the means to bind together dramatic fable with moral lesson.[9] For Lichtenberg himself, who contrasted *Witz* ("*der Finder*" or "*das Vergrößerungsglas*") to *Verstand* ("*der Beobachter*" or "*das Verkleinerungsglas*"),[10] wit was the dynamo that powered his thinking: "Ohne Witz wäre eigentlich der Mensch gar nichts, denn Ähnlichkeit in den Umständen ist ja alles was uns zur wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis bringt, wir können ja bloß nach Ähnlichkeiten ordnen und behalten" (422).

From the perspective of wit we may now better understand Lichtenberg's "desultory" eclecticism as only the initial movement or straying away from familiar elements, concepts, and observations. Through wit this departure from the status quo of linear discourse is followed by a joining, combining or associating of these cognitive elements into a new and novel discourse. Wit then, represents the imaginative glue, the bridge, or, as Lichtenberg called them, intellectual canals that provide for a new convergence after the divergence. In this manner Lichtenberg first created for himself new language possibilities with which subsequently to discover new philosophical possibilites.

Wit, which represents the cornerstone of Lichtenberg's methodology, can function only through an awareness of and experimentation with language, because only through language can wit structure itself into an effective cognitive mechanism. As Helmut Heißenbüttel, a poet and craftsman of language himself, reiterates: "Der Witz Lichtenbergs hat seine Wurzel im Unbewußten wie in der Sprachüberraschung, also im Authentischen der Subjektivität wie im Authentischen der sprachlichen Kombinationsmöglichkeit" (85).

Two examples, the metaphor and the aphorism, illustrate well this strategy of wit, because both function dialectically to move cognitively away from the familiar to the unfamiliar and from the unfamiliar to a new association, a synthetic novelty or discovery.

A figure of speech that compares, associates and combines two seemingly unrelated elements by way of a third point of comparison or *tertium comporationis*, the metaphor is inscribed by wit through the linguistic combination of the departure and arrival implied by divergence and convergence respectively: Wenn man ein altes Wort gebraucht," writes Lichtenberg, "so geht es oft in dem Kanal nach dem Verstand, der das ABC Buch geschrieben hat, eine Metapher macht sich einen neuen und schlägt oft grad durch" (273).

Lichtenberg's second significant structure that deploys wit in a linguistic-literary strategy of opposition to classic rationalist theory, abstraction and systematism is the aphorism.[11] A descendant of the concise scientific and medical maxims of Hippocratus, the aphorism had long developed into an authentic literary short form by the eighteenth century. Logic and imagination, as well as individual observation and general abstraction are placed into a dramatic tension or conflict through the aphorism's unique verbal structures - typically antithesis, metaphor, chiasmus, proportion, parallelism, etc. - which alienate the assumed and familiar. The dialectic of wit brings about a resolution of the conflict; it forces the reader to reassess old assumptions and move accordingly toward a new and novel understanding.

Lichtenberg's aphorisms seek to discover and articulate a new insight into reality through language. Whether Lichtenberg wrote of language and its uses that "zum Lärmen-Machen wählt man die kleinsten Leute, die Tambours" (289), or "es war ihm unmöglich die Wörter nicht in dem Besitz ihrer Bedeutungen zu stören" (152), or "er las immer Agamemnon statt 'angenommen,' so sehr hatte er den Homer gelesen" (359), or "es gibt eine gewisse Art Leute, meistens junge Dichter, die das Wort *Deutsch* fast immer mit offnen Naslöchern aussprechen" (196) - his many aphorisms earned him the honor of Germany's first aphorist.[12]

This short discussion of Lichtenberg's understanding and use of language has attempted to demonstrate that this relation ranged from (1) a fascination with words for their own sake to (2) a critical awareness of the role of language in any process of per-ception or cognition to (3) strategies for language as a key component in any methodology. For Lichtenberg, these strategies centered about wit and its most effective structures, the metaphor and the aphorism. They best represent Lichtenberg's exploration of language as a critical yet imaginative vehicle that allowed him not only to challenge but also expand the contemporary boundaries of the eighteenth-century German Enlightenment.

Notes

1. For excellent studies on Lichtenberg's life and work see: Ulrich Joost, et al., Franz Mautner, Wolfgang Promies, Paul Requadt, Joseph Stern, or Gert Sautermeister.

2. In 1896 eight of Lichtenberg's eleven *Sudelbücher* were first discovered by Albert Leitzmann in manuscript form as part of the author's posthumous works. Leitzmann subsequently included them in his edition of *Lichtenbergs Nachlaß. Aufsätze, Gedichte, Tagebuchblätter, Briefe*. (1899).

3. See Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer.

4. The historical Sir Sloane died in 1753, when his personal belongings were acquired by the English state. What is more, his personal library represented the first holdings of the British Museum, founded in the year of Sloane's death.

5. In an ironical aside, Lichtenberg did admit that this item might prove to be of use to writers.

6. Lichtenberg noted in journal entry E 493: "Die Systeme haben nicht allein den Nutzen, daß man ordentlich über Sachen denkt, nach einem gewissen Plan, sondern daß man überhaupt über Sachen denkt, der letztere Nutzen ist unstreitig größer, als der erstere. Z.E. 'Assoziation" (260).

7. Of his own reading preferences Lichtenberg wrote in journal entry J 187: "Eine desultorische Lektüre ist jederzeit mein größtes Vergnügen gewesen" (380).

8. See Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, "Dissertation de Arte Combinatoria."

9. See Johann Christoph Gottsched or Christian Wolff.

10. See Lichtenberg's *Sudelbuch*, J 1288.

11. For an excellent study of the aphorism, see Gerhard Naumann.

12. The *Reallexikon* accordingly calls Lichtenberg the founder of the German aphorism.

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The Political Cartoon and the German Oxymoron: A Country Divided in Unification

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Ralph Waldo Emerson said that caricatures are "often the truest history of the times" (Hess 41). This is an astute observation in that it takes into consideration the form and function of iconography, which at once reveals and evaluates important cultural and world events. Political iconography, or political cartooning, operates from much the same basis as do the political joke and political humor in society. The basic formal factor in these media is that they are operational on the theory of incongruity. Stein, writing about the joke, says: "According to the incongruity theory, the basic structure of the joke revolves around the conflict between norms, and the incongruous union of two distant ideas or meanings" (91). Journalistic iconography, too, must incorporate a similar conflict between norms and the incongruous union of distant ideas or meanings if it is to have any form of meaningful impact. Like the popular joke, the wider the distance and the variance between the two normative spheres illustrated in cartoon imagery and/or language, the greater the impact on the reader.[1]

Once the normative spheres and the distance between them has been struck in an atmosphere understandable to the reader, the resolution of the conflict, or the coming together of the spheres must be carried out. This resolution is the same situation one achieves in a joke through the punch line and usually produces laughter. Laughter is evidence that the message has been received. Thus the foundational structure of political/editorial iconography is fairly equivalent to that of a popular joke (Volkswitz).

The anachronistic focus on an historical situation, the consideration of remnants of the past or that which is bound to an antiquated system can be energetically aggressive in an iconograph. The combining of the conflicting spheres which perpetuates the aggression can be represented in a single, and sometimes historical moment, or through a play on words associated with the iconograph. It is tendentious in nature and is almost always a critical statement. "The graphic caricature or cartoon not only provides a record of the vernacular - the dress and design, fads and foibles - but also represents a stop-action picture of what a group of talented observers feels is noteworthy at a particular moment" (Hess 41, 43). The iconographer can also act vicariously for the real or latent cultural belief of some element of society when he/she assumes the task of unveiling that which is antiquated or attempts to bring the reality of a veiled situation to the popular consciousness. The watchdog profile of the political cartoonist can only ever be successful when there is a popular belief enough wide-spread that serves the innate feelings of the receptor of the message. Walt Kelly, reflecting on the role of the cartoonist, said: "It is the duty of the watchdog to growl warnings, to bark, to surmise that every strange footfall is that of a cat, to worry about birds, and to suspect unknown insects" (Hess 46). In this way the political cartoonist also acts as the shaper of events.

The political/social iconograph, like the political joke, acts as a satirical valve for mental resistance by the weak. Also similar to the political joke, the satirically charged political cartoon is a popular protest against the political unpleasantness which prevents people from living according to their desires (Gamm 9). The satirically saturated cartoon also helps the reader concentrate on the problems in society, usually showing the foolishness or absurdity of a prevailing attitude, process or condition. Like the absurd joke which Lixfeld has studied in relationship to aggression, the absurd political cartoon attacks certain ways of thinking. Lixfeld says: "Through direct identification of the normal with the absurd and surreal ... an attack is made on habitual ways of thinking, which are thus confronted and shaken by an unreal constellation" (229).

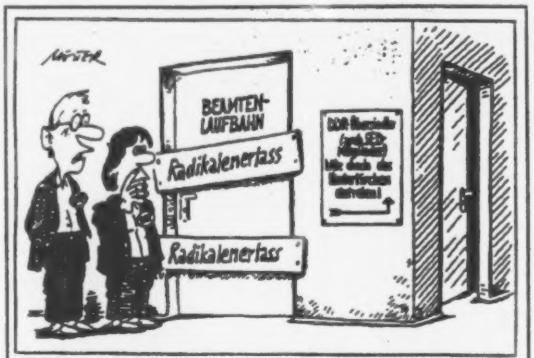
"For good or bad, the cartoon can be a powerful force, and in its very nature it is a critical instrument because, in a broad sense, its base is caricature and caricature is ridicule. It can be adapted to various uses. One day it can be gently humorous, which is often more deadly, or it can be a sixteen-inch gun blasting at a target" (Fitzpatrick 1).

It is essential to understand the reasons for employing *Der Spiegel* and the year 1992 in this discussion of the editorial cartoon and German Unification. The first selection criterion is that *Der Spiegel* has a substantial popular readership. Data available in 1991 showed that *Der Spiegel* had a readership in excess of one million (Hübner 47). However, by 1992 one would assume an even larger readership due to the increased international interest in Germany and the potentially new domestic readership from the five new "Bundesländer." A second important criterion for selecting *Der Spiegel* is the quality and availability of socio-political cartooning done by many popular iconographers including many reprints from other sources.[1]

There were over 400 political cartoons published in *Der Spiegel* during the year of 1992 either in conjunction with feature articles, letters to the editor or which actually took the prominent position of the frontispiece. Of the total number of cartoons published, this writer interpreted approximately fifty of them as having a connection with German Unification, although some of them obviously carry secondary and tertiary messages as well. Interestingly, for the first six months of 1993 other political and social issues prevailed in Germany to the extent that German Unification in terms of political iconography was overshadowed in *Der Spiegel*. Only three or four cartoons relating to conditions of unification appeared in *Der Spiegel* from January through June of 1993, and two of those did not appear until the last week of May when the unification-related, divisive abortion issue was settled on by Germany's high court. In 1992, however, unification was a very charged issue, much on the minds of the people, which the volume of unification-oriented cartoons in *Der Spiegel* illustrates.

Of the *Spiegel* cartoons about Unification appearing in 1992, most were thematically oriented around the economy. Next in abundance were those directed at the East-West relationships that had developed by that time in the United Germany. While some of these iconographs consider institutional perspectives, most of them dwell on a more personal level where special interest, human foibles and misdirected energy lead to division and separation rather than unity. I have separated these iconographs, that I call "A Country Divided in Unification" cartoons, into three categories: 1) Old Baggage, 2) The So-Called Solidarity, and 3) The New Wall Icon. Many of the "Divided in Unification" cartoons tend to focus on attitudes about the former DDR. They are more likely, though cryptically, more directed at all quarters, both East and West, where certain attitudes about East-West relations may be held. I will discuss a combination of cartoons stemming from the three categories just mentioned.

Political and party orientation in the old DDR is a remnant of "Old Baggage" treated in *Der Spiegel*. Mester (72) takes up the situation of former citizens of the DDR, including members of the SED, and those who had lived in the West as members of the DKP, the German Communist Party.



„Wir hätten damals gleich in die Mutterpartei eintreten sollen – statt in ihren westdeutschen Ableger!"

The cartoon depicts two doors, or entry ways, which draws the theory of incongruity into consideration. Both doors are located in what must be an office building. These doors symbolize the varying possibilities for career advancement. The one, closed and designated "Beamten-Laufbahn," is contrasted to the second which is slightly open to receive members of the former DDR. The latter door is down a hallway off the main corridor and is only remotely accessible. This door, according to a directive in the main hallway is for

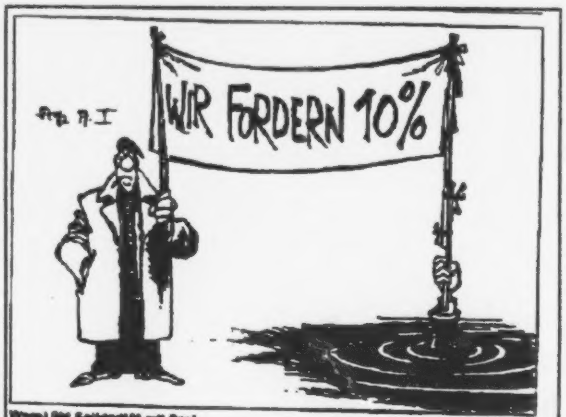
"DDR-Übersiedler (auch SED Mitglieder)." Should these individuals desire to enter a career path, they are to enter through the back door (Bitte, durch das Hintertürchen eintreten!"). Thus, for former citizens of the DDR, including members of the SED, the East German Communist Party, the door to career mobility is only slightly ajar, certainly remote and out of the mainstream.

The other door, the one designated as "Beamten-Laufbahn," while in the main corridor, is completely shut. Furthermore, it is fully inaccessible by virtue of two boards having been nailed across the doorway in front of the door. In large letters, repeated on each of the two boards, is the notification that a "Radikalenerlass," a decree or ordinance, is in effect for those trying to achieve entry at this door. This "Radikalenerlass" seals the fate of those designated as radicals in the FRG: barred; no possibility of career development in the Federal Republic.

Standing in the main hallway outside the door barring radicals are two chums wearing DKP buttons. Looking at the "Radikalenerlass" signs on the door, the one DKP member says to the other, "Wir hätten damals gleich in die Mutterpartei eintreten sollen - statt in ihren westdeutschen Ableger!" This statement recognizes the fate of persons belonging to political parties in the FRG who are officially considered radical and are banned from career advancement. There is irony in the juxtapositions woven into this cartoon, and this irony focuses on a form of incomprehensible discrimination, if not hypocrisy, prevalent particularly on the minds of those who have been shut out in the new FRG. One has to wonder why one Communist-oriented political party, the SED, would not be held in the same contempt as the DKP, the SED's West-German cohort - or why the DKP is not granted at least the same limited favor as the former SED. If one form of Communist activity is tolerated, though disadvantaged, in the democracy of the FRG, why not the other? One cannot assume with any validity that former members of the East-German SED are any more assimilated as idealogues of democracy in the FRG than are their West-German counterparts.

Assuming that Mester's portrayal here is an objective representation of the official attitude of post unification Germany toward those who simply lived in the DDR, those who were SED members, and those who maintained a closer connection yet with Communism in the FRG, there are varying degrees of acceptance of these in the FRG society, none of which is equitable with the general population in the West. The cartoon suggests that "Old Baggage" in the new nation is formidably disadvantageous. One comes away with the feeling that this is unfair in a democracy, particularly for those former DDR citizens who had few choices in that country as it relates to political posturing. The weight of the "Old Baggage" appears to increase the more one actively participated in the political affairs of the former DDR, and (Former) West-German Communists have no hope. Right or wrong about the type of discrimination, this cartoon is a reflection of post unification society which points out uneven treatment of various segments of society. It underscores the existence of a second-class citizenry in the new FRG and calls attention to the problems of a bifurcated society within the broader reaches of a democracy. On a broader basis, this cartoon puts democracy on trial, questioning its sense of fair-play in the FRG. Further, it recognizes the tensions which can flourish in a segmented society and do so in Germany between former elements of the East and the West.

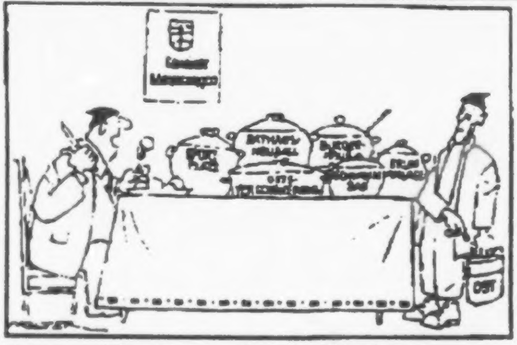
From the first promise of unification, through the October events of 1990 and even two years later, the talk of solidarity between the two halves of Germany persisted in many quarters. For many people it was an ideal to be practiced; however, for others it was merely a politically correct slogan. The *Spiegel* cartoons that can be counted amongst the "Solidarity" works actually dwell on the inability to come together rather than a congenial co-existence and are therefore characterized as the "So-Called Solidarity" cartoons. In this group of cartoons the theory of incongruity rests upon either the ostensible intent to show solidarity contrasted with the lack of know-how to fulfill it or feigned intent which disregards the real condition of the East in favor of western German interests.



Wessi übt Solidarität mit Ossi

The only cartoon in this category which actually uses the word solidarity (HZG 27) features a banner as the connecting link between East and West. The "Wir" on the banner supports the theme of solidarity in this piece. The complete statement on the banner reads, "Wir fordern 10%," which presumes that the two characters holding the banner aloft are united in their efforts to receive an increase of 10% (apparently in salary). Thus, the scene is reminiscent of a labor force demonstration in which the eastern German worker and the western German worker are united in their common goal and their support of each other.

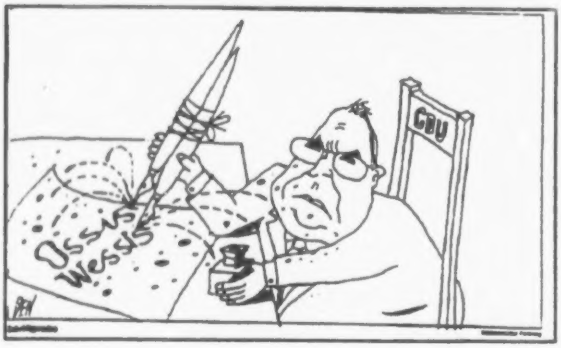
The whole condition of solidarity falls asunder, however, when the theory of incongruity reveals that the eastern worker is not on common ground with the worker from the West. As a matter of fact, not only is there no common ground, there is no ground at all for the Easterner. The eastern worker is submerged in a hole full of what appears to be water or oil. The only member of the worker's body to be seen is the forearm and hand rising vertically out of the liquid and clutching the staff which is connected to the banner. Compared to the complete pole sustaining the western side of the banner, the eastern pole is broken. Although broken, it is mended and the eastern ability to hold the banner aloft appears not to be completely disarmed. There is a steadiness and determination in keeping the banner up, even in the midst of these formidable eastern conditions. By contrast, the western worker has sure footing on solid ground. His staff is whole and unimpaired. He has a cigarette in his mouth and wears a baret, has on a tie and an overcoat. In other words, he has the essentials of life and more. More important is the fact that this western worker seems to be totally unconscious of the condition of his "co-demonstrator" who is only feet away and probably drowning. One does not get the impression either that the western worker is even slightly inclined to look in that direction. Thus, the caption satirically states, "Wessi übt Solidarität mit Ossi." Incorporating the idea of "10%" into the cartoon is further evidence that there is little desire on the part of the West to help the East achieve a parallel position of parity with sure footing on solid ground and the basic essentials of life. "10%" more of a relatively low sum is still very little in comparison to "10%" of a more opulent figure. It appears the West is much more concerned with its own well-being than fostering cooperative interests with the East in its demand for "10%," and the concept of "Solidarity" is ironically destroyed in this cartoon.



„Fragen Sie doch mal in der Nachbarkommune; wir selbst haben auch nur, was man halt dringend so zum Leben braucht!"

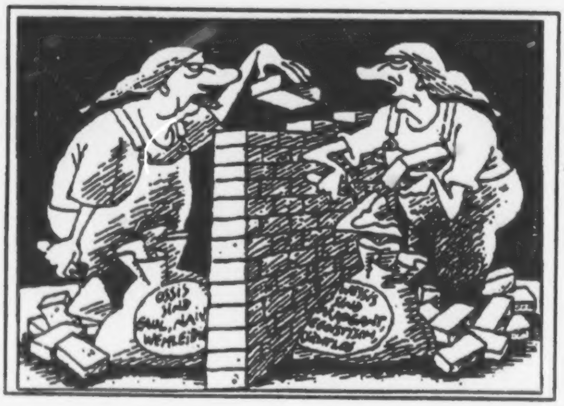
In another, there is a disparaging attitude of the West in its prodigious abundance in comparison to the more indigent conditions of the East (Wolter 4). Seated at a large dinner table is a rather well-stuffed male figure who represents the West or a community in the

West, "Gemeinde Bömmelingen." He has had a history of eating like an epicure if his portly posture is any indication. Entering at the opposite end of the table is another, although this time meager, male figure carrying a bucket simply labelled "Ost." He points to his bucket with a "please help me" gesture. The caption of the cartoon gives the West's response to this enquiry for assistance in that it says: "Fragen Sie doch mal in der Nachbarkommune; wir selbst haben auch nur, was man halt dringend so zum Leben braucht!" The thing that explodes the congruity of the message in this cartoon is the way the dinner table is prepared. There is pot after pot of things to consume. These include "Sportplatz," "Rathausneubau," "Bürgerhaus," "Ortsverschönerung," "Schwimmbad," and "Grünanlage." Contrasted with the bucket of need of the East, these "essentials" of the West are excessively immoderate and certainly, comparatively speaking, are not "...only what we *urgently* need to support life" [emphasis added]. Adding to this picture of the West's well-being, the lower edge of the table cloth is monogrammed all the way around with DM, a sign of world monetary strength. This cartoon is a further criticism of the anti-altruistic attitude of the West toward the East. On another level it questions the greed of the West German society in its own right.



The next of these "Solidarity" cartoons points a finger directly at government and to the Chancellor in particular. The impotence of government and governmental leaders to unify, not the country, but the people, is the theme of this piece (BEN 19). Actually, the focus is more pointed than that since a caricature of Helmut Kohl sitting on a chair marked "CDU" is an object of our attention. Thus, the CDU, as the leading coalition party, is seen as a significant contributor to the impotence characterized here. The Kohl-caricature is seated at a desk, and as the caption indicates, he is doing a "Schriftprobe." On the desk is a piece of paper on which the Chancellor is writing, ink pens in one hand and an ink bottle in the other. The two pens are bound together with a string. The leader of state, and the CDU, has tied the pens together to do his writing experiment. His purpose is to cause both pens to write in tandem, to draw parallel images which would show East-West unity on a personal level. The irony is that while parts of the parallel image turn out to be mirrored reflections of each other, other sections of the attempted unified image have radically different lines which point to a divergence. This experiment results in one line of this attempted experiment turning out to be "Ossis" and the other "Wessis." Kohl appears to be frustrated in his attempt. But a further indication of the failure of the experiment is that in his attempt to write in unity, he has soiled the paper with numerous ink spots and flecks. As if this were not bad enough, Kohl himself is besmirched with some of the ink on his suit and face. This cartoon intimates that Kohl and his party have not dealt well with the personal side of German unification. Indeed the experiment has been botched. Bungled to what extreme? The unification experiment of drawing parallel images not only failed, but the mess created in the attempt will be difficult to clean up. In other words, the Chancellor's image and that of his party is that they have been unable to bring "Ossis" and "Wessis" together in a cohesive unit in an unsullied environment. Kohl and his party are seen as going through a unifying process, but no solidarity is achieved. To the contrary, the Chancellor contributes to the messy situation which results, leaving him and his party severely tarnished.

Starke's "New Wall" caricature displays a wall in the making (169). Already well underway, yet not so high that the respective East-West masons cannot see each other over the barrier between them, each worker is busily engaged in laying block upon block on the wall.



Between the masons, they have sufficient blocks and mortar to ultimately put each other out of sight. As they gaze at each other, the wall is not the only indication of a division between them; their eyes and facial expression show an intense dislike for each other. Their work does not preclude eye contact, a stare-down of sorts, with each having a vision of disdain for the other. The mortar, or the material that binds this division together (oxymoron) is extracted from a sack belonging to each mason. And this is the telling tale. Each sack has a label. The mortar of growing hatred (perhaps too strong a statement) in the West is that "Ossis sind faul, naiv, wehleidig." Across the wall, the mason of the East fortifies the barrier with his own kind of mortar: "Wessis sind arrogant, egoistisch, (rück)sichtlos."

And so the perception is that since unification, since the East and West have had an opportunity to experience the other on a more personal level, a mental wall of hatred is being erected. A "New Wall" of division is replacing the old wall of division. The "New Wall" is being erected with attitudes, not real bricks and mortar. The cartoonist has designated some of the specific attitudes held by parties on both sides, i.e., western Germans believe that "Ossis" are lazy, naive and feel sorry for themselves. The reciprocated position of eastern Germans is that the "Wessis" are arrogant, egotistical, and inconsiderate - or as the visible portion of the word "sichtlos" suggests, without vision. This measurement of "unified" German culture suggests that real human to human unification may well be a long time in coming. The mental wall appeared yet to be going up in 1992. Starke's cartoon calls for the question, "How high and thick will this wall become before it too will come down?"

In 1992 it was evident from the cartoons appearing in *Der Spiegel* that the solidarity between East and West Germany, dreamed of in some quarters, had a very long way to go. More than that, the idea that the West either feigns solidarity, gives excuses, literally looks away in protection of its own interests, or is impotent in the personal side of unification, are cultural phenomena measured, treated and reflected in the political cartoon. The reality of the situation is not isolated in the political caricature. On the contrary, the political iconograph is surely an expression of important cultural and societal concerns.

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Mester. "Wir hätten damals gleich in die Mutterpartei eintreten sollen - statt in ihren westdeutschen Ableger!" *Der Spiegel* 21/1992, p. 72.

Starke. [No Title]. *Der Spiegel* 45/1992, p. 169. This cartoon also appeared in the *Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt*.

Stein, Mary Beth. "The Politics of Humor: The Berlin Wall in Jokes and Graffiti." *Western Folklore*. XLVII 2 (April 1989) pp. 85-108.

Wolter. "Fragen Sie doch mal in der Nachbarkommune; wir selbst haben auch nur, was man halt dringend so zum Leben braucht." *Der Spiegel* 46/1992, p. 4.

Notes

1. For a more detailed discussion on the structure and function of the popular joke (Volkswitz), including its conflicting norms, see Bausiner, Hermann. *Formen der Volkspoesie*. Berlin: Schmidt 19[illegible], 131-141. For commentary on the element of contradiction in the popular joke as a generator of satire, see: Jaeger, Joachim W. "Jokes and Aggression." *Humor un Satire in der DDR. Ein Versuch sur Theorie*. Frankfurt (Main): Fischer, 1984, 35-36.

2. A significant proportion of the cartoons appeared in the following publications before being reprinted in *Der Spiegel: Süddeutsche Zeitung, Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Rheinischer Merkur, tz München, Die Tageszeitung, Freitag, Die Zeit, Die Weltwoche, Vorwärts* and *Neues Deutschland*. The width and breadth of the publications shown here are a testimony to the popular acceptance of the caricaturists included in this article.

Thomas Mann: Deutschlandbilder eines Unpolitischen

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Spätestens seit der Wende in der früheren DDR sind unsere Deutschlandbilder wieder einmal total in Unordnung gebracht. Das ganze Land heißt zwar nun die Bundesrepublik, doch ist dies keinesfalls mehr die Bundesrepublik, wie wir sie alle kennen, die immer vornan in der Wirtschaft, der Technologie und der Forschung stand. In dieser neuen Bundesrepulik kriselt es, auch wenn von offizieller Seite bescheinigt wird, daß die "Nachwehen" der Vereinigung nun bald alle ausgestanden wären.

Das Stimmungsbarometer der Bundesrepublik zeigt deutlich, daß von der Euphorie nach dem Fall der Mauer nichts mehr zu spüren ist, daß sich stattdessen immer mehr Leute im Osten und Westen fragen, was sie eigentlich verbinde.

Man kann annehmen, daß diese Suche nach An- und Verknüpfungspunkten der Anlaß gewesen sein mag, daß gerade in den letzten Jahren eine Vielzahl von Publikationen auf dem deutschen Büchermarkt sich mit den Themen Vaterland, Heimat, Identität[1], oder dem "Deutschen an sich"[2] auseinandersetzten und -setzen. Diese Forschungsrichtung müßte eigentlich befremdlich wirken, wenn man hierbei bedenkt, daß die Frage nach dem Wesen des Deutschen - gerade von Seiten der Forschung - wegen der unausweichlichen Subjektivierung im Antwortspektrums eigentlich als Frage gar nicht zuläßig sein sollte.

Was hat all dies mit Thomas Mann und seinen Deutschlandbildern zu tun? Eigentlich nur eines: Bilder zu Deutschland können gerade in unserem Jahrhundert keine Festbilder mehr sein, auf die man sich verlassen könnte, sondern müssen in jedem Augenblick den neuen historischen und politischen Gegebenheiten angepaßt werden. Jede Festlegung muß zum Postulat gefrieren, die der Realität nicht gerecht werden kann. Die Ursache für die Konstruktion solcher Postulate ist zum einen im Wunschdenken verankert, zum andern im Bedürfnis tangible Realität aus abstrakten Gesellschaftsbedingungen zu schaffen.

Die Frage, was denn eigentlich Deutsch sei, kann sich demzufolge heute auch nicht mehr eindeutig bestimmen lassen - falls es sich je ließ. Fest steht, daß traditionelle hierarchische Gesellschaftsstrukturen, wie Rang und Klasse in diesem Jahrhundert schon mehrmals neu besetzt wurden, gemäß dem Diktat des jeweiligen politischen Systems. Das was sich also als deutsche Konstante bewahren sollte, ist es denn heute vielleicht nicht mehr.

Es ist schwer, ja nahezu unmöglich, auf diese Fragen Antworten zu geben, ohne sich selbst in immer mehr Stereotypen zu verstricken, die letztlich immer weniger nachprüfbar sind. An Hand einiger Essays aus dem Werk Thomas Manns, die so ziemlich alle wichtigen Stationen seines Lebens berühren und gleichzeitig die jeweilige historische und politische Situation Deutschlands beleuchten, soll gezeigt werden, daß Beteuerungen Thomas Manns, wie z.B., daß sich - mit der Zeit - vielleicht seine Gedanken zur Politik geändert hätten, jedoch nicht sein Sinn als persönliche Rechtfertigung eines politischen Gesinnungswandels wohl angehen mögen.[3] Er wird in seinen Essays Deutschland als solchem aber nicht gerecht, da er als Maßstab für Deutschland und das "Deutsche" immer nur seine eigenen Maßstäbe, sein Ästhetikverhältnis gelten läßt, dem die Deutschen zu keiner Zeit seines Schaffens gerecht wurden, da es ja nicht um die realhistorischen Bürger sondern um Wunschvorstellungen von Seiten Manns ging.

Es interessiert in diesem Rahmen weder die Frage, woher sein Gesinnungswechsel zwischen den "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen" und "Von Deutscher Republik" rührt, noch ob und wie dieser zu rechtfertigen ist.[4] Diesen Fragen ist insbesondere schon Kurt Sontheimer ausführlich nachgegangen.[5] Es interessiert hier auch nicht die Frage, ob man Thomas Manns Politikverständnis nur durch Einbezug von männlichem Eros näherkommen kann, wie Bernd Widdig in seinem Artikel "Mann unter Männern: Männerbände und die Angst vor der Masse in der Rede *Von deutscher Republik*" sehr überzeugend dargestellt hat.[6] Hier interessieren nur Bilder und ihre Fehl- oder Überbesetzung, wie sie sich in Thomas Manns politischem Essay finden.

Daß für diese Art der Untersuchung trotz der Fülle an Thomas Mann Forschung noch Platz ist mag vieleicht folgendes Zitat verdeutlichen, da in ihm die Prämisse von "spezifisch deutsch-bürgerlicher Art" als gegeben hingenommen wird, wo es doch gerade gälte dies zu hinterfragen: "Unordnung und frühes Leid ist das ... Erzählwerk, dessen Schauplatz in Deutschland liegt und dessen Sujet zugleich spezifisch deutscher Art ist."[7]

Thomas Mann setzte sich sein ganzes Leben lang mit dem Problemkreis Deutschland und deutscher Identität auseinander. Anders, als sein Bruder Heinrich, dem es in seinem Politik- und Gesellschaftsverständnis um die Nöte des Volkes ging, versteht es Thomas Mann, sich Deutschlandbilder zurechtzulegen, die sich an Künstlern und Ästheten ausrichten, die aber eines entbehren können: das Volk. Hans Mayer hat sicher recht mit seinen Beobachtungen, daß Thomas Manns eigentliche Sphäre ein ganzes Leben und Werk hindurch der ästhetische Bereich blieb und fremdes Leben nicht wahrgenommen hat.[8] Es wirkt jedoch wie ein Freibrief für jedweden Gesinnungswandel bei Thomas Mann wenn Mayer postuliert:

> Da seine Kunst von Anfang an danach strebte, menschliche Schwäche und Einsamkeit gleichzeitig zu heroisieren und zu ironisieren, kann es für diesen Schriftsteller keine Gemeinschaft geben. Damit im Grunde auch keine Politik.[9]

Was Mayer fordert ist Verständnis für Manns politischen Gesinnungswechsel, da dieser als Künstler und seinem Naturell gemäß nicht anders handeln konnte. Mayers Einfühlung in Mann und sein Werk mag psychologisch durchaus zutreffen, doch gilt es hier festzuhalten, daß Mann sowohl sein künstlerisches Werk als auch seine politischen Essays und Reden für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmt hatte, und sie somit der Kritik der Öffentlichkeit aussetzt, oder wie Walter Boehlich feststellt: "... es ist gleichgültig, wie Thomas Mann selbst [die "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen"] jeweils verstanden sehen wollte; nicht gleichgültig ist, wie sie gewirkt haben."[10]

In seiner ersten großen politischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Deutschtum, in den "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen" enstanden unter dem Eindruck der Kriegsjahre 1915-1917, sagt er der Demokratie, wie man sie zu jener Zeit in Frankreich und England vorfand, seinen Kampf an. Den größten Vorwurf machte er der - seines Erachtens - unrechtmäßigen Machtausübung des Besitzbürgers, wo alle Werte der Humanität, bzw. der Kultur zugunsten von politischem und wirtschaftlichem Nutzen veräußert werden. Daß Mann mit dieser Einstellung sicher das Wesentliche einer Industriegesellschaft trifft, mag dahingestellt bleiben. Viel wichtiger ist jedoch zu erkennen, daß er sich als Künstler in der Ausübung seiner künstlerischen Tätigkeiten durch die Idee der bürgerlichen Demokratie direkt bedroht sieht.

Bei der Begründung seiner Einstellung geht es ihm darum, zu zeigen, daß er damit der deutschen Seele gerecht werde und nicht den radikalen Zivilisationsliteraten, die in der Struktur ihres Geistes unnational, da sie nicht deutsch-national sondern national französisch seien (BeU 214). Der Zivilisationsliterat ist also der Handlanger der Politik und daher aus Manns Sicht nicht mehr unbefangener Kritiker eines politischen Systems, wie es der traditionelle Künstler zu sein hat (BeU 212).

Mann versteht es rhetorisch gewandt sein Deutschtum - auf Grund des südamerikanischen Einflusses seiner Mutter - als mehr europäisch-intellektuell denn deutsch-poetisch herauszustellen (BeU 225). Das gleiche wird auch auf seine geistig-künstlerischen Vorbilder angewendet: "... diese Namen für ein Dreigestirn ewig verbundener Geister, das mächtig leuchtend am deutschen Himmel hervortritt - sie bezeichnen nicht intim deutsche, sondern europäische Ereignisse: Schopenhauer, Nietzsche und Wagner (BeU 226f)." Diese Forderung wird dann aber zurechtgefeilt, indem Mann beansprucht:

In der Tat ist Wagner als geistige Erscheinung so gewaltig deutsch, daß mir immer schien, man müsse unbedingt sein Werk mit Leidenschaft erlebt haben, um von der tiefen Herrlichkeit sowohl wie von der quälenden Problematik deutschen Wesens irgend etwas--wenn nicht zu verstehen, so doch zu ahnen (BeU 232).

Wer kann dann noch Wagners Musik wirklich verstehen? Muß der Hörer, der sich dieser Musik mit Leidenschaft hingibt, bzw. hingeben kann, nicht eigentlich auf irgendeiner Ebene an diesem Punkt der Leidenschaft schon Deutscher sein? Ist demzufolge nicht jeder Ausländer ausgeschlossen, Wagners Deutschtum wirklich zu verstehen? Es steht außer Zweifel, daß die Interpretation eines Kunstwerks jedweder Art vom politisch-historischen Kulturkreis des Rezipienten beeinflußt wird. In Mannscher Logik wird allerdings dem Ausländer die Fähigkeit genommen, das Deutsche an sich zu erkennen. Konsequenterweise müßte dann allerdings auch Dostojewskis Urteil über die Deutschen, als großes, stolzes und besonderes Volk (BeU 204) für nichtig erklärt werden, da er ja unmöglich das Wesen der Deutschen erfassen könne. Mann schreibt jedoch: "In der Tat enthält Dostojewskis Formulierung des deutschen Wesens, der deutschen Urbesonderheit, des Ewig-Deutschen die volle Begründung und Erklärung der deutschen Einsamkeit zwischen Ost und West ... (BeU 204)." Manns Konzept von deutschem Europäertum stützt sich also auf die geographische Mittellage Deutschlands, bei der er Deutschland auch zum geistigen Durchgangsland machen will. Mann gebraucht dann allerdings Attribute wie "deutsche Urbesonderheit" und "Ewig-Deutsches", die in ihrem unumstößlichen Charakter die Idee eines geistigen Durchgangslandes ausschließen.

Es ist in sich unstimmig, wenn Mann zum einen fordert, daß "eine den Nationalsinn zersetzende Neigung zum Kosmopolitischen ... vom Wesen der deutschen Nationalität untrennbar ist, ... daß ohne einen Zusatz von Fremdem vielleicht kein höheres Deutschtum möglich ist ...(BeU 226);" er zum andern aber dann Nietzsches Deutschheit billigend definiert, als die "ungeheuere Männlichkeit seiner Seele, sein Antifeminismus, Antidemokratismus - was wäre deutscher? Was wäre deutscher als seine Verachtung der ... 'französischen Ideen', auf deren englischem Ursprung er besteht (BeU 238).

Es sind insbesondere zwei Prinzipien, von denen sich Thomas Mann in den "Betrachtungen" leiten läßt. Zum einen seine Angst vor einer Gleichschaltung des Kulturbetriebs in der bürgerlich-nationalen Demokratie, die für ihn die Ausschaltung kritischer Alternativen bedeutet; zum andern verweigert er sich den französischen Einflüssen als möglicher Alternative, weil er in ihnen den Kern allen "undeutschen" Übels sieht. In den "Betrachtungen" wird ein Deutschlandbild entworfen, das sich negativ von anderen Ländern absetzt, das dann allerdings per Dekret mit "richtigen" deutschen Werten besetzt wird.

Seine Schrift "Von Deutscher Republik", zeitlich vier Jahre nach Erscheinen der "Betrachtungen", ist ebenfalls von Deutschlandbildern durchzogen, die heute, in ihrem Anspruch auf Allgemeingültigkeit, nicht mehr haltbar sind.

Diese Schrift, die eigentlich nur der Rechtfertigung seines Gesinnungswandels dienen soll, ist eingebettet in eine Gerhart Hauptmann Würdigung. So liegt es denn nahe, daß der erste Verweis auf Deutschtum mit der Dichterfigur Gerhart Hauptmann zusammenfällt:

> Wodurch Sie aber namentlich siegten, Gerhart Hauptmann, war Ihr Deutschtum, das heißt Ihre echte Popularität - um nochmals Novalis zu zitieren, der das Ideal der Deutschheit eben hierdurch, als "echte Popularität", bestimmt - eine Volkstümlichkeit des humansten Gepräges.... [Die letzte kosmopolitische Bewegung] bildete das deutscheste Angesicht, das Gerhart Hauptmanns, sie führte diesen Meister empor, der Kraft echter Popularität heute zu fürstlich repräsentativer Stellung aufgerückt ist und in dem In- und Ausland das geistige Haupt des nachkaiserlichen Reiches ehrt (VDR 238f).

Es ist für den heutigen Leser schwer, Thomas Mann in seinen Darlegungen zu folgen. Superlative, wie "humanste" und "deutscheste" in Verbindung mit dem Adjektiv "echt" wirken nicht nur aufgesetzt, sondern erheben einen Absolutheitsanspruch, der heute schlechthin unhaltbar ist. Die Absicht Manns ist deutlich; er will dem Leser, über die Figur Hauptmanns, sein neugewonnenes Deutschlandbild näherbringen, ein Bild, in dem das "Deutsche" gleichzusetzten ist mit Popularität, d.h. Volksnähe. Er beruft sich bei diesem Unterfangen nicht nur auf Hauptmann sondern - wie schon in den "Betrachtungen" - auch wieder auf Wagner und Nietzsche, bzw. auf die deutsche Romantik ganz allgemein:

> Man kann, denke ich, dem Neuen in Deutschland behilflich sein, seinen "wesentlichen Zauber" zu entfalten, indem man es anzuschließen nicht an eine Sphäre und Epoche , deren geistiges Niveau das höchste bei uns je erreichte war, ... an die Sphäre der deutschen Romantik. (VDR 258)

Dieses Zitat, das für sich allein genommen zwar etwas schwülstig wirkt, aber als persönliche Meinung Thomas Manns durchaus zulässig und nicht weiter angreifbar ist, gewinnt eine andere Ebene, wenn man es mit folgender Aussage in Beziehung bringt:

> Hörtet ihr kürzlich die "Meistersinger"? [Sie sind], sage ich, deutsche Demokratie und beweisen mit biederstem Pomp, auf romantisch innigste Art, daß diese Wortverbindung, weit entfernt, naturwidrig zu sein oder die Logik des hölzernen Eisens zu verraten, vielmehr so organisch richtig gefügt ist, wie außer ihr vielleicht nur noch die andere: "Deutsches Volk." (VDR 250)

Auch hier sind es Superlative, die stutzig machen, doch muß hier beunruhigen, wie Thomas Mann Begriffe wie "Deutsche Demokratie" und "Deutsches Volk" als organisch richtig, d.h. als naturgewordenes Bild versteht. Thomas Mann begibt sich hier in den Bereich der Mythogenese, wie sie Roland Barthes in seinem Buch *Mythen des Alltags* definiert: "Die Sache, die bewirkt, daß die mythische Aussage gemacht wird, ist vollkommen explizit, aber sie gerinnt sogleich zur Natur. Sie wird nicht als Motiv, sondern als Begründung gelesen."[11] Thomas Mann verbindet hier Wagners "Meistersinger" mit den Begriffen der Demokratie und des Volkes, er unterlegt der Oper damit eine Gehaltsebene, die ihr erst durch seinen Beschluß zukommt, die aber nicht implizit in ihr vorhanden ist. An dieser Stelle sollte auch deutlich werden, daß Thomas Manns Aussage über die Romantik, nicht mehr nur als unschuldige Aussage gelesen werden sollte, sondern im gleichen Schema der Mythogenese, wobei das Neue, das es ja erst zu schaffen gilt, schon eingebettet wird in eine historische Tradition. Dies geschieht auch nicht auf Grund irgendwelcher historischer Vergleichsgegebenheiten, sondern wieder per Dekret; was nur Vergleich sein sollte, wird als Begründung gelesen.

Seinen Essay "Kultur und Sozialismus" aus dem Jahre 1930 beendet Thomas Mann mit folgenden Zeilen:

> Ich sagte, gut werde es erst stehen um Deutschland, ... wenn Karl Marx den Friederich Hölderlin gelesen haben werde ... Ich vergaß hinzuzufügen, daß eine einseitige Kenntnisnahme unfruchtbar bleiben müßte.[12]

Dagmar Barnouw hat in ihrer Analyse dieses Essays darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß Marx wahrscheinlich Hölderlin gelesen und besser als Thomas Mann verstanden habe.[13] Es kann hier jedoch nicht um Karl Marx und Hölderlin als Realfiguren gehen. Viel eher ist hier von einem weiteren Bild zu sprechen, in dem es Thomas Mann um die ideale Verknüpfung von Marxscher Politik und Hölderlinscher Humanität geht. Dieses Bild ist weitaus subtiler, als die vorhergegangen aus den "Betrachtungen" und "Von Deutscher Republik". Schon allein die Verwendung des Konjunktivs, weicht ab von den bisher eher imperativen Zuschreibungen von Deutschtum in seinen Essays. Was auch auffällt, ist, daß er dieses Zukunftsbild Deutschlands als sein eigenes zu erkennen gibt.

In seiner Rede "Deutschland und die Deutschen", die Thomas Mann 1945 in Washington hielt, bemühte er sich nochmals mit dem Konzept des "Deutschen" ins Reine zu kommen. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt ist es allerdings nicht mehr die Romantik, die er mit dem "Deutschen" gleichsetzt, sondern das Lutherische:

> Das Deutsche in Reinkultur, das Separatistisch-Antirömische, Anti-Europäische befremdet und ängstigt mich, auch wenn es als evangelische Freiheit und geistliche Emanzipation erscheint, und das spezifisch Lutherische ... erregt meine instinktive Abneigung. [Luther] war ein Freiheitsheld, - aber in deutschem Stil, denn er verstand nichts von Freiheit.[14]

Es wird deutlich, daß auch dieses Bild wieder der Notwendigkeit einer Begründung entspringt. Die Umstände dieser Rede, nämlich nach dem 2. Weltkrieg einem amerikanischen Publikum Deutschland näherzubringen, sind denkbar ungünstig. Doch arbeitet Thomas Mann wieder mythogenetisch, wenn hier Luther zum Vertreter des "Deutschen in Reinkultur" erhoben, und indirekt zum Sündenbock deutscher Kriegsverbrechen wird.

Bei diesem und den vorhergegangen Bildern geht es um eine Flucht, sich mit den tatsächlichen historischen Gegebenheiten auseinanderzusetzen. Es geht um Bilder, die er ohne die eigentlich Handelnden - das Volk - zeichnet; Bilder, die dazu dienen, ihm - dem Denker - Fixpunkte zu schaffen, die ihm erlauben, sich ein Volk nach seinem Gutdünken zu schaffen.

Thomas Mann steht mit seinen Deutschlandbildern nicht allein, was die Schwierigkeiten deutlich machen, die es derzeit in Deutschland gibt, sich als Deutscher zu definieren, ob dies nun politisch von Rechts oder Links kommt.

Endnoten

1. *German Studies Review* widmete dem Thema der deutschen Identität eine Sondernummer im Winter 1992.

2. Ansgar Nünning und Vera Nünning, Hrsg. *Der Deutsche an sich - Einem Phantom auf der Spur*. München, DTV, 1994.

3. Thomas Mann, "Von Deutscher Republik." *Aufsätze* III. Berlin u. Weimar: Aufbau Verlag, 1976, S. 234. Im Text VDR.

4. Thomas Mann, "Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen." *Aufsätze: Reden; Essays* II. Berlin u. Weimar: Aufbau Verlag, 1983. Im Text BeU.

5. Kurt Sontheimer, in *Thomas Mann*, Helmut Koopmann, Hrsg. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975, S. 165-226.

6. Bernd Widdig. "Mann unter Männern: Männerbünde und die Angst vor der Masse in der Rede *Von deutscher Republik*," *German Quarterly* 66 4 (Fall 1993) S. 524-536.

7. Werner Hoffmeister. "Thomas Manns *Unordnung und frühes Leid*: Neue Gesellschaft, neue Geselligkeit," *Monatshefte* 82 2 (Summer 1990).

8. Hans Mayer. *Thomas Mann*. München: edition text+kritik, 1976, S. 53.

9. Mayer, a a.O., S. 358.

10. Walter Boehlich. "Zu spät und zu wenig - Thomas Mann und die Politik," *Thomas Mann*. Heinz Ludwig Arnold, Hrsg. München: edition text+kritik, 1976, S. 53.

11. Roland Barthes. *Mythen des Alltags*. Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 1964, S. 113.

12. Thomas Mann. "Kultur und Sozialismus," *Reden und Aufsätze* II. Oldenburg: S. Fischer, 1965, S. 397.

13. Dagmar Barnouw. *Thomas Mann, Studien zu Fragen der Rezeption*. Bern und Frankfurt/M.: Herbert Lang, 1975, S. 98.

14. Thomas Mann. "Deutschland und die Deutschen," in *Reden und Aufsätze* II, a.a.O., S. 320f.

Apocalyptic Vision in Christopher Columbus's Voyages of Discovery

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As portrayed in Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, Christopher Columbus has been recognized by this title, which he was accorded by Ferdinand and Isabella after his first voyage to the New World. But there is something truly significant about Columbus that is not well known; he believed that he was divinely called of God, inspired to discover the islands of the sea, to take the message of Jesus Christ to the newly discovered inhabitants, and to aid in the recovery of Jerusalem before the coming of the end of the world. His vision of himself as a missionary and a crusader came long before the discovery of the New World. It appears in writings from throughout his life, in notes he wrote as early as 1481 in the margins of some of his books, and in letters he wrote to various individuals (*Libro* 2).

Surprisingly, little emphasis has been placed on Columbus's spirituality as an influence on his voyages of discovery, even though his apocalyptic vision of the world and the role he was destined to play in it tremendously influenced his travels (Watts 74). Some have argued that if Columbus had not sailed across the ocean someone else would have. But the important ingredient that Columbus had that was missing in others was his vision. It was so much a part of him that he let nothing keep him from fulfilling his dream (*Libro* 3).

In his writings describing the first voyage, Columbus portrays himself as a faithful Christian and a devout Catholic (Jane *Voyages* 15-18); those who knew him concur (Bedini 651). His account often reflects his concern for things of a religious nature as evidenced by his naming of the islands, his desire to see missionaries sent to convert the newly discovered peoples to Christianity, and his recognizing the hand of Providence in providing safe passage throughout the trip. Even his obsession with gold becomes linked with his apocalyptic vision as he records on Wednesday, December 26th, that he wants to obtain enough gold so that the Sovereigns can retake the Holy Places of Jerusalem (Jane Journal 128).

In March 1493, after Columbus reported the success of the first voyage, Ferdinand and Isabella wrote to him and encouraged him to return without delay. Columbus responded immediately and signed the document with this mysterious signature:

.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
Xp̄o FERENS

Although Columbus never revealed the meaning of the inscription, it is likely that he is recognizing himself as the servant of the Lord and as Christoferens or the Christ Bearer (Morison *Admiral* 357). He signed with this acronym until his death in 1506 and requested that his descendants do likewise (Watts 74).

While Columbus was being returned in chains from his third voyage to the Indies he wrote a letter to Doña Juana de la Torres. In it he demonstrated his belief that God had called him to be "the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth" as spoken of in St. John's Apocalypse. He had lost faith in the world but he still had hope in the Creator; it was in fact He who had showed him where to find the new heaven and the new earth (Chr. Columbus 148).

In 1500 Juan de la Cosa, a contemporary of Columbus who accompanied him on his second and third voyages, made the earliest world map which included the New World; on this map Columbus is depicted in the New World carrying the Christ child on his shoulders. Christoferens now bears Christ across the ocean to the inhabitants of the New World just as the converted giant, St. Christopher, carried the Christ child on his shoulders to cross a swift river (Watts 101).

While resting from his third voyage to the New World Columbus began compiling a volume called the *Book of Prophecies* - Delno West has recently completed the first full translation of the *Book of Prophecies* into English. He charges that historians have been reluctant to accept it because it manifests that Columbus was influenced by prophetic ideas (*Libro* 4). Columbus's work consists of an incomplete letter to the king and queen, an anthology of all the biblical references to the discoveries of the New World, to the liberation of Mount Zion, and writings from many ancient and medieval scholars (Watts 85). A remarkable document which has long been ignored by historians, it reveals that Columbus felt deeply that he was God's messenger, offers compelling evidence of his spirituality as the force that motivated his vision, and demonstrates the importance of his spirituality in sustaining him as he was ridiculed for his beliefs and ideas (Wilford 217).

In the first paragraph of the *Book of Prophecies*, Columbus expresses his vision or sense of mission in these words:

> Here begins the book, or handbook, of sources, statements, opinions and prophecies on the subject of the recovery of God's Holy City and Mount Zion, and on the discovery and evangelization of the islands of the Indies and of all other peoples and nations. (*Libro* 101)

A letter Columbus wrote to the Catholic monarchs sometime between September 13, 1501 and March 23, 1502 is recognized as one of the most important sources for studying Columbus's belief in the attainment of spiritual truths (Phelan 19). It was intended to serve as the preface to the *Book of Prophecies*, which Columbus did not live to finish. In the unfinished letter he attempts to arouse the monarchs' interest in the recovery of the Holy Sepulcher, states that God gave him the spirit and the intelligence for his enterprise, claims that the Almighty gave him abundant skills in the mariner's arts and proclaims that his decision to sail westward was inspired by the Holy Ghost:

> With a hand that could be felt, the Lord opened my mind that it would be possible to sail from there to the Indies, and he opened my will to desire to accomplish the project. (*Libro* 105)

Columbus informs the monarchs that the Holy Spirit was burning within him when he sought their support for his enterprise and that he had been illuminated through the Holy Scriptures (*Libro* 105). He recognizes that the Savior Jesus Christ and the prophets of the Old and New Testament testified of the end of the world, quotes Saint Augustine as saying that the end of the world would come in the seventh millennium and expresses a sense of urgency in the evangelization of the world and the recovery of the Holy City. According to his calculation, the end of the world would be here in only one hundred and fifty years (*Libro* 109). Columbus declares his belief that all prophecies would be fulfilled before the consummation of the world and that through his discoveries some of Isaiah's prophecies were fulfilled. He decides that the Lord is hastening his work so the Gospel must now be preached to many lands in a short time (*Libro* 109-111).

The scriptures that Columbus collected for the *Book of Prophecies* illustrate his obsession with two themes. First, the recovery of Mt. Zion which was a symbol of the Holy Land. Psalm 65: 1-5 offers an example:

> A hymn, O God, becometh thee in Sion: and a vow shall be paid to thee in Jerusalem. O hear my prayer: all flesh shall come to thee. Blessed is he whom thou hast chosen and taken to thee: he shall dwell in thy courts. We shall be filled with the good things of thy house: holy is thy temple, wonderful in justice. Hear us, O God our Saviour, who art the hope of all the ends of the earth, and in the sea afar off.

A second theme that consumed Columbus was the teaching and conversion of the gentiles:

> Sing ye to the Lord a new canticle: sing to the Lord, all the earth. Declare his glory among the Gentiles: his wonders among all people. For the Lord is great and exceedingly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the Gentiles are devils: but the Lord made the heavens. (Psalm 96: 1,3-5)

In the prefatory letter, Columbus remarks that theologians such as Jerome and Augustine appreciate and esteem Isaiah more than the other prophets. Columbus quotes Isaiah's descriptions of the future when all peoples will be brought unto the Lord (*Libro* 109).

> In that day, the rod of Jesse, who standeth for an ensign of the people, him the Gentiles shall beseech: and his sepulchre shall be glorious. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand the second time to possess the remnant of his people ... from the islands of the sea. (Isaiah 11: 10-11)

Columbus also quotes the Gospel of John which illustrates his concern with the conversion of all peoples prior to the end of the world:

> And other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd. (John 10:16)

Columbus reveals the possibility of his having been foreordained as he quotes a passage from St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*, Chapter 26, verse 20:

> Before thou didst form me in the womb, thou knewst me, and before I went forth from the womb, thou didst preordain concerning me whatever was pleasing to thee. (*Libro* 141)

Two individual prophecies establish the personal role Columbus had in the drama of the discovery. The first, taken from Seneca's Tragedy *Medea*, offers the image of the Admiral of the Ocean Sea:

> In the latter years of the world will come more certain times in which the Ocean Sea will relax the bonds of things, and a great land will open up, and a new mariner like the one who was the guide of Jason, whose name was Typhis, will discover a new world, and then will the island of Thule no longer be the farthest land. (*Libro* 225-227)

Columbus's son Ferdinand expressed certainty that his father, the Admiral, fulfilled this prophecy in 1492 (F. Columbus 18).

The second prediction that applies to Columbus is the one offered by Joachim of Fiore in which he foresees that the one who would restore Mt. Zion would come from Spain (Watts 95).

Most historians dismiss the *Book of Prophecies* claiming that Columbus had become senile and was not thinking clearly when he wrote it. Age notwithstanding, it does show what he intended and the emotions that compelled him (Wilford 220).

During his lifetime Columbus claimed to have had two visions. First, he believed that sometime in his youth the Holy Spirit had spoken to him and told him that his name would be declared in all parts of the world, and he attributed his success in discovering the New World to this experience (*Libro* 53-54).

His second vision was received on April 6, 1503, while he was anchored off the coast of Central America. A relentless storm and hostile Indians had caused him to fall into deep depression. He feared that his life was over and called in tears to the warriors of the four corners of the earth but didn't hear an answer. Finally, exhausted, he relates:

> I fell asleep, and heard a compassionate voice address me thus: "O fool, and slow to believe and to serve thy God, the God of all! what more did He do for Moses, or for David his servant than He has done for thee? From thine infancy He has kept thee under His constant and watchful care. When He saw thee arrived at an age which suited His designs respecting thee, He brought wonderful renown to thy name throughout all the land. He gave thee for thine own the Indies, which form so rich a portion of the world, and thou hast divided them as it pleased thee, for He gave thee power to do so. (Chr. Columbus 184)

Columbus was told that he had been given the keys to the gates of the ocean which had been locked with great chains and was reminded that anything can be achieved by one who asks in faith, nothing doubting. The messenger related, "Thou criest for help, doubting. Answer, who has afflicted thee so greatly and so often, God or the world?" (Parry 115).

Columbus presumed that he had been in a trance. Whoever spoke to him concluded declaring, "Fear not, but have trust. All these tribulations are written on tablets of marble, not without cause" (Morison *Journals* 378-379).

Columbus has his detractors who claim that he was prompted by little more than avarice. On the other hand, there are those who defend him as God's messenger. In 1495, Jaime Ferrer regarded Columbus as divinely chosen as a missionary to preach the Gospel in the New World and compared him to the Apostle Thomas (Cummins 53). Subsequently, Bartolomé de Las Casas considered him to have been divinely selected and as a near-prophet (Cummins 53).

Modern scholars do recognize the importance of apocalyptic vision in Columbus's voyages. One in particular acknowledges the significance of Columbus's apocalyptical and messianic vision and his interest in seeing that everyone in the world be converted to Christianity (Phelan 19). Another feels that an important ingredient in Columbus's personality is his religious vision and apocalyptic hopes (Watts 84). Yet another declares that Columbus's spirituality influenced and created his apocalyptic view of history and may have been the force that had the greatest effect on the way he lived and behaved (Wilford 216). Delno West recognizes Columbus as "a man of sincere spirituality and a deep personal Christian faith" (*Libro* 46), and reveals that Columbus's "mysticism was intimately integrated with his thoughts and actions" (*Libro* 48).

Columbus's own writings reveal that his spiritual self, his self-image as God's messenger, and his vision were an important part of this man and his voyages of discovery (Bedini 653).

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Nature and Natural Sexuality in Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude*

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To enter the world of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* the reader must suspend belief in conventional reality.[1] This condition is set early in the narration as García Márquez recounts the Buendía family's history. We learn that for centuries the Buendías and Iguaráns had intermarried and that one Buendía ancestor had been born with the tail of a pig. Then, when the cousins José Arcadio Buendía and Ursula Iguarán were married, Ursula was so horrified by her mother's stories about that deformed man that for more than a year she protected herself from consummating her marriage. Every night she would wrap her body tightly in cloth to save herself from giving birth to iguana-like offspring. Stepping across the threshold into the writer's otherworldly zone the reader accompanies him through the lives and deaths of the Buendía family. Here superstition, mystery, and magical or supernatural fantasy can coexist with the traditional influence of the Roman Catholic Church on social mores and sexual behavior.

There has been much critical attention devoted to *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and García Márquez's other related works, carefully describing and classifying the many male and female characters with the same or similar names.[2] This study treats the characters' behavior from a very different point of view. From the style of García Márquez's narration, where the dead mingle and communicate with the living across the centuries of Buendía generations, and due to the author's sarcastic and darkly humorous attention to physical deformities and aberrations in sexual behavior, one is called to analyze the real versus the surreal, or fantastic qualities of the characters of this text. In this context, the many contradictory aspects of the characters' behavior in the world which they have created offer new insights into the novel's complex narrative.

When Macondo (interpreted in this study to represent Colombia) is founded, the first inhabitants bring with them *proper* social mores. The faraway central government tentatively oversees the developing settlement, sending a mayor to the town, and the Catholic Church sends its emissary priest to teach and maintain its influence on the people. Notwithstanding, Macondo seems to seize control of itself and to grow in a fantastic way beyond the reach of so-called civilized man's manipulation.

Critics have also treated in detail the Colombian machistic attitude toward women in general, the conflict between the ineffectual socio-political influence of the Roman Catholic Church and the indigenous beliefs in magic and superstition, and the proliferation of incestuous relationships between Buendía family members.[3] However, there has not been discussion of the special sort of reality of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* which results from the conflict between Christian-Catholic beliefs governing behavior and the indigenous pagan-magical beliefs which define the role of women in the society of Macondo. The magical reality of García Márquez, this surreal existence in which the reader is immersed as he progresses in the text, is the only reality of the people of Macondo. In Macondo, the common class woman is scorned by women of European, thus presumably noble descent, no matter how distant or decadent the bond with that nobility may be. And even the middle class women set themselves socially above their lesser sisters. But, we observe that it is the offspring of the common women who actually confront life's dilemmas and its levels of reality, and who find ways to survive. In his many tales about the society of his people, García Márquez repeats his motif that the government, through its puppet the Roman Catholic Church, seeks to stifle the imagination and creativity of the people. Church teachings are secretive, restrictive, even punitive, concerning sexual relationships. In warning of the dangers of sexual unions not legitimized by the Church, they give a mystical quality to sexuality which bewitches the people, drawing them into the Church's web of power. In *One Hundred Years of Solitude* the priests are ineffective in dealing with the people, but their presence is not benign. In Macondo, the teachings of the Church result in creating a sterile strain of beings. On the other hand, the indigenous beliefs in magic and superstition allow the free flow of creativity, and stimulate procreation and abundance of life. One study suggests the author may feel that the church is a decaying institution frantically trying to dam up human instincts by offering the sterile substitute of formal rites, ceremonies, and rules in exchange for the love of life and the sense of mystery and wonder that life can awaken in man (Acker 348-350).

The text of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* offers examples of both the deadening effect of the Church, and of the contrary, the burgeoning presence of life in the people who follow their natural instincts. First we should remember the obstinate resistance of José Arcadio, the Buendía who founded Macondo, to the acceptance of the government-appointed mayor. This first José Arcadio believed that since the town had so far successfully ruled itself by natural instinct and law, it needed no other system of regulation.[4] Of course, José Arcadio Buendía is classified as "completely mad" and spends his life tied to a tree in the yard. Then, as a related aspect to the rebelliousness against outside influence over the life of the town, we note that the birth of both legitimate and illegitimate Buendía children also resisted the imposition of non-natural law.

Throughout the Buendía saga, Ursula's children were unable to reproduce and lived brief or stunted lives. It is hinted that this may be because she insisted on Catholic baptism and the formal recognition of parentage. Only her son Aureliano Buendía, the Colonel, was an exception. He lived a very long life because, following his father's instinctive attraction to freedom and free thinking, he scorned the observance of rites of any kind.

In comparison, Pilar Ternera, Ursula's opposite among the female characters, produces healthy illegitimate sons who become the veritable procreators of the balance of the Buendías. Their descendants are the men and women who truly participate in life. The full-blooded Buendía men either marry upper-class women who do not bear viable offspring or who die in childbirth, or they do not marry. They withdraw into their internal worlds, separated from life by either over- or under-active cerebrality.

The female Buendía offspring suffer similar afflictions. In Buendía women, Ursula's daughter Amaranta's personal pride deprives her of two worthy spouses while her religious training forbids her natural physical attraction to her two nephews. Thus as hinted by her namesake flower, the Amaranthus or "Love lies bleeding," she dies a bitter and unfulfilled old maid. Remedios the Beauty remains mentally in a state of childhood, and, still a virgin, she eventually ascends to heaven "in a cloud of laundry." Meme, the daughter of Fernanda and Aureliano Segundo, also remains childlike into adulthood.

In men we speak of José Arcadio Segundo (who, because he was a dreamer, Ursula believed had been switched at birth with his twin brother Aureliano), of José Arcadio (the Seminarist who dreams of his aunt Amaranta's caresses while surrounding himself with young boys), of Aureliano Babilonia (the last of the clan, who lives secluded in a dream-like world until after the deaths of all other members of the family, who fathers the last Aureliano, and who finally deciphers Melquíades's parchments).

These socially legitimized Buendía descendants all live fruitless lives which end in bitterness and deception, or they spend their lives in the ignorance in which they were born.

Certain questions raised in reading *One Hundred Years of Solitude* focus attention on the acts of Nature and the *natural* behavior of the indigenous people of Macondo. For example, why do the insects and the jungle constantly threaten to devour the Buendía home? This family seems pursued by the Fates, or, like Oedipus and the family of Theseus, cursed to destruction by the Gods. And why are the women of common origin described as fleshy, earthy, hearty and voracious in appetites, their homes open and their bodies available and offering pleasure to all, while those *proper women* of the legitimized middle or upper classes are wizened, virgin, frigid, avaricious, pecunious? Their homes and bodies are shut off from human sharing and pleasure.

The Buendía family is indeed pursued and cursed to destruction. It is Nature and natural law, rather than the Fates or the Gods, which have been offended by the imposition of law and order and Catholicism on their space and creatures. The acts of Nature to defend her space and people, and her eventual victory over the non-natural law, annihilate the family and gradually recover the space of the town, returning it to its original state.

The two types of women, natural versus socially conditioned, have previously been perceived in the traditional roles. It is indicated that the lower class women are treated in deprecating terms by García Márquez, while the bourgeois and upper class women receive more respectful treatment in his narrative. In reference to the author's supposedly negative descriptions of the lower class women's bodies: "It is clear that "García Márquez's hyperboles are far from praising the female condition of these characters" (Deveny and Marcos 86-87).

To the contrary, García Márquez's text makes absolutely clear his positive assessment of the qualities of the common woman. His use of voluptuous language in describing these female characters indicates his preference for the natural state (and perhaps for the natural sexually-related function) of womankind. One of his many expressions of this preference is the clear approval of Petra Cotes and her fertile influence on the physical life and economic well-being of Aureliano Segundo. The author juxtaposes this abundance of life in the home and company of the mistress to the sterility and poverty (within the outward appearance of upper class wealth) shared in the Buendía home which is maintained by Fernanda, the wife of Aureliano Segundo. García Márquez states of Aureliano Segundo's move to Petra Cotes's house:

> Then, with the pretext that the animals were losing their fertility, he transferred his barns and stables. Finally with the pretext that it was cooler in his concubine's house, he transferred the small office in which he handled his business. (237)

The author's words glorify the sexual success of this change, telling us that:

> Aureliano Segundo gave himself over again with the fury of adolescence. The restored passion was so pressing that on more than one occasion they would look each other in the eyes and go into the bedroom dying of hunger and love. (238)

And finally, of the overall benefits of the liaison with Petra Cotes, García Márquez says Aureliano Segundo "never looked better, nor had he been loved more, nor had the breeding of his animals been wilder" (239). However, of Fernanda's influence there is only dark mention, indicating disapproval of her narrow-mindedness and sexual frigidity. For her reign in the Buendía household García Márquez has no praise. He explains that "there were radical changes in the traditional sense of hospitality because at that time it was Fernanda who imposed her rules. Her severity made the house a redoubt of old customs" (236-237). And of her person, identifying her scathingly as the "former apprentice queen," he simply relates that "she was entering into a sad maturity with her somber long dresses, her old-fashioned medals, and her out-of-place pride" (238).

In fact, what Deveny and Marcos find to be critical of lower-class women in García Márquez's wording, is defined in this study as praising. The author emphasizes through positive adjective use the attraction of Camila Sagastume, the elephant-woman of the eating contest with Aureliano Segundo. Like the other Earth Mother figures of the novel (Pilar Ternera, Petra Cotes, Santa Sofía de la Piedad, Nigromanta), this common class woman is exalted for the very traits of excess which are lacking in and so scorned by the women of the higher social classes:

> Camila Sagastume appeared, a *totemic* female known all through the land by the *good* name of "The Elephant" . She was *gigantic* and *sturdy*, but over her *colossal* form a *tenderness* of *femininity* prevailed and she had a face that was so *beautiful*, hands so *fine* and *well cared for*, and such an *irresistible personal charm* that when Aureliano Segundo saw her enter the house he commented in a low voice that he would have preferred to have the tourney in bed and not at the table. Later on,...he commented seriously that that *delicate, fascinating and insatiable* proboscidian was in a certain way the *ideal* woman (239-240) [italics added].

As for the conflict between the bourgeois standards of Ursula, Amaranta, Fernanda, et al., who continue the battle with nature to keep the house free of the insects and the jungle, and protected from the corrosion of the air and elements which attempt to consume it, we recognize another affirmation of García Márquez's approval of the natural or original state of things.

Throughout the existence of Macondo, from its founding to its disintegration, nature wars with man to reclaim its space. The city's appearance is a continuous apocalyptic depiction: birds flee, everything constantly decays despite the countless coats of whitewash and of blue paint and the intensely furious work invested to maintain it. All attempts to pin down this city to a reality, to a durable existence in time and space, are futile. García Márquez amply reminds us of this impossibility of reality, or of the unreality of reality, in his descriptions of the city's gradual and perpetual state of disappearance. The author seems to conclude that it is only by losing his sense of the magical, by refusing the dream-like state of being, that man and his civilized constructs will continue to exist. By his negative descriptions of all of the impositions of man upon the earth (upon nature), and the veritable disappearance of the entire city, García Márquez seems to condemn such an existence.

Finally, García Márquez describes Aureliano Babilonia's last labryinthine voyage, where while wandering through the expiring city: "He lost his marvelous sense of unreality" (370). He searches the streets and the familiar spots of Macondo for evidence of the city's and of his own existence. But he is constantly baffled by proof that nothing ever really is or was, and he concludes that "the past was a lie" (370). Before his last friend, Gabriel, leaves the city, Aureliano Babilonia visits him in the only pharmacy left in Macondo.[5]

> It was the last that remained of a past whose annihilation had not taken place because it was still in a process of annihilation, consuming itself from within, ending at every moment but never ending its ending. (371)

But even this reality, to which he tries to cling on the last day of Macondo's existence, eludes him when, in his despair at Amaranta Ursula's death after the birth of their son, he returns to that same pharmacy to seek solace from Mercedes, the wise girlfriend of his friend Gabriel:[6]

> He knocked at the door of the pharmacy, where he had not visited lately, and he found a carpenter shop. The old woman who opened the door with a lamp insisted that, no, there had never been a pharmacy there. (379)

Thus Macondo disappears, as does the line of the Buendías. And at last the prophecy of Melquíades is understood: "The first of the line is tied to a tree and the last is being eaten by ants" (381).

Throughout *One Hundred Years of Solitude* an emphatic parallel is drawn by García Márquez between the destruction of man's freedom by his own constructs (Civilization defines free thinking as madness for which one should be "tied to a tree."), and the destruction of man's constructs by nature which returns all to freedom. Truth and openness in social and sexual behavior are contrasted to the appearance of propriety, piety, and wealth. Symbolically the ants take over the house and destroy it, and "the last [Buendía] is eaten by ants."

Nature's right to protect and reclaim what is hers is affirmed by juxtaposing Pilar Ternera's death and ritually observed burial, and the consequent exodus of her disciples (the whores of her brothel) "to spread the truth," with the pitiful ending of the last Aureliano Buendía, who died observed by no one, was buried by no one, and who, along with the entire descendence of Buendías, would be remembered by no one.

The text of García Márquez insists upon the victory of natural law, of the original state. It applauds and encourages the natural instincts of the people, the power of indigenous culture, approves that magic prevail over science or civilization, and defines correct behavior as a consuming devotion to love's natural passion. In the end, the final couple of Buendías, Amaranta Ursula and Aureliano Babilonia, attain that coveted plane of existence, "...and both of them remain[ed] floating in an empty universe where the only everyday and eternal reality was love" (374).

At first they dutifully continue the struggle begun and unsuccessfully pursued by their ancestors to ward off the jungle, while "surrounded by the voracity of nature, [they] defended their world with demarcations of quicklime, building the last trenches in the age-old war between man and ant" (377). But through natural and total love for each other they end up on their little remaining island, their bed, listening to "the sublunary explosions of the ants,...the noise of the moths, the constant and clean whistle of the growth of the weeds in the neighboring rooms" (378). Here they are surrounded by "the traffic of the dead," and isolated from all the false contact with external reality. They at last find the family history that they had sought in church and town hall records. That is, the dead of all the years of the Buendía clan appear to them, and relate the experiences of their obsessions. Through the magic of simultaneity created in García Márquez's narrative, the couple is allowed to learn from the ancestors the ultimate truth. García Márquez tells us that:

> they learned that dominant obsessions can prevail against death and they were happy again with the certainty that they would go on loving each other in their shape as apparitions long after other species of future animals would steal from the insects the paradise of misery that the insects were finally stealing from man. (378)

The puzzling prophesy in Melquíades's parchments expresses man's continuity of being. For the Buendías there is neither end nor beginning.[7] Amaranta Ursula and Aureliano Babilonia are neither the parents of a new member of their line, nor are they the last couple which ends the line. Rather, their state of total love for each other and their naïvely straightforward behavior elevates them beyond the reality of life versus death. They become the links which join the two ends of the chain of the live-dead of the Buendías.[8] The couple's love of unreality completes the circle of continuity of the madness required for man to think and act freely.

Thus García Márquez delivers his message by insisting upon and exaggerating the eccentricities and obsessions of his characters. The secret of Melquíades's parchments, and of García Márquez's tale, is that Amaranta Ursula and Aureliano Babilonia, the lovers of life, of dream, and of sexual love, have become enlightened. They have learned through communicating with nature and with their ancestors, that their beings will continue beyond life or death. García Márquez's narrative tells the story of the continuity of a line. It teaches that the descendants of the enlightened couple, the people of Colombia, should emulate them by preserving the magical sense of life within them.

Notes

1. Text citations are from Rabassa's translation. See Works Cited.

2. In addition to Deveny and Marcos, see specifically Gene H. Bell-Villada, "Names and Narrative Pattern in *One Hundred Years of Solitude*." *Latin American Literary Review* 9.18 (1981) pp. 37-46; Josefina Ludmer, *'Cien años de soledad': Una interpretación*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Tiempo Contemporaneo, 1972; Leticia Valverde Barrenechea, "Ursula, Petra Cotes y Pilar Ternera: Una tríada mítica de lo inconsciente colectivo." *Káñina: Revista de artes y letras de la Universidad de Costa Rica* 7.2 (1983) pp. 43-57.

3. Here I refer to, among others: Deveny and Marcos; Bertie Acker, "Religion in Colombia as Seen in the Works of García Márquez." *Religion in Latin American Life and Literature*. Waco, TX: Baylor UP, 1980, pp. 339-350; Michael Palencia-Roth, "La Imagen del Uroboros: El Incesto en *Cien años de soledad*." *Cuadernos Americanos* Jul-Aug 1981, pp. 67-81; Arnold M. Penuel, "Death and the Maiden: Demythologization of Virginity in García Márquez's *Cien años de Soledad*." *Hispania* 66 (1983): 552-560.

4. In this study the term 'natural' refers to behavior in humans which is considered to be "existing in or formed by nature; in accordance with the principles of nature." See the *Random House Dictionary of the English Language*.

5. Gabriel is perhaps the author himself in the role of the Archangel Gabriel who has the power to provide entry to paradise.

6. Mercedes is the name of García Márquez's wife, and she appears as one objective correlative, like the old woman who opens the door holding a lamp, of a Sybil, answering enigmatically the questions of the wanderer and lighting his way on the continuing path in the underworld.

7. Richard A. Watson, in "A Pig's Tail," *Latin American Literary Review*, 15.29 (1987) pp. 89-92, emphasizes the circularity of the narrative, insisting that all Aurelianos and all José Arcadios are the same, and that there is no progression from the beginning to the end of the narrative, but only, as in the lines of Melquíades's parchments, all occurring *out of time* in the chronological sense; that is, all occurring simultaneously.

8. Palencia-Roth (see note 3) pictures the narrative in terms of the Uroboros, the mythical serpent coiled over upon itself with its tail in its mouth, which is a symbol of infinity.

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"Ir monja:" Entering the Convent in Unamuno's *Abel Sánchez* and *San Manuel Bueno, mártir*

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In *San Manuel Bueno, mártir* (1930), Angela's mother questions her daughter's intentions: "Me parece, Angelita, con tantas confesiones, que tú te me vas a ir monja" (17). Angela attempts to comfort her mother with her reply: "No lo tema, madre ... pues, tengo harto que hacer aquí, en el pueblo, que es mi convento" (17). This convent imagery, also used some thirteen years earlier in *Abel Sánchez* (1917), illustrates two characteristics of Unamuno's novels: the interior/exterior representation of imagery and the use of female characters as adjuncts to male characters searching for self-definition. While these two characteristics may appear, at first glance, to have little in common, they are in fact intimately linked in many of Unamuno's writings.

Viewed in broad terms, imagery based on interior/exterior relationships is simply a variation of the positing of opposite or conflicting concepts that permeates virtually all of Unamuno's novels.[1] On the level of characterization, for example, Joaquín Monegro of *Abel Sánchez* is a physician and scientist, while his nemesis, Abel, is an artist. In *Paz en la guerra*, the conservative, non-questioning Pedro Antonio stands in opposition to the thinking, soul-searching Pachico Zabalbide; *Amor y pedagogía* contrasts the positivist, scientific nature of Avito Carrascal with the natural, intuitive personality of Marina.

Contrasts also proliferate on the somewhat more subtle level of the presentation of ideas. *Intra-historia* opposes *historia* in *Paz en la guerra* and *San Manuel Bueno, mártir*, while *Abel Sánchez* treats the free will of the individual in conflict with predetermined personality traits. *Niebla* juxtaposes the power of writers to create their own works with the inherent power of fictional characters to live independently of their creators.

The most subtle oppositions, however, take place on the level of imagery and frequently involve some type of spatial, interior/exterior representation.[2] *Don Sandalio, jugador de ajedrez*, for example, is replete with these images, including inner silence, the inner wound of virtually all characters, and the small, well-defined interior spaces into which characters move in order to avoid a larger unknown. The opposition of an inner, stable matter and an exterior, changing form appears in both *Amor y pedagogía* and *Abel Sánchez*; the emptiness of the void or the abyss stands in opposition to the apparent totality of visible nature in *Paz en la guerra* and *San Manuel Bueno, mártir*.

As depicted in *Abel Sánchez* and *San Manuel Bueno, mártir*, a convent is a place into which one enters and in which one lives a life of self-sacrifice, protected from, or perhaps denied access to, the passions and turmoil of the outside world. Metaphorically, a convent describes the space occupied by certain female characters in both novels. In contrast, a male protagonist of each novel is struggling emotionally with an issue that threatens to overwhelm him and over which he attempts to exert control. The context for each struggle is also religious; in *San Manuel Bueno, mártir*, Don Manuel needs to believe in life after death, while the conflict in *Abel Sánchez* develops as a modern-day Cain and Abel parable. Corresponding female characters either have no demons to battle or sense the presence of demons long after major life decisions have been made. Both Angela in *San Manuel Bueno, mártir* and Joaquina in *Abel Sánchez* metaphorically enter a convent as a self-sacrificial attempt to save Don Manuel and Joaquín from their all-consuming passions.[3]

In *Abel Sánchez* the interior/exterior relationship inherent in convent imagery also defines two important character oppositions: Joaquín and Abel, and Antonia and Helena. Joaquín, "antipático" (33) even to his friends, is analytical, acutely aware of his thoughts and feelings, and emotionally and intellectually tortured by his jealousy of Abel. Abel, "el gallito, el niño mimado de los compañeros," focuses his attention on his painting, seemingly uninterested in emotional or intellectual complications (35). Abel sums up his own philosophy of life by emphasizing exterior forms: "No nos metamos al fondo. Soy pintor y no pinto los fondos de las personas. Es más, estoy convencido de que todo hombre lleva fuera todo lo que tiene dentro" (92). He describes Joaquín, however, in terms of his work as a physician and his introspective personality: "Tú eres el que les andas mirando y auscultando a los hombres por dentro.... Acostumbrado uno a mirar a los demás por dentro, da en ponerse a mirarse a sí mismo, a auscultarse" (92).

Antonia, Joaquín's wife, also adds an interior perspective that contrasts sharply with the purely exterior view of Abel's wife Helena. Antonia's main function in the novel is to provide comfort to her husband: "Dedicóse Joaquín, para salvarse, requiriendo amparo a su pasión, a buscar mujer, los brazos maternales de una esposa en que defenderse de aquel odio que sentía, un regazo en que esconder la cabeza, como un niño que siente terror al coco" (51). Nevertheless, her supportive abilities rely almost exclusively on intuition, an innate quality she shares with many of Unamuno's female characters: "Antonia había nacido para madre; era todo ternura, todo compasión. Adivinó en Joaquín, con divino instinto, un enfermo, un inválido del alma, y sin saber de qué, enamoróse de su desgracia" (52).[4] Her counterpart, Helena, is depicted as devoid of this inner resource and is viewed purely as an exterior to be admired or feared. Her coloring is that of a "fiera indómita" (38); she is "la pava real, la belleza profesional" who will endure "como el mármol ... porque es de piedra, fría y dura" (42).

Like her mother, Joaquina is acutely aware of her father's struggle to conquer his fears and jealousies.[5] Joaquín, in turn, acknowledges his daughter's presence by dedicating to her his *Confesión*. He hopes to achieve fame through her future actions, even though recognition will come after his own death: "Esta confesión se decía dirigida a su hija, pero ... acariciaba la esperanza de que un día su hija o sus nietos la dieran al mundo, para que éste se sobrecogiera de admiración y de espanto ante aquel héroe de la angustia tenebrosa" (113). Unaware of this future role, Joaquina seeks another channel, a self-sacrificial one, through which to help her father.

Joaquina's stated desire to join a convent quickly develops into two options: entering a religious convent in a literal, physical sense, or remaining in a metaphorical convent of her father's making within her own home. Either option requires self-sacrifice, for Joaquina's role in the novel, like that of her mother, is to alleviate in some way her father's anguish. Joaquín describes the religious option, which he believes is being championed by his priest, to Antonia: "Pues bien, ese padrecito que no pudo remediarme ni reducirme empuja ahora, sin duda, a mi hija, a tu hija, a nuestra hija, al convento, para que en él ruegue por mí, para que se sacrifique salvándome" (100). The other option, staying at home and marrying the man of her father's choosing, is also portrayed via convent imagery: "Sí, Antonia, esa hija quiere sacrificarse por mí, y no sabe que si va al convento me deja desesperado. ¡Su convento es esta casa!" (101).

The interior/exterior oppositions that characterize *Abel Sánchez* also appear, in various forms, in *San Manuel Bueno, mártir*. In *Abel Sánchez*, Joaquín struggles to control, through will power, his innate jealousy; in *San Manuel Bueno, mártir*, Don Manuel's anguish over his inability to control his own destiny, or *historia*, contrasts with the villagers' total acceptance of virtually all facets of their lives. In Unamuno's theoretical writings, this acceptance is associated with *intra-historia*, the eternal, non-changing aspect of history. On another level, Don Manuel's religious doubts are depicted by Angela as "el secreto de nuestro santo" (9), whereas the image he projects out into the world is one of religious commitment and belief. When speaking to Lázaro, Angela's brother, about this contrast, Don Manuel remarks: "Lo que aquí hace falta es que vivan sanamente, que vivan en unanimidad de sentido, y con la verdad, con mi verdad, no vivirían" (25).

The imagery employed throughout *San Manuel Bueno, mártir* is complicated and lends itself to various interpretations.[6] From a purely spatial perspective, however, certain interior/exterior relationships, particularly involving the lake, prevail: the mountain reaches outward to the sky and is reflected down into the lake; the exterior contours of the town of Valverde de Lucerna reappear within the lake in a mysterious submerged village. Even before Lázaro becomes aware

of Don Manuel's religious struggle, he notes: "Y creo ... que en el fondo del alma de nuestro don Manuel hay también sumergida, ahogad[illegible] una villa y que alguna vez se oyen sus campanadas" ([illegible]).

Don Manuel confides [illegible]ázaro that his entire life has been a continual struggle against suicide. Just as Joaquín is born "predestinado" (44), or controlled from within, to suffer hate and jealousy, so does Manuel inherit from his father "la tentación del suicidio" (29). In order to fight this temptation he must deny his own inborn nature and focus on the villagers of Valverde de Lucerna. Like Joaquina's convent in *Abel Sánchez*, Manuel's suicide offers both a literal and a metaphorical option. The literal option, which he resists, involves his moving down into the lake, surrounding himself with water. The figurative option requires that he struggle against inner doubts, project beyond himself, and ultimately become a significant part of village life. He describes his feelings to Lázaro:

> ¡Y cómo me llama esa agua con su aparente quietud—la corriente va por dentro—espeja al cielo! ¡Mi vida, Lázaro, es una especie de suicidio continuo, un combate contra el suidicio, que es igual! ... Sigamos, pues, Lázaro, suicidándonos en nuestra obra y en nuestro pueblo, y que sueñe éste vida como el lago sueña el cielo. (29-30)

Like Angela, who tells her mother that her village is her convent, Don Manuel states that "mi monasterio es Valverde de Lucerna" (14). His rejection of a religious monastery is based on personal imperatives: "Yo no nací para ermitaño, para anacoreta; la soledad me mataría el alma" (14). Unlike Angela, however, his motivation for choosing Valverde de Lucerna for his cloistered life is far from unselfish, but rather reflects his need for continuation and salvation. The villagers' recitation of "creo en la resurrección de la carne y la vida perdurable" substitutes for his own lack of faith and will carry him, like Moses, "para meter su cuerpo sin vida en la tierra de promisión" (9). He confides to Angela: "¿Cómo voy a salvar mi alma si no salvo la de mi pueblo?" (14).

Angela's relationship with Don Manuel is alternately that of a mother with her son, or a daughter with her father. She refers to Don Manuel as "el padre de mi espíritu" (1), yet increasingly feels strong maternal attachments: "Y salimos de la iglesia, y al salir se me estremecían las entrañas maternales" (28). The confusion between these two roles is such that they can be combined with no apparent contradiction: "Empezaba yo a sentir una especie de afecto maternal hacia mi padre espiritual" (18).

Like Antonia of *Abel Sánchez*, Angela intuitively feels Don Manuel's pain. She is aware that he suffers and determines to comfort him, even though he is unable to assist her in dealing with her own doubts. When describing her first confession, she states that "al encontrarme en el confesionario junto al santo varón, sentí como una callada confesión suya en el susurro sumiso de su voz.... Y volví a confesarme con él para consolarle" (16). When expressing to Don Manuel her own misgivings about the existence of Hell, however, he offers her an unsatisfactory reply: "Sí, hay que creer todo lo que enseña a creer la Santa Madre Iglesia Católica, Apostólica, Romana. ¡Y basta!" Her reaction is, again, an intuitive understanding of Don Manuel's struggles: "Leí no sé qué honda tristeza en sus ojos" (18). Angela notes that as the years pass, and her maternal feelings increase, her desire is only to relieve Don Manuel "del peso de su cruz de nacimiento" (18).

While both Joaquina of *Abel Sánchez* and Angela of *San Manuel Bueno, mártir* sacrifice themselves in order to assist someone whom they love and admire, Angela's development provides a unique twist to Unamuno's array of generally passive female characters. Throughout Unamuno's writings, the only passionate need displayed by women is for mothering, either for their children or for their husbands. Angela, however, describes in her narrative her own readings in her family library, as well as her education in a parochial school in a nearby town. She questions Don manuel concerning "mis inquietudes, mis dudas, mis tristezas" (15), and as she mothers him, she begins to mirror the doubts he shares with Lázaro. In the final chapter of her writings about "mi San Manuel" (42), she offers conflicting sentiments. Although steadfastly affirming that "Dios Nuestro Señor, por no sé qué sagrados y no escudriñaderos designios, les hizo creerse incrédulos," she also asks herself a question that had previously been found only within the domain of male characters: "Y yo, ¿creo?" (43). Angela envisions her sacrifice as somewhat parallel to that of Don Manuel, for she joins him in entering "nuestro monasterio de Valverde de Lucerna" (15).

Notes

1. In *En torno al casticismo* Unamuno describes his unique approach as the "afirmación alternativa de los contradictorios," stating that "es preferible hacer resaltar la fuerza de los extremos en el alma del lector para que el medio tome en ella vida, que es resultante de lucha" (784). Recently, however, critics, have begun to question the accuracy of Unamuno's description. Gonzalo Navajas, analyzing the author/text/reader relationship in "El yo, el lector-otro, y la duplicidad en Unamuno," maintains the Unamuno intentionally limits the role of the reader.

2. For a discussion of this type of imagery, particularly in Unamuno's early works, see Watson, *Intra-historia in Unamuno's Novels: A Continual Presence*.

3. In "Women and Men in the Novels of Unamuno," Lynette Seator studies Unamuno's female characters from the perspective of archetypes. She convincingly concludes that "as universal myths they form a feminine matrix, either comforting or terrifying. They never define themselves as authentically human but provide the means whereby man may do so" (52)

4. This instinctive ability to follow a correct course of action, or to understand human foibles, characterizes many of Unamuno's female characters and is frequently combined with descriptions based on nature imagery. To cite but one example, Marina in *Amor y pedagogia* is "sueño hecho carne, con algo de vientre arbusto en su encarnadura, y de arbusto revestido de fragantes flores, surgiendo esplendorosa de entre los fuegos del instinto" (322).

5. Unamuno's combining of the roles of mother, wife and daughter is apparent throughout his writings. For a thorough study, see Gayana Jurkevich.

6. See, for example, John Butt.

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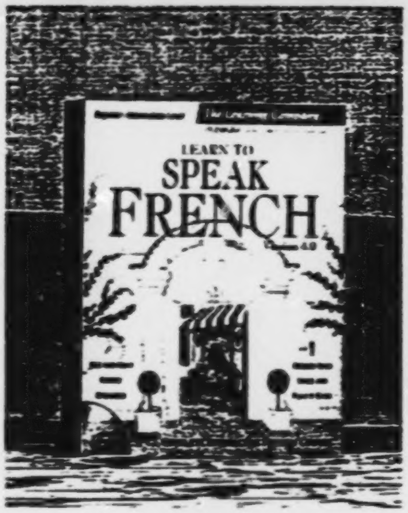

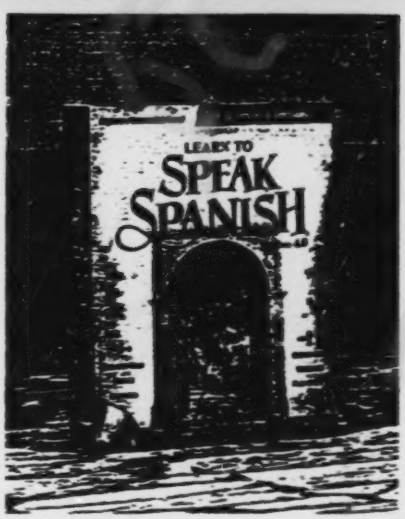

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SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 16, 1995

Journal of the

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

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A special word of appreciation is due Linda Bricker for much of the word processing and editorial assistance attendant to this volume of *SELECTA*.

SELECTA

Published at
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Volume 16, 1995

Edited by
Craig W. Nickisch
Idaho State University

Journal of the

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages

The Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages is a non-profit organization of language professionals dedicated to improving opportunities for learning foreign languages at all levels in the United States and Canada. Founded in 1950, through its annual conference, the *PNCFL Newsletter, HANDS ON Languages* and *Selecta*, the PNCFL provides a forum for the dissemination and promulgation of information on the teaching and acquisition of foreign languages, cultures and literatures. The PNCFL has been active in prompting unity and cooperation between many language associations.

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Correspondence on subscriptions, advertisements and exchanges should be directed to: Ray Verzasconi, Executive Secretary PNCFL, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97331-4603.

ISSN 0277-0598

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The French Cultural Dimension in Subsaharan Africa

Anton Andereggen
Lewis and Clark College

Cultural Ties between Francophone Africa and France

The strong cultural ties between Francophone African countries and France, made even more conspicuous by the use of French as the official language, actually form the basis on which all other components of French presence in Africa are based.[1] The publications regarding postliberation French African policy deal almost exclusively with neocolonialism, economics, politics, and military matters. To the cultural component they give only minor importance; many works do not even mention it. There is no doubt that culture represents an essential and integral part of any country's diplomacy. In a study commissioned by the *Ministère des affaires étrangères,* Jacques Rigaud expressed this idea as follows: "Along with politics and economics, culture — in the broadest sense of the term — is one of the components of international relations" (Rigaud, 11).

The Cultural Affairs Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is even more explicit in emphasizing the importance of culture in international relations: "Culture is intimately linked to economics and politics.... It contributes directly to the power of our country on the international level" (Balous, 13). Jean-Pierre Cot, former minister of *Coopération,* shares this opinion: "There is no sector to which French cooperation is more attached than that of culture. The promotion and the dissemination of our language, the propagation of our ideas, of our art and, more recently, of our technical knowledge, have always been our most important preoccupation" (Cot, 171). This emphasis given to French language and culture reflects an authentic, long-standing commitment of the French people to a civilizing mission, a *mission civilisatrice.* French pride in their culture, coupled with an accompanying assumption of cultural superiority, explains to a large extent the French colonialist policy of assimilation that was aimed at Frenchifying their subjects. In his report for the Commission on Studies of Cooperation with Underdeveloped Countries of 1963, Jean-Marcel Jeanneney stated that more than any other nation, France has a need to diffuse its language and culture as far as possible. This need has a strong impact on peoples whose native language does not adapt itself too well to express modern technological ideas or whose language is simply not used in international relations (Jeanneney, passim). No other modern colonial power has made such an effort to assimilate its colonial subjects as the French have. Indeed, the French colonizers felt a keen national obligation to share their culture with "uncivilized" peoples. Although the policy of assimilation hardly succeeded in attaining its major objective, that of replacing African cultures, the French have been successful in creating a Francophone African elite in each of their former dependencies in Africa. The efforts that the French government has put forth to reinforce and diffuse their culture is probably the best long-term investment it has made in respect to upholding close ties with the Francophone black African countries.

The Status of the French Language and the Educational System

As a result of efforts made by French intellectuals, especially by the *philosophes* in the eighteenth century, to spread their language and culture, French became the most popular language in Europe, especially among the aristocracy. This privileged position of the French language lasted until World War I. From 1715 to 1918, it was generally the language in which treaties and diplomatic communiqués were written. Today, French is the mother tongue, the official language, and language of instruction for people living in about thirty countries all over the world.

Foreigners generally assume that the most important aspects of France's presence in Africa are political and economic. This point of view is not necessarily shared by the French. At the first Francophone Summit in Versailles of 1986, Mitterrand stated that the greatest asset of all countries represented at the conference was a cultural identity based on a language that embodied one of the greatest civilizations known to history. Mitterrand also referred to an encouraging prediction for Romanists: the Romance languages would claim more speakers worldwide than English at the turn of the century.[2] The meeting was an impressive example of unity and diversity within the Francophone world. African presidents, European ministers, and representatives from the Pacific, the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, South America and even from the U.S. state of Louisiana sat under one roof to discuss methods of cooperation. The summit approved twenty-eight measures designed to strengthen the French-speaking world, including the establishment of a new agency to produce television programs in French, a graduation examination valid throughout the French-speaking world, and steps to encourage the publishing and distribution of books in French. This attests to the fact that France is located at the center of a linguistic bloc of countries; this position gives France the appearance of a great power in the family of nations.

During colonial days, French was imposed by the colonizing power, but since independence, Francophone African countries have, of their own free will, decided to uphold the ascendancy of the French language. Indeed, the multilingual situation of most African countries, each comprising a variety of different tribes and ethnic groups, makes French a virtually indispensable instrument of national unity. French has also become an instrument of social stratification (Manessy and Wald, 1-115). Unlike the British, the French colonial system did not favor the traditional African hierarchy. Instead, the French colonizers passed political power in their colonies to an African elite group they had created based on their own culture. After independence, a conscious effort was launched to propagate this elite, whose language, modes of thought, professional orientation, and tastes were typically French. The members of the elite have seen their interests and those of France as identical for so long that they have often been the ones to hold on to arrangements France is now prepared to let go. Today, the children and grandchildren of an earlier French-trained elite grow up in cultivated, virtually French home environments. This small, well-educated elite, growing up isolated from the rest of the population, speaks a refined French, sometimes with a Parisian accent. The rest of the population in Francophone African countries generally speaks a rather mediocre French, sometimes even *créole*. The French spoken by the common people, however, may be a more viable means for French influence than the subtle French of the small elite. According to a report by the *Conseil économique et social*, only 10 percent of the local population in the Francophone African countries speaks French like a *francophone réel*, that is, like a native or near-native speaker. Also Jean-Pierre Cot stated that in rural areas and the *quartiers populaires* in cities, the proportion of the population who more or less understands and speaks French does not surpass 10 to 20 percent. He also noted a decline in the quality of French spoken by African students (Cot, 172).

There can be no doubt that the Francophone African leaders owe much of their political and economic power, as well as their social standing, to their skill in the French language (Touré, 11-28). When France gave up official control over its African colonies, it was mostly proficiency in French that gave the members of the African elite access to important positions. A few of them had acquired an education in French or African universities because of family influence in traditional African society. The political careers of Léopold Sédar Senghor, Félix Houphouët-Boigny, and Sékou Touré are typical examples. Most of the African elite, however, lacked the social position or economic base that would have ensured them ascendancy outside the colonial structure. The French language seems to be the main instrument of power in the hands of the governing oligarchies in all Francophone African countries (Carbett, 40). Unfortunately, the cultural hegemony of the French language has too often served to justify the right to rule by these oligarchies (Altbach and Kelly, 35). Some of the members of the elite have shown a keen enthusiasm for the study of French language and literature. It surprised no one when Senghor was elected in 1983 to become an *immortel*, a member of France's most prestigious intellectual institution, the *Académie française*. Therefore, the Francophone African elite has a vested interest in the continued ascendancy of the French language. This accounts for their lack of interest in the selection of an indigenous language as the official language for their respective countries. The dislodgment of French from its dominant position would erode their power base and social prestige. Furthermore, to change the linguistic status quo in the Francophone African countries would be a politically most sensitive issue, accompanied by the risk of civil dissension. The imposition of an indigenous language as the official language in any of the multilingual countries would lead to disruptive confrontations among antagonistic or rival ethnic groups. Even in countries like Senegal with a linguistically homogeneous society (90 percent of the population speaks Wolof) and where the recognition of Wolof as an official language would be the most logical course of action, political leaders have refrained from a proposal to change the status quo. Indeed, even the most ardent Francophobe, like Sékou Touré, at the time of independence, has never sought to displace French as the official language in a former French dependency.

A further factor for the perpetuation of the French language and consequent implication of French cultural influences is the educational system that African countries inherited from the French colonial administration. Not only is French the language of instruction in these countries, but the educational system itself is patterned on that of the *métropole*. The Franco-African cooperation accords signed with each country (except Guinea) have ensured French support in the vital area of formal education. After independence and in response to the strong desire of their populations, African governments set up vast programs of educational expansion. The resulting increase in school enrollment led to a corresponding shortage of teachers in primary and secondary schools. Since African countries lacked qualified indigenous teaching staff in sufficient numbers to run the expanded systems, they appealed for assistance under the cooperation agreements. In response to the request, the French government sent thousands of its trained nationals to the Francophone African countries to carry out various types of teaching, training, and supervisory assignments. In order to cope with the growing demand for teachers, the French government modified its compulsory military service rules in 1963 to allow draftees to fulfill their obligation by serving under the cooperation agreement system. The modification was also aimed at reducing the ever-increasing costs for training teachers. The majority of these national service volunteers who substitute civilian overseas service for compulsory military service have been teachers. Many of these draftees have developed such an enthusiasm and dedication for their assignment that they opted to stay at their position after their obligatory service period. About 75 percent of French technical assistance personnel continue to be teachers despite a decline in overall numbers in the program since the early 1980s, an indication of the priority that formal education enjoys in the overall assistance program.[3] Budgetary constraints in both France and the receiving African countries have required a reduction in the numbers of French teachers. These reductions were taken mainly in the secondary schools, where departing French teachers could be replaced by qualified, indigenous university graduates.

Traditionally the French government has been responsible for recruiting the teachers, giving them special overseas training and paying their annual trips to and from Africa, their salaries, and special overseas allowances, while the African countries provided accommodations. Generally, inexperienced French teachers have been delegated mainly for teaching duties to primary and secondary schools while the experienced candidates for overseas duties have been assigned to technical schools and colleges for teacher training. Student supervisory and administrative responsibilities have been mostly in the hands of African nationals. The most outstanding French educators have been recruited to serve in the Ministry of Education of a specific country, where they advise on policies and curricula.

To gratify each Francophone country's wish for prestigious postsecondary educational facilities, the French government agreed to establish institutions of higher learning. Before independence, the University of Dakar was the only postsecondary facility in French colonies south of the Sahara. It was established, administered, funded, and staffed by the French government. Indeed, it was an extension of the French university system, offering the same curriculum as the universities in the *métropole*. After independence, in conjunction with African governments, the French government established universities in Abidjan (Ivory Coast) and Yaoundé (Cameroon) and postsecondary institutions in Porto-Novo (Benin), Lomé (Togo), Brazzaville (Congo), Libreville (Gabon), Bangui (Central African Republic), and N'Djamena (Chad). All of these institutions have now expanded into autonomous national universities, controlled and financed by the respective local governments; however, French aid and supervision are still substantial (Fortier, 14c). The Franco-African cooperation accords signed with each individual country ensure that academic standards are maintained, and allow for equivalency with French metropolitan degrees and diplomas. A few institutions, mostly those founded earliest, such as the University of Dakar, enjoy favored status through the cooperation agreements (Zecchini, 2). In these universities the French government reserves to itself the privilege to staff a number of academic positions with French nationals or qualified Africans who hold double citizenship, that is, of a Francophone African country and of France. Although these positions are not necessarily staffed by better-qualified candidates than the positions staffed directly by the government of an African country, the salaries for services rendered by the former used to be considerably higher than those of the latter. Steps have been taken in recent years to alleviate this discriminatory practice.

In its determination to make the services of outstanding French scholars available to Francophone African universities, the French government has initiated a program of visiting lectureships/professorships to African universities. Under this program, well-known French scholars who, for whatever reason, do not want to take a prolonged leave of absence from their university in France, can be sponsored for lecture tours to Africa.

French assistance to educational development in Francophone Africa goes far beyond the recruitment of teaching personnel. Entire university and secondary school systems have been supplied, from the physical plant to details of curricula, expensive scientific and laboratory equipment, examination systems, teaching materials, and even personnel regulations. In several countries the French government also financed the establishment of linguistic institutes whose primary aim is to engage in comparative studies of French and the spoken languages in the respective countries. A number of indigenous languages have been analyzed with respect to their phonology, morphology, and syntax in order to adopt improved methods to teach French to Africans. Due to this kind of expansion of the educational system after independence, French educational models have become increasingly more entrenched in Francophone Africa.

Education and Schooling in Francophone Africa

African students have readily taken advantage of France's liberal policy of granting virtually unrestricted access to qualified Africans to study in its institutions. In the immediate postindependence period, France and the African states helped promote the vogue by sponsoring an ever-increasing number of Africans for studies and training in France. As a result, when universities were established in several Francophone African countries, many young Africans avoided them because it had become fashionable to sojourn and study in France, especially in Paris. Under these conditions African universities could not function properly. In order to compel African students to study in their home institutions, the number of scholarships for studies abroad had to be drastically reduced. To assist the African governments in this endeavor, France made most of its scholarships awarded to Africans tenable in African universities. Through these measures the flow of African students to France has been reduced somewhat but not their dream of studies in the *métropole*. The mystique of study in France is still strong in Francophone black Africa. For each of the last ten years there have been about 100,000 Francophone African students enrolled in French institutions of higher learning. Only a few of them benefit from study grants funded by the French government or by their respective African government; most are financed through private means. France has kept its liberal policy in allowing Francophone Africans to compete, on the basis of equality with French nationals, for admission to the *Grandes Écoles* (highly rated institutions, most of them devoted to engineering, applied science, or management studies) (Ardagh, 482). Similarly, France allows Francophone Africans to take the extremely competitive and prestigious examinations for the senior teaching diplomas with their rigid *numerus clausus*—the elitist *agrégation* and the *Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle à l'Enseignement*

Secondaire (CAPES). There are now about twenty times more applicants than places.

Next to the university students, other Africans come to France for secondary and primary education; these are usually the offspring of the affluent black African elite of the West Coast. Other young Africans attend short, non-university courses or refresher courses or are placed as apprentices with such governmental agencies as the Railroad or Post Office Training Schools. Regardless of the experience and professional or intellectual achievements of all these young Africans in France, the mere fact that they have experienced France personally enhances their social prestige and even their career prospects once back in their home country. Generally they become influential people in their respective country and have a keen interest to uphold their prestige acquired in France. They thus become unsolicited agents for the propagation of French culture.

Other Sources of French Influence

Other major sources of French influence in the former colonies are mass media, means of communication, cultural exchange programs, and cultural centers. The role played by French radio and television in disseminating French culture is enormous. Both have a stronger impact on their audience than the written word because all Francophone African countries still have a relatively large group of illiterates among their peoples. Today radio and television reach virtually all segments of the African population (Tudesq, 87–89). All Francophone African radio/television stations rely heavily on the French National Radio Broadcasting and Television Office, the *Office de Radiodiffusion-Télévision Française* (ORTF), for their programs. These stations relay news and news panorama produced by ORTF. Commercials ensure that the Africans buy things "made in France." ORTF also assists the African stations in producing their educational programs for school broadcasting. Starting in 1989, *Canal France International* (CFI) has been sending programs in French language each day for six hours via satellite to Africa. CFI buys up the best Francophone African productions for redistribution in Africa under the title "Africa gets to know Africa" (Humblot, 25).

The French press has a wide audience among the African elite because most Francophone African countries have only major state-owned newspapers with restricted information. As a result of the leadership conferences in several Francophone African states, an atmosphere of liberation of the press exists throughout Francophone Africa. A direct consequence is the lifting of state and self-imposed censorship and the proliferation of private newspapers with a small circulation. These newspapers, catering to the common people and often using Creole language, are especially critical of the elite. In order to propagate this spirit of liberalization of the press, the *Union des Journalistes d'Afrique de l'Ouest* organized a conference in January 1991 in Paris to which the managing personnel of all privately owned Francophone African newspapers were invited (Konaré, 23d). The more educated Francophone Africans turn to French newspapers, magazines, journals, and reviews that offer more objective and wider news coverage and analyses. Many of these publications give extensive coverage to all facets of African affairs. It is obvious that this rich source of information on Africa produced in France reflects French interests and ideology.

In most Francophone African countries France controls the international, and in many cases also the internal, means of communication. Since many of these countries are landlocked and have a relatively small population, establishing telephone, telex, radio, and television links is an expensive undertaking, which cannot be funded by each individual state. The French recognized the enormous advantages offered by establishing and maintaining technical control over these lifelines. In providing the initial necessary equipment and installation, they have now secured a means of access to most sensitive and secret information. In fact, in a few former dependencies the French Intelec controls all telex, radio, and telephone operations. In the field of military communications, French control is even more prominent. The details are known only by certain top military personnel and government officials. But it is a known fact that in certain former French dependencies the entire military communication system is in the hands of French technicians. They are in charge of coding and radio systems of the armed forces, as well as of military intelligence.

The bilateral Franco-African cooperation accords between France and its former African dependencies also provide for cultural exchange programs. Each year several French artists travel to Africa to exhibit their work. Some hold seminars or organize workshops for the benefit of promising young African artists. The program has also enabled French orchestras, bands, and theater troupes to perform in African towns. In cooperation with the national radio and television network of Francophone African countries, ORTF has organized annual drama competitions for promising African playwrights. The best plays entered for the competition and written in French language are then broadcast by ORTF and relayed by the African radio and television network. Even sport teams are occasionally sponsored to play against African teams. Such activities have contributed a great deal to the propagation of French culture in Africa.

In the larger cities of the Francophone West Coast, visual evidence of the French connection is conspicuous. Movie theaters show almost exclusively French films. In the shops, the sidewalk cafés, the restaurants, and other public gathering places the atmosphere is typically French. In the hinterland of these cities, the French connection is less obvious. The attitude of the local government toward its own indigenous culture or cultures becomes also an important element in the degree the French culture has been adopted. For instance, in the more traditionally oriented Islamic countries in the Sahel, where there has been a time-honored practice not to accept Western ways of life, French presence is more discreet or even absent. On the other hand, the government of Félix Houphouët-Boigny has opted for what amounts to a systematic Frenchification of the Ivorian people. In all relatively affluent commercial centers the French language and French material culture have become synonymous with modernity.

In the larger Francophone African cities the French have established cultural centers (*médiathèques*) that generally are extensions of the cultural section of the French consulate or embassy. These centers are usually endowed with a library, a film/videocassette/record library, a reading/study room, an information booth, and sometimes a multipurpose theater (*salle polyvalente*). The libraries have a good selection of titles on French culture, civilization, history, and geography. They subscribe to French dailies and periodicals. Similarly, the film/videocassette/record library keeps material on French classical, modern, and popular music, teaching/learning aids meant for teachers and students of French, and films that deal mostly with France's history, geography, and socioeconomic and political life. Users of the *médiathèque* may borrow any material to be consulted on the premises or at home. Most centers organize weekly programs on a specific topic of French life. The multipurpose theater is used for public lectures, drama productions, film festivals, music shows, and all kinds of exhibitions. Generally the centers have a budget to operate a mobile library to serve the remote villages and to give technical and financial assistance to groups that want to pursue any kind of activity dealing with the propagation of French culture. It is thus evident that France has made an elaborate effort to maintain and consolidate its cultural presence in the Francophone African countries. In part these efforts are in response to the French people's concept of *mission civilisatrice*; however, there is a link between these cultural activities and economics. The well-established French cultural presence makes the Francophone African countries obvious markets for various types of French books, periodicals, musical equipments, videotapes, records, and other French-made creations advertised in the media. The taste for French products and product identification is of long standing. A report commissioned by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives a clear indication that the French government is well aware of this connection and makes a conscious effort to promote it. The report states that teaching the French language and culture abroad is not just a public service activity; it is also a profitable undertaking for French companies. In fact, still according to the report, creative activities are inseparable from economics; they manifest themselves by the offer of articles and services for sale (Rigaud, 76–77).

There is also a connection between cultural relations and politics. The creation and continuation of a political elite in each former French dependency well confirm this relationship. Originally the French cultural orientation was the policy of assimilation, which sought to Frenchify the Africans. With some very rare exceptions, this policy failed. The French, however, were successful in making the elite French-oriented what has contributed a great deal to the special relationship France enjoys today with its former black African dependencies. Whether this relationship can be passed on to future generations remains to be seen. Much will depend on the continuation of a major French cultural and educational effort in these countries and on the attitudes of future leaders. As explained earlier, French is still the only viable *lingua franca* and the only official language, as well as the principal medium of modern education, in most of these countries. Given these linguistic and cultural advantages, France should continue to enjoy a special, privileged political and economic position in Francophone black Africa in the foreseeable future.

Notes

1. All fourteen former French dependencies in Subsaharan Africa have adopted French as the official language. Mauritania accepted Arabic as its second official language (after French) mainly because of the financial support it could then obtain from the Arab world (*Africa Review*, 111-113) Cameroon has French and English as official languages.

2. Mitterrand failed to mention, however, that according to the same forecast, French would trail behind both Spanish and Portuguese within the Romance family of languages.

3. French Peace Corps volunteers and French military medical personnel assigned to civilian hospitals are the other groups that make up the technical assistance personnel.

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Jacqueline de Romilly - une femme à l'Académie française

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Qui fut membre de l'Académie française et comment défendit-il sa langue? De nombreux ouvrages répondent à ces questions, quand elles se rapportent aux hommes. Aucune œuvre, cependant, ne décrit la présence ou la contribution d'une femme à l'Académie.

Cette lacune peut s'expliquer par la longue exclusion des femmes. Bien que de tout temps, il n'ait existé aucune restriction de sexe pour y être admis, pendant trois siècles et demi les femmes en furent bannies.[1] Ce n'est qu'en 1980 que l'Académie française leur ouvrit ses portes, en accueillant Marguerite Yourcenar. Celle-ci, par mépris pour les siècles d'exclusion, refusa de participer aux activités académiques. Son unique acte de présence fut d'assister à sa séance de réception. Huit ans plus tard, sous les flashs éblouissants des photographes, l'helléniste Madame Jacqueline de Romilly fut la deuxième femme à franchir les portes de cette institution. A la différence de Marguerite Yourcenar, elle prit dès le début une part active aux réunions et travaux de l'Académie française. Par son élection et sa participation, cette femme devint donc la première académicienne.

Qui est Jacqueline de Romilly? Quelle a été sa vie et ses œuvres? Que pense-t-elle de la longue exclusion des femmes à l'Académie? Et surtout, quelle est sa position sur les nombreux débats qui touchent la langue française? Pour répondre à ces questions, nous avons interviewé cette grande académicienne. Les pages suivantes présentent ce que notre entretien et une étude de ses textes, nous ont appris sur cette femme de 82 ans, aujourd'hui comblée d'honneurs et couverte de décorations.[2]

Sa vie et ses œuvres

Jacqueline de Romilly est née en 1913, à une époque encore hostile à l'émancipation de la femme, surtout dans le domaine intellectuel. Grâce à son ardeur pour les études, elle a obtenu des honneurs que la France n'avait auparavant accordés à aucune femme. Elle est célèbre depuis l'âge de 17 ans, lorsqu'elle s'est présentée au Concours général, la première année où les filles pouvaient entrer en compétition avec les garçons.[3] Au grand étonnement du pays, elle remporta le premier prix de version latine et le second prix de version grecque. Dès que la nouvelle fut connue, elle fit la une des journaux. Certains journalistes proclamèrent une nouvelle victoire du féminisme, mais la plupart redoutèrent que cette première lauréate ne devienne une femme savante, c'est-à-dire un mauvais exemple.

Malgré l'appréhension de la société, Jacqueline de Romilly est devenue une véritable pionnière qui a su, par sa persévérance, se frayer un chemin vers le savoir. De la khâgne de Louis-le-Grand, elle a accédé à l'Ecole normale supérieure de la rue d'Ulm. Depuis sa fondation en 1796, cette institution n'avait accepté que 18 femmes et aucune n'avait choisi de se spécialiser en grec, car cette discipline était considérée le domaine des hommes. Cette tradition ne contraria point Jacqueline de Romilly qui fit sa thèse sur Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien. Par la suite, elle consacra ses recherches à la littérature grecque ancienne et publia 22 livres sur la Grèce.[4] Elle est aujourd'hui l'une des plus grandes hellénistes du monde.

Pendant toute sa vie, Jacqueline de Romilly a continué à franchir les portes de plusieurs institutions peu disposées à accueillir les femmes. En 1959, elle est devenue professeur de langue et littérature grecques à la Sorbonne, où elle était une des trois professeurs femmes sur quatre-vingts professeurs. En 1973, elle fut la première femme professeur élue au Collège de France. Deux ans plus tard, en 1975, elle devint la première femme membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Elle siège aujourd'hui à l'Académie française.

A quoi pouvons-nous attribuer les succès de cette pionnière, née dans un milieu plutôt hostile à l'affranchissement intellectuel des femmes? Lors de notre interview, Jacqueline de Romilly nous a répondu qu'elle avait simplement eu la chance d'être de la bonne génération. En effet, lycéenne la première année où le grec était offert dans les lycées de filles et lauréate au Concours général la première année où les filles pouvaient concourir, elle a profité du bon moment. Mais tout de même, le temps ne fut pas la force principale de ses succès! Elle a tout d'abord réussi à franchir les portes de ces institutions grâce à l'appui et au soutien de sa mère et en renonçant à certains rôles. "Moi, je sais que je n'aurais pas pu faire ce que j'ai fait si j'avais eu des enfants, et si je n'avais pas eu ma mère pour m'aider matériellement. Je travaillais tellement! Je n'aurais jamais pu," a-t-elle avoué vers la fin de notre conversation. Sa réussite, elle la doit aussi aux interminables heures de travail qui ont rempli sa vie quotidienne. Dans *Œufs de Pâques* - son dernier recueil de récits autobiographiques à peine voilés de fiction - Jacqueline de Romilly raconte l'histoire d'une jeune femme écrasée de fatigue, obligée de se traîner hors du lit, un jour de congé, pour se remettre au travail. Cette anecdote nous revint à l'esprit lorsque Jacqueline de Romilly nous parla des efforts qu'elle avait dû faire parce qu'elle était une femme: "Cela m'a obligée dans ma vie à beaucoup plus travailler que mes collègues hommes, parce que je ne voulais pas qu'on dise que les femmes ne font pas leur métier. Alors, je me trainais à moitié morte, pendant qu'eux, ils se reposaient. C'est ainsi que je me suis donné du mal pour la cause des femmes."

L'Académie française et les femmes

Malgré les nombreux obstacles qu'elle a dû surmonter parce qu'elle était femme, Jacqueline de Romilly n'a jamais exprimé - ni par écrit ni dans les nombreuses interviews qu'elle a accordées - de reproches envers les institutions misogynes. Nous lui avons demandé ce qu'elle pensait de la longue exclusion des femmes à l'Académie française. Sa réponse fut presque une apologie. D'abord, elle a constaté que la réticence de la part des académiciens à élire une femme s'expliquait par le manque d'éducation de celles-ci: "Avant, les femmes n'avaient pas la même éducation que les hommes. C'est donc parfaitement normal qu'elles n'aient pas eu accès à toutes ces choses qui normalement correspondent à des titres, à une éducation, à une culture, qu'elles n'avaient tout simplement pas." Nous avons signalé que tout de même il y avait, depuis la fondation de l'Académie, des écrivains femmes capables de défendre la langue française. Elle a répliqué qu'il fallait comprendre que l'Académie française n'allait pas se lancer toute seule, alors qu'il n'y avait de femme nulle part. Elle a ajouté: "L'Académie française a eu plus de mal que les autres à s'y mettre, mais c'est parfaitement compréhensible parce qu'elle a une tradition très marquée et importante, qui ne va pas pour les femmes. Il y a un costume avec une épée. Il y a la solennité des gardes municipaux. Enfin c'est un club d'hommes, d'officiers."

Bien que Jacqueline de Romilly ait tendance à défendre l'Académie, elle ne se montre pas du tout favorable aux règles qui régissent la candidature des femmes. Depuis 1980, pour poser leur candidature, les femmes, comme les hommes, devaient envoyer une lettre sollicitant un siège à l'Académie. Toutefois, depuis 1988, les femmes ne peuvent plus solliciter de poste; elles doivent être invitées. C'est d'ailleurs lors de sa réponse au discours de réception de Jacqueline de Romilly, qu'Alain Peyrefitte annonça la nouvelle loi.[5] Pour toute explication, il jugea bon de rappeler les règles de convenance: "Quand nous souhaiterons élire une consœur, c'est nous qui ferons les premiers pas; puisqu'il n'est pas convenable qu'une dame fasse la cour à des hommes.[6] Romilly pense que cette règlementation a été rédigée parce que certains académiciens ont eu peur que le mouvement pour les femmes et son entrée à l'Académie amènent des nuées de candidatures féminines. Elle ne l'approuve pas et souhaiterait plutôt des élections ouvertes: "Dans l'ensemble, je trouve qu'il ne faudrait pas que cette loi dure. Il est bien qu'il y ait des élections ouvertes où les gens puissent se présenter," a-t-elle constaté. Cependant, elle attend le moment où il y aura plus d'académiciennes pour la voir disparaître: "Je trouve qu'il fallait les laisser faire provisoirement. Dès qu'il y aura quatre ou cinq femmes, cette réglementation sera abandonnée. Pour le moment, il vaut mieux ça que rien!"

Sachant qu'il y a parmi les académiciens des membres qui refusent catégoriquement de voter pour une femme, nous lui avons demandé si sa féminité avait constitué un inconvénient lors de sa candidature. Jacqueline de Romilly a répliqué que sa féminité avait joué à la fois pour et contre son élection. Elle a affirmé qu'il y avait des académiciens qui étaient agacés à l'idée d'accepter une femme. Mais qu'inversement, il y en avait d'autres qui tenaient beaucoup à ce qu'il y ait des femmes à l'Académie, pour marquer leur ouverture d'esprit. "C'était la même chose déjà au Collège de France. Il y a des gens qui, *je sais*, n'auraient pas voté pour moi, mais qui ont voté parce qu'ils voulaient voter pour une femme." Enfin, un peu pour en finir avec ce sujet qui ne lui tenait pas trop à cœur, elle a constaté que la plupart des académiciens ne demandaient pas mieux que d'avoir une autre femme à l'Académie. Nos recherches sur les femmes et l'Académie révèlent, en effet, que plusieurs académiciens sont disposés à accueillir des femmes parmi eux. En juin 1994, nous avons interviewé Michel Serres, Bertrand Poirot-Delpech, Maurice Druon et Claude Lévi-Strauss. Ce dernier fut le seul à s'opposer à la présence des femmes à l'Académie.[7]

Jacqueline de Romilly se considère féministe puisqu'elle est pour l'égalité et elle préconise l'extension des droits et du rôle de la femme dans la société. Cependant, comme un grand nombre de Françaises, elle ne partage pas les idées et discours féministes des Américaines, car elle pense qu'ils vont trop loin. "Je trouve qu'en Amérique les femmes sont fatigantes, qu'on en parle trop! C'est des histoires à tout instant!" s'est-elle écriée lors de notre conversation. De plus, à la différence des féministes américaines, elle rejette les lois mises en place pour réduire l'inégalité sur le marché du travail. Elle a tenu à nous faire savoir qu'elle n'a jamais été pour les quotas. "Que la compétition soit ouverte!" a-t-elle affirmé, "si les femmes ne sont pas bonnes, qu'elles restent chez elles. Si elles sont meilleures que les hommes, il y en aura plus que d'hommes." A ses yeux, les femmes devraient demander l'égalité et jouer l'égalité. Nous lui avons fait remarquer que même en jouant l'égalité, elles sont parfois exclues de certains postes à cause de leur sexe. Elle a répliqué qu'il fallait être patient, que les choses se faisaient peu à peu, et qu'en continuant à être meilleures, les femmes seraient finalement acceptées. Il n'y a point de doute qu'à ce sujet, Romilly fait appel à sa propre expérience.

La langue française

Puisque l'activité principale des académiciens est de veiller sur la langue, notre entretien se porta sur ce sujet.[8] A l'instar des autres membres de l'Académie, Jacqueline de Romilly a consacré son temps et son attention à la défense de la langue française. Certains de ses confrères la défendent parce qu'elle constitue l'héritage culturel français, d'autres, parce qu'elle représente leur patrie.[9] Jacqueline de Romilly partage leurs convictions; cependant, elle est la seule de l'Académie à défendre la langue française au nom de la liberté.

Dans sa communication "La langue et la liberté," présentée jeudi le 26 mai 1994 lors de la célébration du 300ᵉ anniversaire de la publication du dictionnaire, elle expose les liens entre ces deux sujets. Tout d'abord, elle signale que le bon usage de la langue permet d'échapper aux contraintes d'ordre social. Ne pas enseigner à parler correctement aux enfants élevés dans un entourage familial peu cultivé, c'est, à son avis "les enfermer dans un milieu défavorisé, au lieu de les en affranchir" (6). Elle soutient aussi que "la possibilité de s'exprimer et de comprendre autrui constitue une liberté" (2). Ainsi, l'apprentissage des mots invite à la communication et fait fondre les barrières. Par contre, l'ignorance de sa propre langue paralyse, suscite l'inhibition et empêche les gens d'exprimer leurs pensées et sentiments. Finalement, Jacqueline de Romilly maintient que la maîtrise de la langue mène à une pratique saine de la démocratie: "N'est-il pas évident que la responsabilité des citoyens implique que chacun sache se débrouiller dans les textes et les règlements, sache faire la part entre les propagandes mensongères et les arguments sérieux, sache, avant de voter, ce que veulent dire au juste les divers candidats...."(5).

C'est au nom de cette liberté qu'elle se bat, depuis 1969, pour préserver l'enseignement de la langue et de la littérature.[10] En France, comme aux Etats-Unis, ces disciplines sont menacées par l'ascendant des sciences et par le manque de fonds. "Tous les gens comme il faut font un bachot scientifique maintenant, alors que quand j'étais jeune tout le monde faisait un bachot littéraire," nous a-t-elle expliqué lors de notre entretien. Selon Jacqueline de Romilly, les lycées enseignent de moins en moins la grammaire et la littérature. Or, en faisant des études approfondies sur les mots, les textes et les idées qu'ils expriment, les lycéens apprenaient à réfléchir, à comprendre leur langue et à s'exprimer correctement en français. Elle revendique donc aujourd'hui le droit d'apprendre le bon usage de la langue pour que les Français aient la liberté de communiquer. Il y a deux ans, elle a même fondé l'association "Sauvegarde des enseignements littéraires," qui compte maintenant 7000 membres.

C'est aussi au nom de la liberté que Jacqueline de Romilly est contre l'invasion de l'anglais et pour la loi Jacques Toubon, relative à l'emploi de la langue française. Cette loi entend renforcer la protection du français dans certains secteurs sensibles - la technologie, les sciences, les médias, la publicité - en bannissant les anglicismes qui admettent un équivalent français. Elle n'est pas censée changer l'usage du français quotidien; il s'agit plutôt d'obliger ceux qui travaillent en France à rédiger leurs textes officiels, leurs contrats et leurs publicité en français.[11]

Jacqueline de Romilly nous a expliqué sa position sur l'invasion de l'anglais et sur cette loi de la façon suivante: "Je ne suis pas du tout contre les mots anglais. Je sais l'anglais; j'aime bien l'anglais; j'ai beaucoup de contact avec l'Angleterre. Mais ce qu'il y a, c'est que l'invasion par l'anglais ne correspond pas au besoin d'un mot, mais à une sorte de paresse pratique et de faux snobisme. On dit la chose en anglais, alors qu'on peut la dire en français." Elle a offert des exemples de paresse pratique, en signalant qu'Eurodisney n'avait point traduit ses contrats de travail en français et que leurs employés s'étaient trouvés dans l'obligation de les signer sans savoir ce qu'ils contenaient. Elle a ajouté qu'il en était de même pour certaines sociétés de location de voitures américaines, ayant des filiales en France. Quant à l'emploi de l'anglais par snobisme, elle constate qu'il n'est point nécessaire de dire un "drink" quand on peut dire un "verre." Nous lui avons fait remarqué, qu'il y avait des Français qui se plaignaient de la loi Toubon, au nom de la liberté de communication proclamée dans l'article 11 de la Déclaration des droits de l'homme.[12] Pour toute réponse, elle nous a dit: "De placer sa liberté dans des fautes de langue me paraît complètement paradoxal. Mais la liberté que l'on prend d'écrire un contrat en anglais, si c'est une liberté, il faut la supprimer, parce qu'on est en France jusqu'à preuve du contraire."

Finalement, c'est aussi au nom de la langue et de la liberté que Jacqueline de Romilly s'indigne contre le jargon. Elle méprise ces mots qui, d'après elle, empêchent les auditeurs de comprendre, les réduisant au silence. Dans certaines de ses œuvres, elle attaque les pédants qui intimident par le jargon.[13] Dans "Langue et liberté," elle déclare: "Oui, l'on semble aimer l'incorrection, l'obscurité. C'est marquer que l'on méprise autrui, et que l'on veut lui jeter de la poudre aux yeux. Résultat, l'autre se tait ou bien il imite, répétant à l'envie le même jargon" (5). Au nom de la liberté elle propose l'emploi de termes clairs et compréhensibles.

Conclusion

Quelles ont donc été les contributions de cette grande académicienne? Tout d'abord, par son travail intellectuel assidu, elle a montré à la France, qu'il n'était plus possible d'exclure les femmes des institutions du savoir. Il serait bien de signaler, qu'à la différence de plusieurs Françaises de grande renommée dans le domaine intellectuel, Jacqueline de Romilly a réussi à pénétrer et changer certaines institutions sociales misogynes, sans leur faire la guerre. Grâce à sa grande réussite dans ces établissements, elle les a aussi rendus accessibles à ses concitoyennes. D'autre part, depuis 1969 Jacqueline de Romilly mène en France la bataille pour l'enseignement. Elle défend le droit des enfants à l'instruction et offre des directives aux parents. Par ce combat, elle a atteint une foule immense. Enfin, Jacqueline de Romilly est la seule académicienne à souligner le lien entre la langue et la liberté.

Notes

1. L'article I des Statuts qui furent rédigés par les premiers académiciens et signés par Richelieu en 1635 déclarent: "Personne ne sera reçu à l'Académie, qui ne soit agréable à Monseigneur le Protecteur, et qui ne soit de bonnes mœurs, de bonne réputation, de bon esprit, et propre aux fonctions Académiques." *Status et règlements de l'Académie française*, (Paris: 1635) p. 1. Aujourd'hui, les seules conditions requises pour accéder à l'Académie française sont de posséder la nationalité française et d'être majeur. Aucune condition de sexe n'a jamais été formulée dans les règlements.

2. Jacqueline de Romilly est Commandeur de la Légion d'honneur, Commandeur des Palmes académiques, Commandeur des Arts et des Lettres et Commandeur des ordres grecs du Phénix et de l'Honneur. Elle est aussi membre correspondant ou étranger de dix-sept académies.

3. Le Concours général est une épreuve dans laquelle les meilleurs élèves des lycées de France entrent en compétition pour un nombre limité de récompenses.

4. Les titres les plus connus sont: *La tragédie grecque; Problèmes de la démocratie grecque; Pourquoi la Grèce?*

5. Chaque membre de l'Académie doit composer un discours qu'il lira sous la coupole, le jour de la réception solennelle. Un académicien, souvent ami du récipiendaire, répond par un discours d'acceuil qui dure une heure. Monsieur Alain Peyrefitte écrivit la réponse au discours de Madame de Romilly.

6. Alain, Peyrefitte. 26.

7. Claude Lévi-Strauss, que nous avons interviewé en juin 1994, a convenu qu'il ne voterait jamais pour une femme et qu'il s'était opposé à l'élection de Jacqueline de Romilly. Il expliqua que Richelieu n'avait pas voulu de femmes à l'Académie et qu'il ne voulait pas changer cette tradition: "Je n'aime pas qu'on modifie les monuments historiques. A mes yeux, l'Académie française, c'est d'abord un monument historique, que notre rôle est de conserver tel que ses fondateurs l'ont conçu et créé."

8. Le but principal de l'Académie française est "de travailler avec tout le soin et toute la diligence possibles à donner des règles certaines à notre langue et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences." *Status et règlements de l'Académie française*. (1635) Article XXIV.

9. Michel Serres déclare: "Quand le corps émigré garde la chance rare de parler ou d'écrire sa langue, elle demeure le sol et le fleuve, la terre et l'eau de son habitat. La langue est le lieu où j'habite." *Terre et Eau: De l'exil et de l'émigration*. 26.

10. Voir: *Nous autres professeurs; L'enseignement en détresse; Lettres aux parents sur les choix scolaires*.

11. Pour une explication détaillée du projet voir: Nathaniel Herzberg.

12. Pour un aperçu de la controverse voir: Thierry Brétier.

13. Voir: "Quand les mots changent de sens."

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Allegories of Power in Two Historical Novels of Paco Ignacio Taibo II

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The best-selling Mexican mystery writer Paco Ignacio Taibo II has recently published two prize-winning novels with historical themes, both of which allegorize relations of power between the United States and Mexico. *Cuatro manos* (translated as *Four Hands*, 1994) appeared in 1990, winning First Place in the Mystery and Espionage Novel competition under the auspices of Editorial Vanguardia. While this novel treats events spanning the twentieth century, including the Mexican Revolution, the Spanish Civil War, and the Cuban Revolution, it centers on a fictional CIA disinformation campaign aimed at Nicaragua in the 1980s. And while *Cuatro manos* does not, strictly speaking, fall neatly within the genre of the historical novel, it embraces a sufficient number of historical events and personages, among these Pancho Villa, Harry Houdini, and Stan Laurel, to warrant consideration as one.

Two years later, *La lejanía del tesoro* was published, winning the Planeta / Joaquín Moritz literary prize for 1992. With its protagonists Vicente Riva Palacio, Guillermo Prieto, and Benito Juárez, *La lejanía* is an historical novel that vividly recreates the Mexican Republic's armed struggle against the ill-conceived Empire of the Austrian archduke Maximilian (1864-67). In this novel, Taibo invents an impressive, seemingly authentic array of heteroglossia, including fictitious diaries, correspondence, and other historical documents of the period. Like *Cuatro manos*, *La lejanía* too is a hybrid, vibrating with elements of mystery and dark humor. The most important and delightful of these revolves around the legendary treasure of Juárez. Under cover of darkness and shrouded with tarps, several carriages loaded with boxes leave Puebla, northward bound and under heavy guard. The contents of these boxes are not revealed even to the men who risk their lives to guard them, and they eventually come to rest in a desert cave. This widely sought treasure is variously rumored to be bullion siphoned from the national treasury, passbooks and notes giving access to capital held in foreign banks, or rare works of art stolen from the Confederacy during the U.S. Civil War. The rumors incite every kind of interloper to join the chase. But in truth, the treasure turns out to be nothing more than official documents from the national archives of Mexico, safeguarded by peasants loyal to President Juárez so that he can reestablish legitimate government upon his return to the Distrito Federal.

Despite the apparent distance between these two novels in form and setting, they typify Taibo's work in general. In all his writing, Taibo seeks to capture history from a variety of angles. To accomplish this, he employs "una especie de lógica de resistencia del ciudadano contra el sistema, una literatura de acción; y eso está en todo, está en mi trabajo como historiador, está en mi trabajo como novelista policiaco y como novelista histórico" (Ramírez 41) It comes as no surprise, then, to find him mixing history and mystery rather freely here, as he had in earlier novels like *Sombra de la sombra* (1986). Moreover, Taibo blurs conventional boundaries between genres even further in *Cuatro manos* by cleverly planting in its pages a direct reference, a prophecy of sorts, to his subsequent novel, *La lejanía*. In a final attempt to come up with an acceptable proposal for a doctoral thesis in anthropology, one of the minor characters of *Cuatro manos*, an intransigent female graduate student at UNAM, claims that Guillermo Prieto, the famous nineteenth-century journalist and one of the protagonists of *La lejanía*, has been miraculously resurrected in the late 1970s. Looking much like the long-suffering detective Belascoarán of Taibo's popular mystery novels, this avatar of Prieto uses his considerable wit and obduracy to help solve the case of three missing grand pianos, which, it seems, have been stolen from a state-run television station with the complicity of certain corrupt members of the PRI and a nephew of the president (397-400). Evidently Taibo, an historian by profession, had already begun to identify himself with Prieto as early as 1989. More than two years later, Taibo confesses in the Epilogue to *La lejanía*: "Por culpa de Guillermo Prieto pues, está escrito este libro, por mi fascinación ante su enloquecida prosa, su populacherismo irredento, su fervor insurgente" (309-

10). Like his hero Prieto, Taibo wields his pen as a weapon against the injustices of a corrupt government.

Yet even more important than such instances of intertextuality is the complex and sometimes contradictory set of political values Taibo establishes in both of these works. In Fredric Jameson's formulation, one of the functions of the third-world novel in general is to allegorize identifiable formations within ideologies of power in the international arena: "Third-world texts... necessarily project a political dimension in the form of national allegory: the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society" (69). And while Taibo holds in part to the standard view that economic policies and practices emanating from centers of economic power are directly to blame for much of the misery suffered in Latin America, he handles the idea differently than other leftist writers of the region. For instance, like Asturias, Carpentier, Fuentes, and García Márquez before him, Taibo recognizes the complicity of conservative and corrupt elements in Latin America with the economic interests of the United States. As an historian, however, he understands the danger of treating such power as a monolith. Consequently, his allegory splits it in two. On the one hand, the United States often appears in Taibo's novels as the conventional scourge of empire. But on the other, this stereotype is tempered with a more varied and complex representation of North American hegemony, showing it by turns to be sympathetic, generous, comic, weak, or even self-destructive.

Along with this more balanced and perhaps more realistic view of gringos, Taibo simultaneously posits a revised view of heroism for the Latin American left. This view he encodes using the term "terquedad," or stubbornness. In a Taibo novel, it is enough to have fought the good fight and survive, or if not, to be resurrected. This ethos of tenacity, tempered by good will and good humor, derives in part from the legacy of defeat inherited by the Mexican left after the massacre of students at Tlatelolco in 1968. As Taibo points out, in the aftermath of this tragedy:

> Tuvo que levantarse lentamente, mi generación, lentamente después del 68, tuvo que proceder a reconstruir el entramado social de una nueva izquierda en el movimiento sindical y en el movimiento popular en las colonias, en los barrios, en el campo, dentro de las universidades, a reconstruir el espacio democrático lentamente. Y lo puede reconstruir a partir de una lógica de la terquedad, y la literatura influyó en esta lógica de la terquedad creando una especie de espacio permanente donde no te podían derrotar, en el terreno de los sueños y las ilusiones. (Ramírez 47)

Like his compatriot Jorge Castañeda, who in his recent study of revolutionary movements in Latin America, *Utopia Unarmed*, envisions a less militant, less extreme, more democratic role for the left in modern Latin America, Taibo prefigures a left that will survive, despite everything, because it has to, because the corruption, poverty, oppression, and misery which spurred it into action in the first place continue to fester (254-55). Writing about Taibo in another context, Castañeda himself has said:

> [Taibo's] heroes are undoubtedly being summoned again today by the feverish imagination of other defeated, demoralized young Mexicans who see no way to change things in their country, but who still believe that somehow, some day, change will come. Mexico is as magic a nation as ever, and Taibo's heroes are links in a chain. (Flores 835)

Cuatro manos explores these themes openly. It follows the parallel courses of several separate sets of characters, most of them previously unknown to each other, whose lives suddenly converge around a disinformation campaign devised by Alex, the brilliant but demented head of the CIA's so-called "Shit Department." In this labyrinthine covert action, code named "Blancanieves y los Siete Enanos," Alex tries to discredit a highly placed official within the Sandinista government by implicating him in drug and arms trafficking with the Mexican underworld. Alex is one of Taibo's supreme creations, a CIA bureau chief too pathological even for the Agency. When Alex's plan comes under fire internally, for instance, a fellow agent confides to him:

> Alguien covenció a los chicos de Casey de que estás perdidamente loco y que puedes resultar un peligro para su futuro... tu nombre huele a cadáver en las juntas del directorio, y tu famosa operación Blancanieves es algo que quieren engordar para luego comerte, dentro de un rato será algo que no se toca ni con guantes. (274)

As forecast, Alex's scheme does contain the seeds of its own destruction, and when it fails, the CIA is made to look ridiculous. Among a cast of dozens, "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" involves not only make-believe dwarfs, CIA operatives using the code names "Dwarf One, Dwarf Two" and so on, it accidently snags a real one, a midget who also happens to be a hit man in the service of one of Mexico's most dangerous drug traffickers. In Taibo's underworld, thugs, enforcers and operatives alike often resemble grotesques transported out of Hieronymus Bosch.

Ancillary to Alex's covert operation are a set of left-leaning reporters, Greg Simon and Julio Fernández. Throughout the novel these two are fed tantalizing clues about what the CIA is up to, but they never quite get it figured out. Greg is the archetypal sympathetic gringo, a pro-Sandinista reporter with credentials from the Cuban Revolution forward. But he is also wise to the ways of the world. According to Greg, it doesn't matter whether you're a tourist or a tradesman, being a "'uscitizenusborngringo' en América Latina es un pasatiempo para inconscientes, gángsters económicos, misioneros comerciantes, radicales al borde de la jubilación, freaks, ilusos o cruzados" (457). Yet in Greg's opinion, even worse than these misfits are those apparently rational people like himself who find themselves constantly crossing borders because they don't believe in them,

> porque pensamos racionalmente que no somos excesivamente diferentes, que podemos coexistir con los naturales en justos términos: tú me das, yo te doy, tú me sonries yo te sonrio, aunque en la noche tenemos pesadillas en las que niños hambrientos y semidesnudos, los vivos fantasmas latinoamericanos, nos señalan con el dedo. (457-58)

Unlike many U.S. liberals who are also successful professionals, Greg admits his complicity in the oppressive cycle of doing business as usual. And to some extent, this clouds his vision, making him doubt the value of his activism and keeping him from knowing exactly how to proceed.

So, like Malcom Lowry, Joseph Conrad and Ambrose Bierce before him, Greg continues going south in search of demons: "Al dejar el engañoso paraíso norteamericano, el verdadero infierno, los demonios atacan, buscan escaparse de la piel y brotar. ... El que no tenga infiernos estará contento morir arrodillado ante su televisión en un lugar tan absurdo como Indianapolis" (458). As a liberal reporter, Greg openly opposes U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. Yet Taibo deliberately stays Greg's hand by keeping him in the dark about the Alex's CIA operation throughout the novel. By so doing, he identifies Greg with the victims: "si a veces no entendía nada, tampoco los naturales parecían entender mucho" (458). In this way, Greg's complex character remains well removed from the calculating, efficient and bloodless gringos typically afield in other Latin American novels.

Greg's Mexican partner Julio, alias El Gordo, took up journalism as a young man after reading the notebooks left by his grandfather, the one-time publisher of a Socialist newspaper in Spain during the Spanish Civil War. Besides his grandfather's profession and politics, Julio inherits from him an interest in Pancho Villa and an obsession for the films of Laurel and Hardy. Like Greg, Julio moves across national borders with relative ease. And he is a master of deflation when it comes to the alleged superiority of North Americans: "a mí también me gustan los Estados Unidos, el pedo es la cantidad de gringos pendejos que tienen por todos lados regados" (31). Julio and Greg get along well precisely because Greg has distanced himself from the single-mindedness and driving ambition characteristic of so many of his compatriots. And yet, despite his years of experience on the street, Julio too remains blind to the plot hatched by Alex.

Where Greg and Julio fail, it takes another pair of leftists, more seasoned but comically old, to succeed. Soldiers of the old guard, they are survivors of the Spanish Civil War who fought alongside Julio's grandfather and led a lifetime of subversive activity besides. One of them, the appropriately named Saturnino Longoria, is a Spaniard living in exile. For years he has kept in practice by counterfeiting passports out of a rest home in Mexico City. The other is a Bulgarian revolutionary and ex-political prisoner named Stoyan Vasilev. Both men witnessed the collapse of the International only to see fascism take root in Spain and Stalinism in Eastern Europe. Yet in the subsequent decades they have continued to fight for the ideals of socialism. As a consequence, they exemplify well the redemptive qualities of "terquedad."

Armed only with a "prehistoric" Colt .45 and a fork, these two octogenarians kill a notorious Mexican hit man and visibly scar the actor hired by Alex to impersonate the Sandinista official, thus wrecking his subterfuge. Although they actually know less than Greg and Julio do about the plot, they wind up in the right place at the right time with enough experience to smell trouble and to tell the good from the bad. In this regard they are like many of Taibo's characters, of whom he says, in a recent interview in *Americas*: "My characters ... operate on the principle that discovering a motive or a criminal act is purely accidental, since there is no way of doing this besides being stubborn or persistent" (Hernández Martín 19). So it is that these representatives of the subaltern, doubly marginalized as exiles and as old men, suffice to undermine U.S intervention in the region. But they can do so only because Taibo reveals U.S. foreign policy itself to be ambivalent and self-destructive.

Another version of the allegory of Mexican tenacity versus North American ambivalence is mapped out in *La lejanía del tesoro*. Here the intervention is not American but French and Austrian, under the reign of Emperor Maximilian, or, as he is called by his Republican enemies, "el empeorador." Upon Maximilian's arrival, Benito Juárez is forced to flee to the north of Mexico. From the region's villages and towns, and even from his carriage on the road, he must direct the affairs of state and lead his scattered and outnumbered troops against the better trained but divided and mercenary Imperial forces. As Guillermo Prieto describes this popular indigenous leader, "Juárez domina como nadie la ilustración de la paciencia. Juárez conoce de las virtudes de la espera" (43). Unlike Maximilian, Juárez can speak to the sentiments of the common people, and therefore is usually able to keep Mexico's vast peasant population on his side. In reference to this novel, Taibo has said: "Mi última novela viene de esa necesidad, de la necesidad de recuperar el liberalismo puro del siglo XIX, o las aproximaciones nuevas al villismo, o la sociología de movimientos marginales, o la historia de las corrientes subalternas en el movimiento popular" (Ramírez 46). By tracing this patrimony of "terquedad" from Juárez through Villa to the popular and student movements the twentieth century, Taibo plants one foot in the past and the other in the present so as to identify his own discourse with that of Mexican workers and peasants. Juárez finally wins the war, of course. Yet, as Taibo sees it, his troops prevail not by means of superior strategy or strength, but rather by the sheer perseverance that comes with decades of resisting social and economic injustice. Since Maximilian and his conservative Mexican and French allies lack the will to wait them out, they fold in 1867.

Regarding the North American element of the allegory, Taibo clearly means to point out some obvious parallels between Imperial Europe of the nineteenth century and hegemonic North America in the twentieth. In a prophetic apostrophe to the nineteenth-century statesman and writer Vicente Riva Palacio at the end of the novel, Taibo's narrator concedes, "a lo mejor después de tanta sangre la patria se descompone y llegan más franceses, o gringos o escoceses, tanto da" (308). It doesn't matter whether the superpower is France or the United States, or whether the policy comes from the Hapsburgs or from NAFTA. The results for the lower classes are much the same. Even so, Taibo moves beyond a monolithic view of hegemony in order to portray a wide variety of gringo interlopers in the novel.

Among these, some are opportunists in search of new prey once the Civil War has ended. For instance, Ned and Ambrose Masterson, Confederate soldiers and homosexual lovers posing as brothers, are "caballeros virginianos sin plantación y sin futuro" (227). After drifting south of the border they run into the so-called "American Division of the Mexican Republic" (228), a unit of 150 soldiers under the Union command of Colonels Reed and Crawford. These troops are purportedly in Mexico to aid Juárez, but according to the local barkeep, "nomás vinieron a saquear" (229). Having retired from one war just to do business in another, they steal everything they can find. From the officers of this unit, the Mastersons learn of Juárez's treasure. This tip prompts them to track down Guillermo Prieto himself, whom they hold at gunpoint demanding to know the whereabouts of the treasure. Prieto tries to explain that the existence of the treasure is only "una broma de mal gusto," but the Mastersons don't believe him and they turn ugly. The absurdity of the situation sends Prieto into fits of laughter, "a medias por las pretensiones de mis secuestradores, a medias por las miserias de estos últimos meses, a medias por el absurdo de suponerme propietario de la clave de un tesoro, a medias por el miedo, que como usted bien sabe, no anda en burro" (266). To stop his laughter, one of the brothers fires a shot into the ground, which draws a crowd and gives Prieto cover to escape. As in *Cuatro manos*, the threat from the North seems ridiculous once the immediate danger is defused by obdurate and comic wile.

On the other hand, a black saxophone player brought in one day by the famous general and playwright Vicente Riva Palacio illustrates another side of North American culture, playful and sympathetic. The Mexicans have never seen or heard a saxophone, and the musician wins them over with his languid performance of *Adelante Zaragoza*. Later he finds success performing at hospital benefits in the Teatro Nacional, and, as Prieto says, "más de una vez alternamos, él tocando *los cangrejos* con su saxofón y yo con menos gracia recitando mis poemas" (27). Unfortunately, like so many other victims of the war, Riva Palacio's saxophone player "se perdió en la vorágine que habría de tragarse a nuestro pobre México en los siguientes meses" (27).

In addition to such characters, Taibo also documents the support received by Juárez from various other sectors of the U.S. population. For example, a newspaper reporter from Franklin, Texas, paints in glowing terms the arrival of Juárez in Paso del Norte: "La expresión de su semblante era simpática, su porte era el de un caballero culto y sabio, lleno de fuerza y de dignidad" (214). Some of Franklin's best officers cross the border to attend a reception held in the President's honor, where they mix freely with the Mexican dignitaries. Prieto takes pleasure in seeing this blend of civilizations where "ambos conservan con obstinación sus tipos respectivos," where "había material para escribir la historia entera de la humanidad" (215). Indeed, it is precisely in such demonstrations of international respect and tolerance, or in the cross-cultural friendships dramatized by characters like Greg and Julio or Vasilev and Longoria in *Cuatro manos*, that Taibo seems to place his hopes for a better future. They allegorize the desire for more egalitarian and tolerant, less self-serving and interventionist relations of power in the hemisphere.

Unfortunately, Taibo's advocacy of tenacity and tolerance has been met with scorn by most Mexican literary critics, who resent his role in the "bestsellerización" of the "novela negra" (Murdrovcic 460). Against them, Taibo defends his popularity, accusing them in turn of being elitists for whom any concession to popularity is, in his words, "un pecado" (Ramírez 42). Yet, following their lead, no less a critic than Seymour Menton, in *Latin America's New Historical Novel*, finds *La lejanía del tesoro* far inferior to *Noticias del imperio* (1987), Fernando del Paso's convoluted novel on the same theme: "As a well-known Mexican short story writer confided to me in June 1992, 'Taibo II is just not in the same league as del Paso'" (94). While Menton finds *La lejanía* "lacking in suspense and tension" and its "linguistic creativity... mediocre at best" (94), his summary judgments fail to do justice to the novel. Because *La lejanía* is an epistolary novel written in close imitation of nineteenth-century styles, it cannot be expected to exhibit the wide range of styles and narrative strategies employed by del Paso in his larger novel. Not only does Taibo faithfully render the profuse style of Guillermo Prieto's "lost manuscript" and the assiduous voice of an unnamed chronicler of Riva Palacio's exploits, he infuses them with his own characteristic wit. The interplay of these and other carefully juxtaposed narrators, combined with heteroglossia from the period including newspaper reports, tales, pasquinades and songs, create delightful levels of irony that bring the novel convincingly to life.

Since Taibo does not write to please literary critics, the general reader is neither pummeled into submission nor scared into flight. And even in the unlikely event that he should founder or sink under the big guns of critics like Menton, he will either simply survive, like Stoyan Vasilev or Guillermo Prieto, or be resurrected, like Belascoarán and Zapata, by yet another generation of fans who share his concern for real progress in a hemisphere too long ravaged by neocolonial greed, arrogance, intervention, and indifference.

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Le Génocide vendéen: 1793-1794

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Au cours de l'année 1989, alors que Paris célébrait le bicentenaire de la Révolution française, alors que des écoles jusqu'aux foyers de retraite, on distribuait à toute la population de 7 à 77 ans drapeaux tricolores et cocardes, certaines provinces refusaient de s'associer aux réjouissances générales et essayaient de tempérer un tant soit peu l'orgueil collectif d'une France trop avide de grandeur. Parmi ces provinces, un département en particulier, celui de la Vendée, par la voix de ses artistes, de ses écrivains et de ses historiens, refusait de s'unir au tintamarre qui proclamait l'anniversaire de la naissance de la démocratie et d'une république à laquelle pourtant elle devait son existence-même, puisque c'est le gouvernement révolutionnaire qui créa les départements et que c'est lui qui donna son nom (tout à fait par accident d'ailleurs) à cette province.[1]

Le grief était de taille: la révolution fut atroce pour la Vendée dont la population fut presque entièrement décimée au point qu'on parle aujourd'hui de génocide. De plus, les gouvernements successifs de la France se sont efforcés d'effacer le carnage ordonné par la soit-disant nouvelle démocratie et de le rayer des livres d'histoire. Il convenait de rétablir la vérité et de faire connaître au monde combien de sang avaient fait couler ceux-là mêmes dont la gloire était d'avoir rédigé la déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen.[2]

J'emprunte ici le terme de "génocide" à Michel Ragon qui l'utilise en parlant des guerres de Vendée dans son ouvrage *L'Accent de ma mère*: c'est un ex-maoïste, le breton Michel Le Bris qui le lui a inspiré par sa comparaison audacieuse: "La Vendée, notre Cambodge!"[3] Michel Ragon poursuit:

> Placer le génocide vendéen dans une perspective historique est tout nouveau. Mais que cette idée vienne de l'extrême-gauche est encore plus nouveau. L'holocauste vendéen anticipe bien, en effet, sur les futurs génocides des Peaux-Rouges, des Arméniens, des Kurdes, des Juifs, des Biafrais, des Bengalis, des Khmers. Mais ce génocide vendéen avait été gommé par l'Histoire.[4]

L'extermination des Vendéens a été délibérée et la guerre de Vendée a fait selon certains trois cent mille victimes, selon d'autres neuf cent mille.[5] Quels sont les événements qui ont mené à ce massacre systématique? Les combats eux-mêmes ne durèrent que quelques mois de l'année 1793, mais la destruction du pays et de sa population continua de façon méthodique pendant encore dix-huit mois jusqu'à la fin de 1794, et avec moins d'acharnement jusqu'en 1799. La Vendée est une région isolée de bocage et de marais et ses paysans y vivaient une vie assez solitaire sans plus ni moins de soucis, de peines, de joies ou d'espérances que les autres paysans de France. Ils n'avaient pas à priori d'hostilité contre les événements de la révolution et ils attendaient de bonnes choses des réformes utiles et de la vie plus heureuse que la Convention leur promettait. Pourtant c'est bien le peuple qui s'est soulevé et non pas les nobles et le clergé comme ont essayé de le prouver les historiens d'esprit révolutionnaire. Ils n'ont obéi à aucune consigne contre-révolutionnaire et catholique, et même s'ils choisirent souvent leurs chefs parmi leurs anciens maîtres, les mémoires et les lettres de l'époque contredisent la thèse selon laquelle ils auraient été menés à la révolte par les nobles et les prêtres.[6] Cette insurrection fut presque instantanée, les mémoires du temps en sont également formels, et elle fut le résultat de plusieurs déceptions. La vente des biens nationaux fut la première. Cette vente aurait dû les attacher au nouveau régime qui s'instaurait. C'est le contraire qui eut lieu. Alors qu'ils essayaient d'acquérir les terres qu'ils avaient jusqu'ici exploitées pour leurs nobles, ce furent les bourgeois des villes qui échangèrent leurs assignats contre ces terres fertiles. Le paysan ne fit que changer de maître, mais le nouveau maître lui était beaucoup moins sympathique car il ne connaissait ni ses coutumes ni sa langue et il détestait sa religion. Leur deuxième déception surgit lorsque les prêtres qu'ils connaissaient et en qui ils avaient confiance furent remplacés par les prêtres assermentés, nommés par les révolutionnaires au nom d'une église nationale mais schismatique. Les prêtres insermentés (non-assermentés) furent expulsés ou déportés. Certains vieux curés réussirent à se cacher dans les bois. Mais tous ces prêtres de l'ancien régime étaient des fils de paysans, de laboureurs, ou d'artisans. Entre 1790 et

1793, le roi étant encore vivant, les nobles tentent bien quelques rassemblements en Vendée comme dans le reste de la France. Il y a un certain nombre d'insurrections organisées par eux et soutenues par des bandes de paysans pour reprendre le contrôle de quelques villes et de quelques mairies. Mais en général, ils sont mis en déroute par les patriotes qui les contrôlent au nom du nouveau gouvernement et qui s'y cantonnent. Aux paysans, il ne reste guère que le bocage et le marais. La plupart des nobles émigreront (du Poitou, en octobre 1791, 1200 personnes avaient déjà passé à l'étranger) et ceux qui resteront ou en reviendront se cacheront au fond de leur château en se faisant aussi petits que possible. Mais 1793 voit coup sur coup deux événements qui vont faire monter la colère: fin-janvier, le roi est exécuté: "Pas de roi, pas de loi" s'écrient les Chouans de Bretagne; un mois plus tard, le 20 février, la Convention décrète la levée de 300 000 hommes dont plusieurs dizaines de milliers en Vendée militaire (Vendée, Maine-et-Loire, et une partie de la Loire-Inférieure et des Deux-Sèvres). Ce qui se voudrait mobilisation générale se retourne contre le gouvernement. "Pourquoi iraient-ils défendre aux frontières une liberté qui n'existe pas, un gouvernement qui persécute leurs prêtres et qui vient d'assassiner leur roi?"[7] Cette jeunesse rassemblée malgré elle va devenir un "mouvement spontané, unanime, profondément populaire et qui va former en quelques semaines une armée, parfaitement démocratique puisqu'elle se groupera derrière les chefs qu'elle se donnera elle-même."[8]

On peut considérer deux grandes étapes dans la guerre de Vendée: l'année 1793 à partir du milieu du mois de mars et jusqu'à la fin de l'année qui est caractérisée par des actions hors du département; et l'année 1794 où le conflit se cantonne à l'intérieur du département. Les succès se multiplient dès le début car les troupes républicaines sont occupées aux frontières du pays et la Convention ne s'attendait pas à une révolte de cette ampleur. C'est à la fin du mois de juin que le sort de la Vendée se joue à Nantes. Charette et son armée de 10 000 hommes attaquent la ville par le sud tandis que deux colonnes de Vendéens affrontent la garnison de la ville. Mais Nantes est bien défendue (par Canclaux notamment) et l'attaque se solde par un échec lorsque Cathelineau est tué causant une démoralisation générale des paysans.

Après l'échec de Nantes, les Républicains qui s'étaient contentés jusqu'ici de rester sur la défensive vont passer à l'offensive. Soixante mille hommes sont envoyés en Vendée. Les Vendéens (ou Blancs) se défendent courageusement et gagnent encore quelques victoires en juillet; en août et septembre, ils se battent comme des géants[9] contre l'élite des troupes françaises déplacées des frontières de l'est vers les marécages de l'ouest et commandées par l'Alsacien Kléber.

Mais le dernier sursaut de l'armée royaliste, c'est la grande "virée de Galerne".[10] Les chefs des Vendéens avaient été en pour-parlers avec les Anglais qui leur promettaient leur soutien. Il leur suffisait d'atteindre un port de l'Atlantique ou de la Manche pour recevoir d'Angleterre toute l'aide dont ils auraient besoin pour continuer la lutte. Ils décident donc de continuer la guerre en Bretagne où ils pourront bénéficier en plus de l'appui des Chouans, et se fixent comme but un port de la Manche: Grandville. En chemin, il faut prendre une multitude de petites villes républicaines: ce sont souvent des victoires pour eux mais jamais sans dommages et pertes d'hommes. Ils arrivent aux portes de Grandville au milieu du mois de novembre 1793 mais les Anglais n'y sont pas. Découragés, et plutôt que de tenter de prendre la ville qui semble trop bien défendue, les chefs décident la retraite. La flotte anglaise apparaîtra juste après leur départ. C'était un rendez-vous manqué. Les Vendéens n'ont plus alors qu'une idée en tête: retourner en Vendée, chez eux, à l'abri. Ce sera un retour désastreux. Il faut dire que lors de cette "virée de galerne", la troupe vendéenne n'est pas seulement constituée de soldats qui combattent, mais de milliers de non-combattants, une multitude de femmes, d'enfants et de vieillards, auxquels viennent s'ajouter au fur et à mesure des jours, les blessés.

Le martyre de la Vendée commence lors de ce retour, fin-novembre et décembre 1793, et se poursuit pendant tout le mois de janvier de l'année suivante. Le premier août 1793, la Convention avait déjà adopté un plan de destruction totale du pays insurgé. Ce plan légalisait un génocide d'Etat et exigeait l'anéantissement de toute la province par l'incendie, la destruction des récoltes et l'extermination implacable des rebelles.[11] Fin-septembre, la Convention lançait son ordre du jour:

"il faut que les brigands vendéens soient exterminés avant la fin du mois d'octobre."[12] Le désastre de la "virée de galerne" fournira une occasion d'envergure à cette extermination. Pour retourner en Vendée, il faut traverser la Loire, soit à Nantes, soit à Angers, et ce sera la fin de cette meute humaine. Les Vendéens sont attaqués par trois corps d'armée, massacrés avant de pouvoir s'embarquer pour passer le fleuve; ceux qui réussissent à prendre place sur des radeaux de fortune ou qui tentent de le passer à la nage sont noyés par des bateaux armés. Westermann, qui est venu prêter main forte à Kléber, écrit à la Convention, le 23 décembre 1793:

> "Il n'y a plus de Vendée, citoyens républicains. Elle est morte, sous notre sabre libre, avec ses femmes et ses enfants. Je viens de l'enterrer dans les marais et dans les bois de Savenay. Suivant les ordres que vous m'aviez donnés, j'ai écrasé les enfants sous les pieds des chevaux, massacré les femmes, qui, au moins pour celles-là, n'enfanteront plus de brigands. Je n'ai pas un prisonnier à me reprocher."[13]

De nombreux non-combattants sont faits prisonniers dans les villes et les bourgs des bords de la Loire. Les conditions d'incarcération sont effroyables: les prisonniers sont entassés comme du bétail, à peine nourris, sans eau, sans hygiène, sans chauffage (nous sommes en décembre), sans même avoir assez de place pour se coucher. Les vivants et les morts se côtoient pendant plusieurs jours. Les prisons débordant bien vite, on a recours à la guillotine, mais les bourreaux exigent une augmentation de salaire pour surmenage. Les prisonniers continuent d'affluer et on commence à les fusiller par milliers. Le typhus fait rage. A Nantes, comme la poudre nécessaire aux fusillades coûte trop cher, on invente les noyades. On allait chercher les prisonniers tard le soir sans jamais poser la question de savoir quelle était la cause de leur arrestation (leur seul crime étant d'être Vendéen). Après les avoir dépouillés de leurs vêtements et de tout ce qu'ils pouvaient posséder, ils étaient attachés deux par deux et entassés nus dans des bateaux dans lesquels des ouvertures avaient été pratiquées à l'avance. Une fois au milieu du fleuve, on ouvrait ces ouvertures et l'eau envahissait le bateau. La nuit du 17 novembre, 90 prêtres sont noyés. La nuit du 9 décembre, 58 prêtres périssent. Ensuite, c'est le tour des femmes et des enfants: 155 le 14 décembre, 360 le 22 décembre, 800 le 23, 300 le 24, 200 le 25: en tout 4800 personnes[14] périrent dans les noyades de Nantes et entre 13 000 et 14 000 personnes y auraient été exécutées.[15] A Angers, les fusillades sont encore plus systématiques: entre le 12 janvier et le 16 avril 1794, 1940 Vendéens, dont la moitié des femmes sont, après un jugement sommaire, emmenés en colonne vers un champ situé à deux kilomètres de la ville et exécutés.[16] Le maire d'Angers écrit à Paris:

> Notre sainte mère Guillotine travaille. Elle a fait depuis trois jours la barbe à onze prêtres, une ci-devant religieuse, un général et un superbe Anglais de six pieds dont la tête était de trop; elle est dans le sac aujourd'hui. On a fusillé en trois jours environ huit cents brigands aux Ponts-de-Cé et jeté leurs cadavres dans la Loire.[17]

A Noirmoutier, on en entasse 1500 dans la vieille église de l'île avant de les conduire sur une plage pour être massacrés.

Ils étaient partis 60 000 pour la Virée de Galerne. Ils retournèrent 4 000 dont quelques centaines seulement étaient encore valides.

A partir de janvier 1794, la guerre va se limiter géographiquement au département de la Vendée, mais elle n'en devient pas moins meurtrière. C'est la guerre des Partisans et elle coïncide avec le régime de la terreur. Les Républicains ont pour mission de tout raser sur leur passage, de brûler les récoltes et les villages, et de priver la population entière de tous vivres. Pendant toute l'année 1794, l'anéantissement de la Vendée se poursuit de façon organisée. C'est le général Turreau qui est chargé de purger la France des derniers royalistes, et il lance vingt-huit mille hommes, six divisions de onze colonnes, sur le malheureux département. L'un après l'autre, les villages disparaissent et leurs habitants, hommes, femmes, enfants et vieillards, sont brûlés vifs dans les fours à pain. "C'est ainsi que la République veut cuire son pain."[18] Les massacres sont horribles. Aux Lucs-sur-Boulogne, le 28 février 1794, 563 personnes sont exécutées en une seule journée. Certains soldats de la République font appel à la Convention et dénoncent les excès de Turreau. En vain. De leur côté, les chefs vendéens tentent de s'allier pour mieux résister, mais leur alliance ne dure pas. La population qui réussit à échapper aux colonnes infernales de Turreau tente de survivre en se cachant dans les forêts.[19] Le répit ne survient qu'à la fin de l'année quand Turreau qui n'a pas réussi à débarrasser la Vendée de ses insurgés, est remplacé par un chef beaucoup plus humanitaire, Vimeux; celui-ci décide de décréter une amnistie (il faut dire aussi que Robespierre est tombé le 27 juillet). Grâce à lui, en février 1795, est signée la paix de La Jaunaie.

> "Les Blancs obtenaient outre la paix religieuse, l'amnistie et la possibilité de retrouver leurs biens confisqués, une sorte de vie autonome; Charette avait obtenu cette dernière concession: le droit d'entretenir sur son territoire une armée de 2 000 hommes. En contrepartie, ses amis et lui se soumettraient à la République; ils en reconnaissaient les lois en prenant 'l'engagement formel de n'y porter aucune atteinte'." [20]

La victoire des Vendéens semble ainsi consacrée. Mais à quel prix? Et il y aura encore des combats: pendant toute l'année 1795, jusqu'à la mort de Charette fin-mars 1796; lors d'un débarquement raté du comte d'Artois (qui deviendra Charles X) avec les Anglais sur les côtes de Vendée; par la lutte toujours continuée de Stofflet qui est capturé et mis à mort le 25 février 1796; enfin sous le Directoire encore et plus cruellement qu'on ne le croit généralement et cela jusqu'en 1799. Ce n'est que le Concordat qui, en définitive, avec la réconciliation de la France avec l'Eglise, mettra fin aux guerres de Vendée en 1800, et ralliera les Vendéens à l'Empire.

Aujourd'hui en Vendée, on peut de plus en plus suivre les événements tragiques qui ont marqué cette guerre. Aux Lucs-sur-Boulogne, un Mémorial a été inauguré en 1993 par l'écrivain russe Soljénitsyne. Au Puy-du-Fou, une cinescénie fait revivre deux fois par mois pendant chaque été les événements majeurs de la guerre de Vendée. C'est Philippe de Villiers, député de la Vendée et candidat en 1995 aux élections présidentielles qui est à l'origine de la plupart de ces manifestations. Les réactions envers ce révisionnisme n'ont pas toujours été positives, de la part de la droite comme de celle de la gauche. Certains, tel Luc de Goustines, ancien directeur de la littérature aux Editions du Seuil, regrettent que les circuits de la commémoration en Vendée soient transformés "en rallye touristique de la souffrance vendéenne"; d'autres comme Pierre Métais, conseiller général et membre du parti socialiste, tout en respectant le souvenir des Vendéens morts pendant la Terreur, ne peuvent accepter que soient condamnées les idées de la Révolution française ou que soit nié le "formidable rayonnement qu'a eu en France et dans le monde entier la Déclaration des droits de l'homme."[21] La guerre de Vendée demeure une guerre de "géants", menée par des soldats en sabots, qui étonna l'Europe entière.

Notes

1. C'est la Convention qui a arbitrairement tracé une limite territoriale dans la moitié du Bas-Poitou et l'a d'abord nommée le département des Deux-Layes (comme l'autre moitié du Bas-Poitou se nommait le département des Deux-Sèvres). Selon Michel Ragon, "la laideur des deux députés vendéens était telle que, lorsqu'ils apparurent à Paris, l'analogie avec le nom de leur département sembla une plaisanterie drôle, mais d'une vertu peu administrative. La Convention adopta une autre rivière, la Vendée." in *L'Accent de ma mère* (Paris: Plon, 1989), p. 297.

2. En fait, la guerre de Vendée fut peut-être négligée par les historiens, mais son souvenir demeure très vivace chez les romanciers tout au long des dix-neuvième et vingtième siècles puisqu'elle est l'objet d'ouvrages aussi célèbres que *Chouans* de Balzac, *Quatre-vingt-treize* de Victor Hugo, *Les Endiablés* d'Ernest Pérochon, et plus récemment la trilogie de Michel Ragon, *Les Mouchoirs rouges de Cholet*, *La Louve de Mervent*, et *Le Cocher de Boiroux*.

3. Ragon, p. 214. Cité sans référence dans cette édition revue, corrigée et augmentée de *L'Accent de ma mère*.

4. *L'Accent de ma mère*, p. 214.

5. Le recensement de Hoche compte 220 000 soldats républicains tués, 180 000 insurgés et 200 000 civils. "L'insurrection des provinces de l'Ouest, en 1793, a donc causé autant de victimes que la guerre de Sécession aux Etats-Unis (600 000), ou la guerre civile espagnole en 1936 (400 000)." *L'Accent de ma mère*, p. 356.

6. "The rising of La Vendée was not - as it has been said to be - the outcome of loyalty to the monarchy; otherwise it would have burst forth immediately after August 10th; it would have been the re-vindication by faithful subjects of the royal authority... The rebellion broke out on February 24th, 1793, because the Convention had decreed the raising of 300,000 troops, and because at the same time the persecution of the dissident priests was growing active and violent; thus on the one hand we have a protest against military service, and on the other a refusal to repudiate venerated and familiar traditions... The revolt became royalist for the same reason as the revolts of Lyons and Toulon; because the rebels were forced to seek leaders among men, who having been officers in the Royal Army, and belonging to the sole military class - the nobility - had remained royalists... it dragged on, because the actual war, which was short, was succeeded by a guerilla war, which continued as late as 1800, that is to say, until the moment when, religious freedom being re-established by the Concordat, the legitimate grievances of the Western populations were set right." Talour de la Cartrie de la Villenière Toussaint, Ambroise. *Memoirs of the Count de Cartrie*. London, New

York: J. Lane, 1906, Introduction by Frédéric Masson, pp. xlix-l. Pour une étude plus nuancée des sources de la révolte, voir Georges Bordonove, *La Vie quotidienne en Vendée pendant la Révolution* (Paris: Hachette, 1974), pp. 92-113.

7. Armel de Wismes. *Histoire de la Vendée* (Paris: Editions France-Empire, 1985), p. 156.

8. ibid.

9. "Napoléon a qualifié de 'géants' ceux que la Convention appelait des 'brigands'". Wismes, p. 148.

10. Ainsi nommée par allusion au "vent de galerne" qui souffle d'Ouest-Nord-Ouest, en particulier sur les côtes de Bretagne et de Normandie.

11. "Début août, la Convention a décrété l'anéantissement de la Vendée. Le texte du journal *le Moniteur* est très clair: 'Il sera envoyé en Vendée, par le ministre de la Guerre, des matières combustibles de toutes les espèces pour incendier les bois, les taillis et les genêts. Les forêts seront abattues, les repaires des rebelles seront détruits, les récoltes seront coupées par les compagnies d'ouvriers et les bestiaux seront saisis. Les biens des rebelles de la Vendée seront déclarés appartenir à la République.' Un général de la République, Santerre, a renchéri avec férocité: 'Il faut des mines! des mines à force! Et des fusées soporifiques contre les brigands et puis tomber dessus.'" in Rouillé, Joseph. *Le Temps des Amazones. Madame Bulkeley. Vendée 1793.* Saint-Gilles-Croix-de-Vie: Echos du Passé, 1987, p. 69.

12. Wismes, p. 181.

13. Wismes, p. 188.

14. Auguste Billaud. *La Guerre de Vendée* (Fontenay-le-Comte: Imprimerie Lussaud, 1972), p. 175. Ce chiffre semble assez exact car il revient sous la plume de nombreux historiens.

15. Billaud, p. 175.

16. Billaud, pp. 175-178. "C'est l'époque où l'on trouve à Angers une tannerie de peau humaine. Saint-Just n'avait-il pas proposé, dès le 14 août 1793, d'utiliser la peau des morts? 'On tanne, à Meudon, la peau humaine. La peau qui provient des hommes est d'une consistance et d'une bonté supérieure à celle du chamois. Celle des femmes est plus souple mais moins solide.' C'est l'époque aussi où, à Clisson, l'on fait fondre des femmes pour avoir leur graisse. 'Nous faisions des trous en terre, expliquait plus tard un opérateur, pour placer les chaudières, afin de recevoir ce qui tombait. Nous avions mis des barres de fer dessous et des femmes dessus; puis, au-dessous encore, était le feu.' Dix barils de graisse fondue furent expédiés sur Nantes." (pp. 196-197).

17. Wismes, p. 189.

18. Wismes, p. 190. Turreau donne l'ordre suivant à ses collègues: "Tous les brigands qui seront trouvés les armes à la main ou convaincus de les avoir prises pour se révolter contre leur patrie seront passés au fil de la baïonnette. On en agira de même avec les filles, femmes et enfants qui seront dans ce cas! Les personnes seulement suspectes ne seront plus épargnées, mais aucune exécution ne pourra se faire sans que le général ne l'ait préalablement ordonnée. Tous les villages, métairies, bois, forêts et généralement tout ce qui peut être brûlé sera livré aux flammes, après cependant qu'on aura distrait des lieux qui en sont susceptibles toutes les denrées qui existeront." Parmi ses collaborateurs, le général Grignon exhorte ainsi ses soldats: "Mes camarades, nous entrons dans le pays insurgé! Je vous donne l'ordre de livrer aux flammes tout ce qui sera susceptible d'être brûlé, et de passer au fil de la baïonnette tout ce que vous rencontrerez d'habitants sur votre passage. Je sais qu'il peut y avoir quelques patriotes dans ce pays; c'est égal, nous devons tout sacrifier." pp. 191-192.

19. Michel Ragon a très bien décrit cette époque de l'histoire de la Vendée dans son roman *Les Mouchoirs rouges de Cholet* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1984) couronné cette année-là par plusieurs prix historiques dont le Goncourt du Récit historique.

20. Wismes, p. 203.

21. Presse-Océan-Vendée-Matin, 25 septembre 1993.

East German Culture and the Challenge of Multicultural Pedagogy

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A curious thing happened to the treatment of GDR culture in college-level language and culture textbooks after the fall of the Wall: it all but disappeared. Where once there was a chapter on the GDR in 200-, 300- and even beginning-level language textbooks, now there is none. We might argue that the disappearance of the GDR from at least language textbooks is justified: the GDR no longer exists. In fact, the chapter on the GDR in language and cultural textbooks has been replaced by more contemporary concerns, namely, the problems of unification. But is this curricular change a step in the right direction?

Certainly the inclusion of the current problems of unification in recent textbooks reflects the increasing interest of foreign language educators in bringing the insights of multicultural perspectives gained in this country into the foreign language classroom.[1] As June Noronha shows, the traditional focus of an international education is giving way to the highly charged sociopolitical venues so relevant to multicultural education: realms of "privilege, dominance, status difference and the inter- and intragroup dynamics" within national boundaries.[2] Such a pedagogical shift provides a more honest social picture of the target culture and expands the possibilities for reflection on and sensitivity to multicultural issues in the student's native society. In the words of Edmund Gordon and Maitrayee Bhattacharyya, such a shift has as a goal "the development of competence in critical analysis, critical interpretation and critical understanding" through engagement with civic issues and cultural differences.[3] The interests of a multicultural pedagogy are most frequently represented in German language and culture textbooks by the inclusion of readings addressing women, the Turkish population of Germany, asylum-seekers, and Afro-Germans, and by the "problems of unification" approach.

My thesis is this: deleting GDR studies from the curriculum and inserting the "problems of unification" approach does not serve the interests of a multicultural pedagogy. Without cultural and historical background about the GDR, a "problems of unification" pedagogy runs the risk of succumbing to the pitfalls of any multicultural curricular change based on "inclusion."[4] It ultimately inhibits the very goals it sets out to achieve.

In current textbooks, the citizens and culture of the former GDR are represented almost entirely through the lens of unification. Thus, the pedagogy of difference once animating textbooks that included a study of the GDR has given way to one of "special problems," namely those of integration and assimilation into mainstream West German society and culture.[5] The result is several errors of multicultural "inclusion" delineated by Betty Schmitz in her article, "Cultural Pluralism and Core Curricula." First, mainstream West German society becomes the standard by which East Germans are judged because of the presumption of the rightness (and inevitability) of assimilation. Thus, former GDR citizens are misrepresented as helpless victims in West German society, oppressed by their status as "Other," but without a cultural or historical identity that might counteract such representation. Second, the resulting representation of GDR culture is unidimensional. Culture clashes are reduced to an explication of clichés and prejudices. Third, the opportunity to truly explore difference and the unconscious assumptions of the dominant culture is lost. Clearly, the problems of unification are important. However, we must be critically aware of the way in which unification is actually inventing the GDR by representing it exclusively through the interpretive framework of victor's history.[6] There are clear pedagogical ramifications if the hermeneutic of unification is our students' only exposure to GDR culture. For multicultural pedagogy to truly reach its goals, educators must strive for a nuanced portrayal and understanding of culture, that is, for perspectives beyond mainstream culture and society. While the former pedagogy of GDR culture had at least the potential to do that, the present "problems of unification" approach does not.

The study of East German culture exposes students to elements essential to a multicultural pedagogy, namely the challenge of incontrovertible difference, or what I will call the difference between critical and noncritical cultural differences. Noncritical differences are those that, in a sense, are non-threatening. Students can learn about geography, architecture, holidays, eating habits, colloquial language, etc., from the study of East German culture as well as West. While these cultural aspects are interesting and important, we must always be aware that they can easily feed into a relativizing and trivializing of cultural difference. They only weakly call into question the naturalness of one's own culture and rarely inspire reflection on one's own social, political, or spiritual values. Likewise, the seeming similarity of West German and American culture means that a pedagogy addressing solely noncritical differences could actually fortify ethnocentrism. Students might be led to believe that all difference is noncritical and, therefore, "they may use a different hand to hold their fork, but otherwise, they are just like us." However, a multicultural pedagogy that includes East German culture offers the study of "critical" differences that require our students to seriously contemplate the constructed nature of their own culture. Critical differences reveal challenging questions concerning morality and citizenship, privilege and democracy; all questions that a multicultural education should evoke.

The inability to recognize GDR citizens as a cultural minority is the first impediment to a critical multicultural pedagogy. The reason they are not recognized as a cultural minority lies in the political history of the FRG. Constitutionally, the Federal Republic recognized the GDR as a separate political entity, but not as a separate cultural entity, that is, a nation. This disposition, of course, allowed East German citizens who managed to cross the border to be recognized immediately as ***Bundesbürger***. After the fall of the Wall, the notion of a ***Kulturnation*** surfaced once again.[7] Behind it was the belief that the common cultural history of Germans continues to unite them, regardless of their separate political and ideological histories. No doubt, the slogans of the ***Wende - Wir sind ein Volk*** - contributed to the myth of common cultural heritage. In both cases, there is the presupposition of an objective history. Put another way, there is the assumption that Goethe is Goethe, no matter who reads him. However, the Goethe that West Germans read is not the Goethe that East Germans read, nor the Martin Luther or Thomas Münzer. The superstructure of cultural and political understanding in the two countries was, in fact, fundamentally different.

What makes GDR culture different from the culture of the FRG is quite obviously forty years of communism. Since the collapse of communist countries in Eastern Europe, the specter of communism continues to bring the following widely-held associations: the wall (or Iron Curtain) and the concomitant lack of personal freedom (freedom to speak, freedom to travel); poor economies with shortages of goods and services; a surveillance state, totalitarianism, and dictatorship. Every American student can reiterate these facets of communism. Yet, communist culture was anything but simple and monolithic. In fact, it was extremely complex and different from one country to the next.

The "obviousness" of communism is precisely what precludes the investigation of difference for most Americans. Cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo suggests that we tend to perceive only those aspects of another culture that are radically "other" in relation to our own culture.[8] The more similar aspects of a culture are to our own, the more they are essentially overlooked in the process of comparison and conflation. In the case of the GDR, one must turn Rosaldo's argument on its head. We presume to know communism - this reverse reflection of democracy and freedom - in the same way that we presume to know our own culture and, therefore, we do not explore it. Its critical difference remains invisible. Yet, as Rosaldo argues, the invisible aspects of culture are precisely the areas in which critical cultural differences exist and should be explored. For a multicultural pedagogy, the "critical" cultural differences have the most to offer our students. It is the challenge of incontrovertible difference that animates critical reflection and denaturalizes one's own culture.

Since 1945, not even the fascist legacy in West Germany and Austria has carried as much political baggage in the United States as the legacy of the GDR. Anti-communism structures our social world, even after the Cold War, to an extent that can justifiably be called a political unconscious. This unconscious defines the limits of our culture; we only become aware of those limits when confronted with critical difference. Anti-communism rests upon an intractable dualism of good and evil in this country - American-style democracy versus dictatorial communism. Since evil cannot even be entertained as a choice or as a viable area of investigation, the possibility of learning from former communist societies is entirely ruled out. Bringing this unconscious prejudice of American ethnocentrism to light is precisely the benefit of studying the GDR ... with all of its warts and ideals.

When armed with historical and cultural background, students can begin to explore the invisible aspects of "real existing socialism." These are the *Wertgefühle* that underlay the visible and form a critical difference to American culture. For example, communist ideology provided the basis of a materialist understanding of history. One of the consequences of that historical understand was sensitivity to the exploitation of labor and the development of a work ethic based on social interest as opposed to self-interest and profit-making. Further, the constitution of the GDR guaranteed its citizens the basic human right to work, housing, and gender equality. While students indeed need an awareness of the problems that guaranteeing these rights created for the culture and the economy, it is still important to understand the cultural differences produced when these rights are constitutionally assumed.

On closer examination, fundamental aspects of a socialist world view are not invisible at all. They influenced GDR culture in ways that are both apparent and measurable. For example, a sense of *Gemeinschaft* is frequently attributed to GDR culture. Eckard Schröter has been able to document the effect of such cultural expectations on management style in the East and West. East Germans differ from West Germans in preferring a superior who behaves "like a colleague and even cares for his work force," whereas West Germans prefer a more formalized relationship.[9] "The sense of responsibility for a 'workers' collective,' which also extends to off-duty hours, seems to be less developed ... among the higher echelons of Western administration," Schröter reports. However, the emphasis on materialist values by East Germans (such as concern for unemployment and affordable food and housing) means that they are much more willing to accept "tighter limits on relevant political liberties" than their West German counterparts, whose interests lie more with post-materialist values (social needs and personal fulfillment).[10]

Property ownership is another area of distinct cultural difference. Peter Marcuse succinctly outlines the differences made in the GDR between personal and private property and ownership.[11] The concept of private ownership in the GDR meant ownership for use and thus applied only to such things that could be individually used (appliances, cars, tools, houses); land and the means of production were not such commodities and belonged theoretically to the community.[12] Similarly, personal property could not be held as a result of exploitation. Further, the distribution of housing was based on need, hence the well-known fact that there were no homeless in the GDR. While Western observers are quick to equate the ugliness of East German *Neubau*-apartment complexes with social failure, East Germans understood that *Plattenbau* meant cheap, quick, affordable housing for everyone. Thus, the *Wertgefühle* attached by East Germans to *Neubau* were not just aesthetic, but moral. Such GDR cultural visions, as constituted by a moral a priori, are typically invisible to us in the US.

Each of these ideas provides the opportunity for students to understand basic premises of the socialist world view while also reflecting critically on their own cultural assumptions. For example, analysis of the constitutional guarantee of gender equality in the GDR would allow students to explore the ways in which a state can and cannot affect equality.[13] They would have to ask, "Is economic equality the sole necessity for political equality?" Considering the constitutional guarantee of work and housing would force students to reflect seriously on how our society continues to accept homelessness and unemployment as necessary by-products of a free-market economy. They would explore censorship that issues from the state, as well as the self-censorship dictated by a market economy.

The study of the GDR also provides a unique opportunity to seriously examine socialist and communist ideas that have shaped an entire century and have shaped Western Europe as well. American students are painfully ignorant of the tradition of democratic socialism in Europe, or that every western European country has had at one time a democratically-elected socialist party; they are unaware that communist parties have been democratically elected in countries like Italy, Greece, and France and continue to be elected to power in several eastern European countries. Ironically, the critical difference of East German culture can reveal the invisible culture of Western Germany as well. By comparing, for example, the SED with the SPD, students will discover how the SPD, the historical source of democracy in Germany, was able to transform capitalism in a way that makes West German capitalism fundamentally different than in the U.S.[14]

Powerful political discourses currently resist an undogmatic assessment of GDR culture. For example, attempts to reexamine GDR culture are frequently dismissed as mere "nostalgia." However, that fact that 60 percent of young East Germans claimed having "positive memories of the GDR, such as the feeling of 'being at home' and the feeling of social stability" in a 1991 survey does have social and political ramifications.[15] Lacking a nuanced understanding of GDR culture and especially socialist theory and history, it will be impossible for our students to understand why Ex-GDR citizens voted for the PDS in the last election and why a vast number of PDS voters were young people who cast their vote for the first time. A critical multicultural pedagogy must prepare students for the political possibilities of the future.

Paramount in the unveiling of critical difference would be the opportunity to break down ethnocentric barriers that are defined by an inability to see difference 1) immanently, and 2) as potential choice. An immanent understanding of difference - that is, an empathetic and critical knowledge of history and culture - will help students meet the challenge of multicultural education "to identify one's own culture and to appreciate the worth of other people's culture" and ultimately, "to create systems that support a multitude of cultural styles."[16] Students must realize that there are social, political, and spiritual choices available to them. The future resides in their ability to meet the challenges of a culturally diverse society by helping to create ways of living together in peace. The expansion of choices is at the foundation of critical thought and multicultural pedagogy. The current emphasis on unification as the lens through which difference is examined does not go far enough in providing our students with the tools for this multicultural understanding and may, in fact, inhibit it.

Notes

Many thanks to my colleagues in the Indiana State University Democracy and Diversity Project: Heather Claypool, Gary Daily, Richard Jonston, Howard Ishisaka, Terry O'Connor, and Sharon Russell.

1. See, for example, Ingeborg Henderson, "Multikuturalismus als Unterrichtsgegenstand," *Unterrichtspraxis* (1994) 2: 29-33.

2. Noronha, p. 53.

3. Gordon and Bhattacharyya, p. 44

4. Schmitz (pp. 64-65) enumerates several problems of the "inclusion" model that lead to misrepresentation of the target culture. Among the ones she cites are: privileging one group over another such that "paradigms chosen to organize a course define a priori other cultures only through Western eyes;" introducing other groups for comparison such that the target culture is recognized as "absence or negation of mainstream culture;" focusing on "special problems," which, from the perspective of mainstream culture, represent members of the target culture as victims; focusing on only one aspect such that the target culture appears unidimensional.

5. Schmitz, p. 65.

6. Chartier makes us aware of the way in which subsequent historical events (the French Revolution) shape the reception of that which precedes them (Enlightenment). Two hundred years after the French Revolution, unification is similarly inventing the GDR through the lens of victor's history. See Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, trans. L.G. Cochrane (Durham: Duke UP, 1991).

7. See "So viele Länder, Ströme, Sitten. Gedanken über die deutsche Kulturnation," in Günter de Bruyn, *Jubelschreie, Trauergesänge. Deutsche Befindlichkeiten*, (Frankfurt/M: Fischer, 1991).

8. Rosaldo, p. 196.

9. Schröter, p. 68.

10. Schröter, p. 63.

11. Marcuse, p. 80.

12. This has led to the numerous litigation problems involving property rights in Germany now. See Daniela Dahn, *Wir bleiben hier oder Wem gehört der Osten* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1994).

13. See for example Myra Marx Feree, "The Rise and Fall of Mommy Politics: Feminism and Unification in (East) Germany." *Feminist Studies* 19 (1993): 89-115.

14. One example that immediately comes to mind is the West German "dual system of interest representation" in business guaranteed by the Labor-Management Relations Act.

15. Woods (p. 8) cites a survey by Michael Brie, "Nostalgie: Die Sehnsucht nach der 'ANDEREN ddr,'" Presseinformation Deutsche Shell Aktiengesellschaft, 1992.

16. Katz, p. 8

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Th. Bentzon's Traveler's Notes: Redefining American Women

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Throughout the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth, French travelers to America regaled avid stay-at-home readers with tales of their journeys. Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the first and best-known, helped establish a particular format for such travelogues. As the title of his 1835/1840 account - *La Démocratie en Amérique* - suggests, de Tocqueville was no ordinary tourist. His special agenda was to compare the ideals of democracy formulated by the *philosophes* to the living experiment embodied in the young New World nation. Among his observations he singles out American women as an excellent illustration of what democracy had wrought in America.[1]

Following de Tocqueville's lead, subsequent tourist-observers continued to appraise Old World forms and cultural ideals against their New World translations. Including American women as a particular topic became almost *de rigueur*; and the American girl, the *jeune fille*, offered an especially captivating object for French observation. She was frequently portrayed in terms of the *femme fatale* - woe to the poor French boy who succumbed to these frivolous, liberated, heart-breaking, flirty tom-boys. Not only was his heart in danger, the travelers suggested, but courting an *américaine* meant risking one's cultural identity as well. A titillating characterization this, which, nonetheless, was not itself the main point of these narratives. These observers were simply following the adage of *cherchez la femme*. They were utilizing women as an excuse to discuss, usually in disapproving tones, certain facets of American society that many French perceived as vaguely threatening to their own customs and norms.

Charles de Varigny (1829-1899) offers a typical example. Considered an "Americanist," he penned a number of articles based on his travels to the New World as well as occasional reviews of American literature. From March 1889 to January 1893 he contributed four articles on "La Femme aux Etats-Unis" to the influential and widely circulated journal *Revue des deux mondes*.[2] In this series he proposed to trace the historical evolution of women's roles in America and to illustrate how female influence had grown so preponderantly in U.S. society, to the great detriment of the American male. Men in America, he maintained, have turned into worker drones in order to support their families, while the females have used their privileged status to improve their intellect and take charge of spending their husband's salary.

Varigny's references to a tired, ailing Europe suggest that his main interest lay in discovering an American elixir to apply at home. In the tradition of preceding French commentators, he chose to disguise his purpose as an examination of feminine roles and issues. He adopted an ostensibly objective stance by affirming numerous times that the cross-cultural comparisons he discussed were merely differences and that "different" did not mean "wrong." He informed his readers, for instance, that although the American woman was the result of an upbringing in diametric opposition to French ideas and traditions, there were good reasons for this; namely that the *américaines* had always been the companions and equals of their men, never their inferiors, contrary to European tradition.

While this rhetoric may sound balanced in its approach, the women that Varigny describes undermine his seeming objectivity. One example will suffice to make this point. After tracing a particularly unsettling picture of the chaotic American way of marriage and divorce, Varigny proceeded to set forth as a prime example of American womanhood none other than Belle Starr.[3] After the several pages devoted to this Western legend's life history - replete with revolvers, lassos, bowie knives, bank robberies, shoot-outs and lovers galore - what French reader would have been inclined to believe Varigny's reassurances that this colorful woman is really only an evolutionary aberration and that the "normal" American woman is quite refined, educated and civilized?

Thus a mythology of the American woman developed in the French imagination, *une belle fatale*, somewhere between the beautiful, heartless doll elevated on pedestals built of New York and Newport dollars and the masculinized, muscled, horse-riding, castrating virago of the Western frontier.

It took a French woman to begin to change this image. Using a gender-equivocal pen name, Th. Bentzon (1840-1907) concealed her real identity (like her mentor George Sand) until years after numerous reviews and translations established her reputation as the *Revue des deux mondes* resident expert on American literature. This was a position she held for over 30 years, from 1871 to 1906.

Marie Thérèse Solms de Blanc (to give her her real name) was a woman who, although not "feminist" in the definition of either her day or ours, was nonetheless very "pro-woman" in her interests. Her literary reviews as well as her fictional works strongly emphasize themes of particular interest to her female contemporaries - marriage, divorce, education, careers outside the home. Like her male colleagues, Bentzon examined U.S. society to see how Americans were resolving these issues. She seems, however, to have come face to face with certain discrepancies between the accounts of her fellow country*men* and the images appearing in American literature: such female characters as Sarah Orne Jewett's country doctor strongly contradicted the Varigny type of portrayal. Thérèse finally resolved her curiosity during her first trip to the U.S. in 1893-94.

The immediate result of this sojourn was five articles that ran from July 1894 to April 1895 in the *Revue des deux mondes* under the title "La Condition de la femme aux Etats-Unis: Notes de voyage."[4] An English translation of the first four installments came out in Boston in 1895; and the original five articles plus two additional sections treating southern women and the topic of suffrage were republished in book form in Paris the following year.[5] This last version went into at least three editions.

Th. Bentzon begins her travel notes in a manner that immediately distinguishes her from fellow commentators. The opening paragraph simultaneously acknowledges Varigny's essays and rejects his methodology and conclusions. According to Bentzon, the *américaine* that Varigny described represents an essentially artificial, cosmopolitan type found primarily in the fictional world of French novels and plays and only occasionally in real life.

The true American woman, Bentzon affirms from her eye-witness observations, is infinitely more varied in terms of social class and characteristics stemming from regional geographical factors. Varigny did little justice to his subject, she charges, when he based his conclusions on contacts with only a limited number of New York's leisured class. A thorough investigation of the question would require an observer to travel widely over a period of time, taking extensive day-to-day notes. This is, of course, exactly what Bentzon did. She did not use women as an excuse for discussing something else. She did make a woman's observations about issues that shaped the condition and role of American women. Bentzon's uniqueness stems from the fact that she is the first French commentator to adopt such a focus.

Not surprisingly, Thérèse Bentzon arrived in the U.S. with her own particular late-nineteenth-century opinions about female behavior. Among her parameters are the convictions that men and women have different spheres of activity; that women uphold spiritual not materialistic values; that women may seek an education but that they should learn all they can without abandoning their feminine nature; and that women can be agents of human progress through education and philanthropy. Convinced that women must be discrete at all times, she maintains a certain reserve towards such "feminist," i.e., not always discrete, groups as the WCTU and the suffragists.

The women Bentzon sought out to observe were not the millionaires nor the "professional" beauties as she called them, but rather the serious ones who, in her view, were working to create the future. She further distinguishes between the women of the North - the teachers - and those of the South - those with a purely domestic importance. As she observes:

> on ne peut nier toutefois que la condition des femmes américaines soit beaucoup plus intéressante à étudier dans le Nord, justement parce qu'elle diffère de la nôtre d'une façon plus radicale...Dans le Nord seulement, les femmes portent une agitation de parole et d'opinion autour des problèmes sociaux. Les dames du Sud en sourient avec un peu de malice et gardent quant à elle l'attitude, sinon précisément des jeunes filles, du moins des épouses et des mères françaises. Elles vivent pour leurs maris, pour leurs enfans, pour leur intérieur, pour le monde, sans sortir de ce cercle étroit, à moins de circonstances graves....[6]

Bentzon nonetheless regarded Southern women as a kind of barometer. If they were ever to begin acting and thinking like their northern sisters, she implies, then these same attitudes might well become acclimated amongst her own compatriots, given the similarity of the two groups' outlooks.

Bentzon identifies clubs and colleges as the most influential factors in American women's lives. The list of institutions she visited first-hand is extensive and includes The Fortnightly (a literary club in Chicago), the Chicago Women's Club and its Protective Agency, the Women's Temple in Chicago, Hull House, Working Women's clubs, the New England Women's Club, Harvard Annex, Bryn Mawr, Wellesley.

As this French woman perceptively notes in describing the activities and meetings of the groups she visited, the clubs were formidable schools for teaching women how to organize in situations outside the home sphere. Such actions were taboo for the majority of French women at the time. Thus the disconcerting perception that women are over-stepping their proper and traditional bounds by participating in such organizations is attenuated for Bentzon by the fact that she sees the clubwomen using their organizations to play a positive role in social reform. They are supporting not only the social, financial and educational needs of women, but contributing to the good of society in general. Within this frame, European suspicions are allayed and the club phenomenon can consequently be accepted as less threatening than it seemed at first sight.

The role of education is a constant theme in Bentzon's essays. She began her journey expecting the worst of American establishments, and although what she experiences proves a pleasant antidote to her trepidation, she never entirely abandons certain reservations. On the positive side of the ledger are the many educational programs available especially for women: nursing schools, domestic science courses, home study, special classes sponsored by women's clubs and associations, even the Chatauquas. Thérèse seems relieved to discover, at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, that co-education is not the immoral hothouse many French feared it was. She notes that boys and girls are separated in the classroom and assures her reader that she saw no evidence of the infamous Yankee practice of flirting, concluding that in fact the girls, more mature and sophisticated, actually have a quite salutary influence on the country boys. She stresses, however, that co-education is a western phenomenon, as if placing it safely on the fringes of American civilization.

Women's colleges present this traditionally reared French woman with an approach-avoidance situation. She admires and approves the extensive facilities and resources; the excellent faculties; the fact that the schools prepare women to become teachers; the notable esprit of solidarity among college-educated American women. Wryly noting that when in America, ladies brought up under the *ancienne loi* do have a tendency to be surprised at everything, she manages to describe a girls' PE class without making it seem too bizarre by European standards. On a more serious note, Bentzon reports a conversation with the Dean of Students at Bryn Mawr regarding the considerable number of students taking biology classes and the chances of their pursuing a career in medicine. The Dean informs her French guest that few of the girls will do so, but that a little biology will not be useless:

> "... ne fût-ce que pour les mettre d'une façon scientifique, et saine par conséquent, au courant de beaucoup de choses naturelles." Je songeai, sans oser le dire [Bentzon remarks] que chez nous tous les soins des mères de famille et des éducatrices tendent à voiler au contraire pour les filles certaines choses naturelles jusqu'au jour où le mariage jette sur elles des clartés inattendues.[7]

Autobiographies and diaries bear witness to the traumatic experience many nineteen-century French women suffered on their wedding night because they had been kept ignorant of "the facts of life." Bentzon's choice of words - *jeter, clartés inattendues* - suggest that she is referring to this state of affairs and sending a delicately coded message to her female readers that preparing one's daughters for marriage with a bit of specifically practical biology is an American idea worth adopting.

On the negative side of the ledger, Bentzon is never completely convinced that there is not such a thing as too much education. She frets that the colleges may in the end confuse instruction with education and produce merely *savantes* and not *dames*. She expresses dismay that many American girls, claiming that a college education does not suffice, are beginning to enter careers formerly reserved for men. In spite of such an alarmist attitude, Bentzon nonetheless provides her readers with favorable portraits of females in such non-traditional jobs as librarians in the public libraries, bureaucrats in Washington, D. C., and highly paid newspaper reporters in Chicago.

Beyond the women's clubs and colleges, Bentzon took her French compatriots into other exceptional institutions and situations in which women's lives could be variously examined: settlement houses, charitable organizations, the Association of Working Girls' Societies; the YWCA; the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute (founded after the Civil War to educate freed slaves); the School for Indians in Carlisle, PA; Sherborn Women's Prison in Boston; a convent exclusively for African-American nuns in New Orleans.

In stark contrast to the Varigny image, Bentzon describes a farm wife on the plains of Illinois: no domestic help, no neighbors, little distraction, hard physical labor. The French visitor makes a startling discovery on this farm, which she eagerly shares with her reader: during the winter season spent in town the rural women have formed a literary club to discuss books read during the long summers out on the prairie. The topics discussed? Bentzon can hardly believe her ears - the troubadours of Provence, the influence of salons in the 17th century; French women in politics!

Such details add great density to Th. Bentzon's essays, and reinforce the point she made that she was observing women as a woman would. Her sex not only gave her a particular lens to apply to her topic, it also allowed her privileged access into women's spaces not normally entered by nor even necessarily within the purview of male observers' interests: the women's prison, the convent of Black nuns, club meetings, private drawing rooms of individual women, working girls' dormitories, college girls' living quarters. She could, therefore, provide the French public with intimate and private details that were novel and not previously any part of the image it had created of the American woman.

Bentzon raises the topic of women's right to vote at the beginning and again at the end of her essays. Although she never specifies which side of the issue she espouses, she does remark that it holds equal importance to the questions of immigration and race for Americans; and states flatly that if suffrage is ever instituted, it will spread and profoundly transform all social mores.[7]

Prior to her American visit Bentzon seems to have found little common ground with either the indiscrete antics of the British suffragists of her day or with an older generation of American "réformatrices à cheveux courts et sans corset." She reports to her French readership, however, that she met some American suffragists who are moderate, who work "sans bruit" and have the "bon goût de ne pas séparer leur cause des progrès généraux qui intéressent également les hommes." Really quite "honnêtes" she adds, even a bit "collet monté." Bentzon here proposes a radical revision in what had been the previous popular iconography in France of women out to get the vote.[8]

A variety of rhetorical devices combine with a compelling descriptive style and a good eye for detail to help Bentzon argue her version of American womanhood. She quotes impressive statistics: the number of girls who studied at Wellesley for the previous twenty years, how many graduated and their distribution by field, for instance; or statistics obtained from the U.S. Department of Labor. When she describes an institution or a program, she details how it functions, who the organizers and supporters are, what its physical premises are like, its programs, its budget, its successes and its failures.

She connects institutions with individuals, personalizing them for the reader, as when she describes her first impressions of Julia Ward Howe, the woman who founded and incarnated the New England Women's Club. Apparently expecting a real virago, Thérèse recounts that:

> Ma surprise fut grande lorsque je rencontrai ... l'auteur du *Battle Hymn*. Je m'attendais à voir une vieille femme, ... et je ne sais pourquoi je lui prêtais aussi l'air d'autorité un peu masculine qu'ont beaucoup de femmes fortes. Je vis une fraîcheur de teint, de regard, de sourire tout à fait extraordinaire. Elle s'habille sans la moindre excentricité, elle a des manières simples et parfaites, sa voix très douce est l'une des mieux timbrées que j'aie entendues jamais.[9]

This passage constitutes an admission that in spite of being touted as a radical fire-spouting feminist reformer, an American woman can turn out to be quite "normal" in person - a lesson surely not lost on the French readers.

In contrast to Charles Varigny's approach, Thérèse Bentzon forthrightly admits her skepticism, doubts and occasional moments of shock. She reports arguments carried on with herself:

> --La France aura-t-elle jamais l'équivalent d'un Harvard-Annex ou d'un Bryn Mawr? —Je me pose cette interrogation... Et j'ai le sentiment que nous sommes terriblement en retard. Mais la crainte me prend aussitôt qu'une fois partis, nous n'allions un peu trop vite sur des chemins qui, tracés à l'instar des chemins étrangers, sans souci des obstacles de chez nous, ne sont pas ceux qui conviennent à notre tempérament et à nos forces.[10]

Such a technique foresees and gives voice to the probable attitude of a majority of her readers. One can argue that her approach may have persuaded them to keep an open mind, even if they were not ready to embrace American ways.

In spite of her reservations about certain aspects of women's lives in America and her frank contention that French ways were manifestly superior in some aspects, Th. Bentzon returned to France greatly admiring the women whom she had now met personally and whom she had observed toiling quietly and gracefully towards the progress of all humankind.

Under Bentzon's skilled pen, American women begin to take on specific features and names, shapes and ages. The monolithical, mythical vision of the flirtatious *jeune fille* begins to melt in the French imagination, and in its place there emerge such figures as Anna Ticknor, founder of a program for home study; Annie Fields, magazine publisher and salon hostess; Frances Willard of the WCTU; Sarah Orne Jewett, New England novelist; Alice Fletcher, anthropologist, first female Harvard Fellow and the U.S. Government Special Agent who personally trekked across the wilds of northern Idaho to partition land amongst the Nez Perce.

Th. Bentzon's report on the condition of women in America did not, of course, entirely supplant the strongly entrenched popular image of the American girl as *femme fatale*. It did, nonetheless, counter-balance the myth and provide ample evidence that serious, intelligent, educated, hard-working flesh and blood mature women existed in America who were indeed formulating new solutions for a better society in the future. Bentzon succeeded admirably in making American women real for her compatriots and in demonstrating that common interests did exist between the women of the Old and New Worlds.

Notes

1. See especially chapters 9-12 in the third book of the second volume.

2. "La Femme aux Etats-Unis," 15 mars 1889, pp. 349-375; "La Femme aux Etats-Unis: L'Amour et le mariage," 15 mai 1889, pp. 432-464; "Le Mariage et le divorce aux Etats-Unis," 1 septembre 1889, pp. 65-93; "La Femme aux Etats-Unis," 15 janvier 1893, 391-428. This series was published as a book, *La Femme aux Etats-Unis* (Paris: Colin, 1893), which was translated into English as *Woman in the United States* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1895).

3. "Le Mariage et le divorce aux Etats-Unis," *Revue des deux mondes*, 1 septembre 1889, pp. 88-93.

4. "Premières impressions: A Chicago, les Clubs de femmes," 1 juillet 1894, pp. 138-173; "Boston," 1 septembre 1894, pp. 94-131; "Les Collèges de femmes: la co-éducation, l'extension universitaire," 15 octobre 1894, pp. 872-902; "Une Prison de femmes, *Homes* et clubs d'ouvrières, la vie domestique, les écoles industrielles, Institut Agricole de Hampton: nègres et négresses," 1 décembre 1894, pp. 574-604; "Deux grans mouvemens *féministes*, A Washington, l'école indienne de Carlisle, les femmes dans les hôpitaux," 15 avril 1895, pp. 802-838.

5. *The Condition of Woman in the United States: A Traveler's Notes* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1895); *Les Américaines chez elles: Notes de voyage* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1896).

6. *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 avril 1896, p. 838.

7. *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 octobre 1894, p. 877.

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9. *Revue des deux mondes*, 1 septembre 1894, p. 101.

10. *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 octobre 1894, p. 878.

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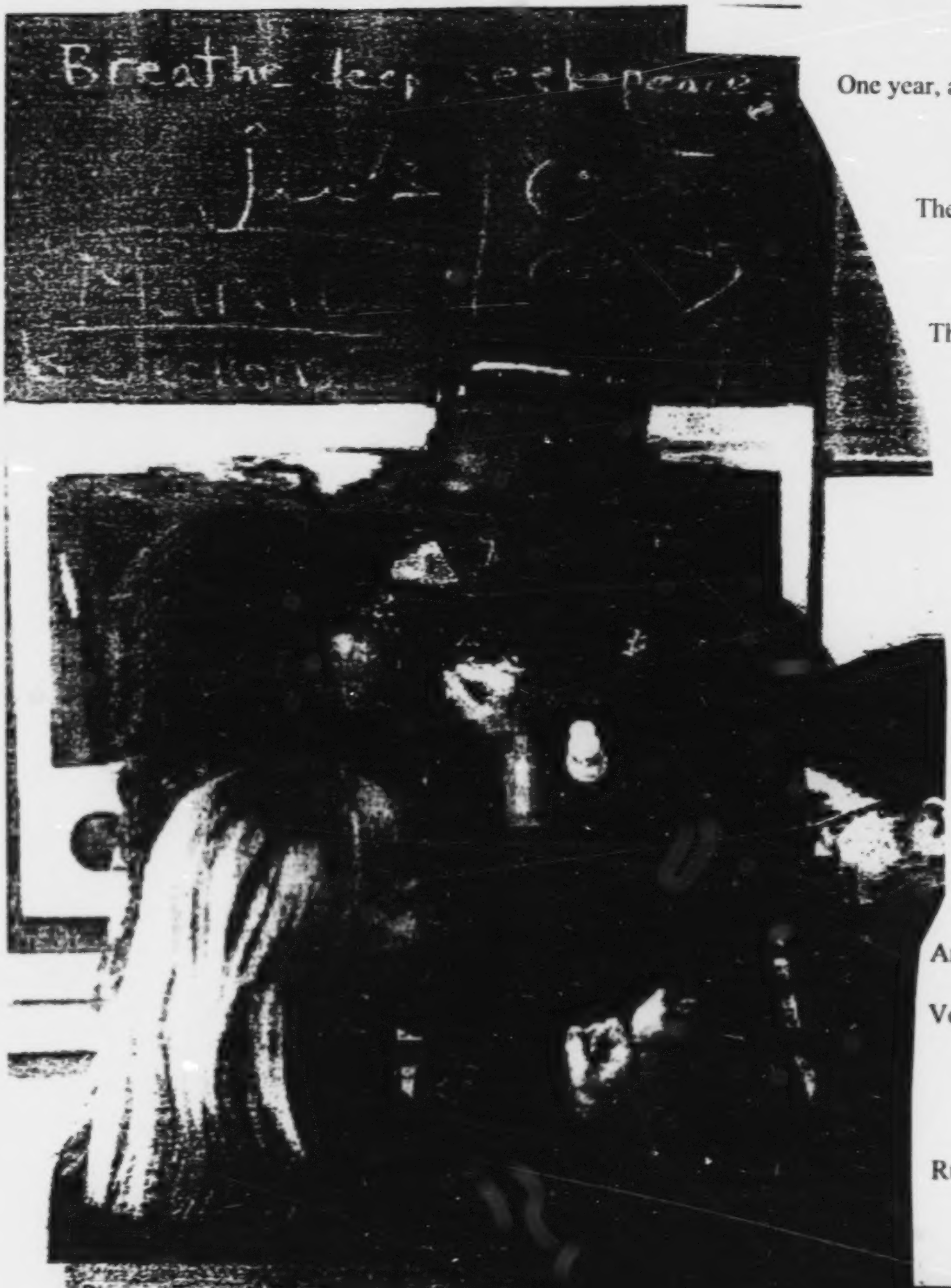

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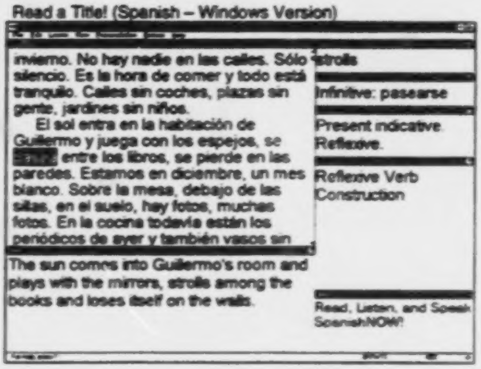

invierno. No hay nadie en las calles. Sólo silencio. Es la hora de comer y todo está tranquilo. Calles sin coches, plazas sin gente, jardines sin niños.

El sol entra en la habitación de Guillermo y juega con los espejos, se pasea entre los libros, se pierde en las paredes. Estamos en diciembre, un mes blanco. Sobre la mesa, debajo de las sillas, en el suelo, hay fotos, muchas fotos. En la cocina todavía están los periódicos de ayer y también vasos sin

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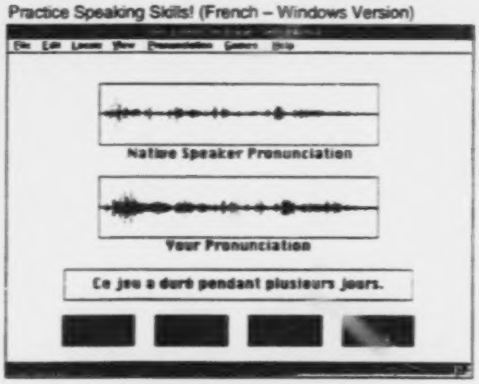
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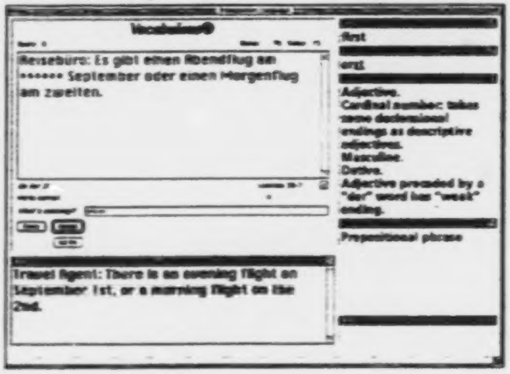

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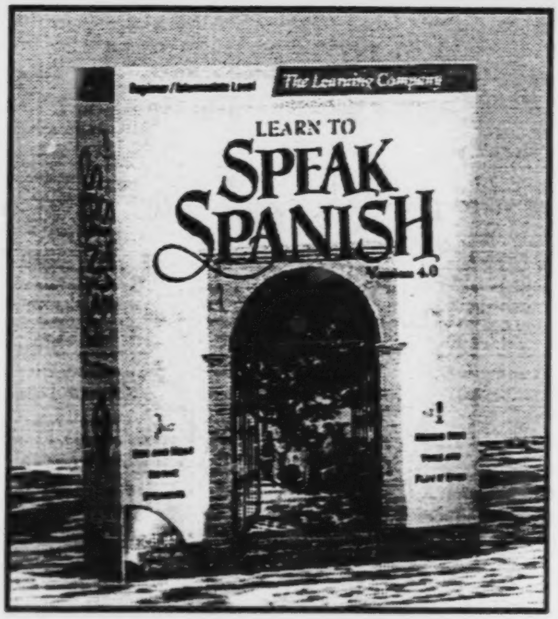

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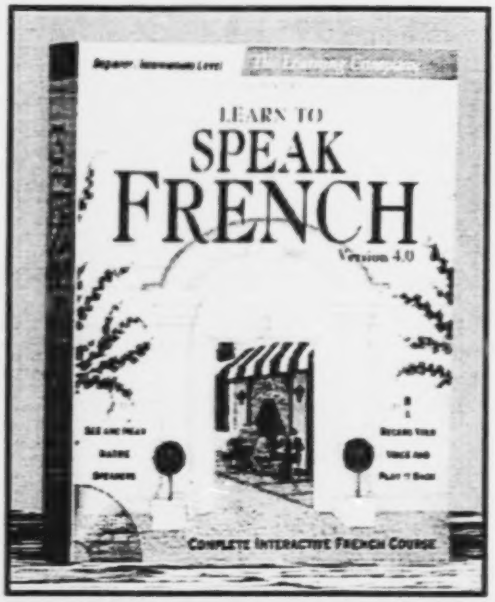

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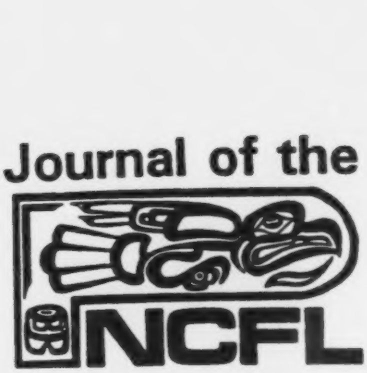

Pacific Northwest Council for Languages

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Correspondence on subscriptions, advertisements and exchanges should be directed to: Ray Verzasconi, Executive Secretary PNCFL, Dept. of Foreign Languages & Literatures, Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR 97331-4603.

Editorial Consultants

This volume has benefited from the expertise of many editorial consultants. The Editor extends his sincere appreciation to the following colleagues, as well as to a number of others, for their significant assistance in the preparation of this volume: Sheila Ackerlind, David P. Benseler, Ralph W. Buechler, Kim Carter-Cram, Mark Cory, Karen Eberle-McCarthy, Carl Falsgraf, Walter P. Guenther, István Gombocz, Paul Haberland, Sanae Johnsen, Thomas McNerney, Suzanne Moore, W. Lee Nahrgang, John Niendorf, Heidi M. Nickisch, Cora Lee Nollendorfs, Nancy A. Norris, Judith Ricker, Koyoko Selden, Lori Spicher, Peter N. Thomas, Will Thompson, and Charity Cannon Willard.

ISSN 0277-0598
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Key Conversational Conventions in Japanese

Joshua Seth Nelson
Central Washington University

This article describes certain key conversational phenomena which a learner should know and be able to use in order to effectively interact with others in the Japanese language. What makes these conventions noteworthy is that they receive little, if any, attention in the textbooks used in teaching Japanese. From the number of times that these general principles of interaction are represented in actual speech, however, it is entirely safe to say that knowledge of them is important for learners of Japanese in order to participate meaningfully in a conversation in Japanese.

The claims made here concerning patterns of Japanese speech are supported by transcribed bits of actual Japanese conversation. The transcriptions were made from audio tape recordings of native speakers of Japanese in natural conversation. All tapes were made in Washington state and recorded Japanese citizens who were taking part in an academic study-abroad program at a state university, either as visiting faculty or students. Ages of the Japanese subjects range from early twenties for students to mid-sixties for faculty.

The researcher made the initial choice of the excerpts, and to reduce the chance for error in the form of unnatural or odd sounding Japanese slipping past his notice, he played the tapes for two Japanese colleagues for verification of authenticity before they were included here. Both colleagues had to agree that the Japanese in the excerpts sounded like common forms of speech used in daily interaction.

Each excerpt is introduced with as much ethnographic description of the setting and participants as is necessary to contextualize the speech and illuminate what is being accomplished in the conversations on a pragmatic, sociolinguistic level. In transcribing the Japanese into English the researcher has attempted to reflect the original Japanese interactional patterns and maintain as much of the Japanese idiom as possible.

Japanese Interactional Structure

The first conspicuous aspect of the Japanese speech patterns which emerged from the transcriptions is its highly reciprocal and interactive nature. In general, there is more talking by both speaker *and listener*. In contrast to American English, where in general a speaker takes a turn at speaking and relinquishes the floor to another only after a significant interval during which the listener has been listening, Japanese conversation is marked by a sharing of the floor by both the speaker and listener.[1]

This highly interactive aspect of Japanese is reflected in the propensity of Japanese speakers - both speakers and listeners - to engage in a constant backtalk, in the form of acknowledgment cues (words that indicate agreement, or attentiveness, or understanding) or a reiteration or repetition of what has just been said. Acknowledging someone else's speech while it is in progress is extremely pervasive in Japanese, and there is a broad array of linguistic means of doing so which are lexically and intonationally specific. While something similar also is a feature of English, the degree to which participants in Japanese conversation acknowledge the speech of others, and the number of specific expressions used in accomplishing this acknowledgment show a sharp contrast with the occasional "uh huh" or "really?" of American English. The words and expressions used to indicate this acknowledgment as appeared in the taped conversations are as follow:

aa	- ah
aa soo ka	- ah, so?
a, soo desu ka	- ah, is that so?
aa soo desu ka	- ah is that so?
soo desu ka	- is that so?
soo ne	- [that's] so isn't it?
e	- yuh
ee	- yes
a ha ha	- ah, ha, ha
ha, ha	- yes yes
hai	- yes [formal]
honto	- really?
honto ni	- really?
iya honto ni	- no, really?
nn	- yes/yeah/yup
naruhodo	- I see/get it
naruhodo ne	- I see/ get it, you know
wakarimashita	- [I] have understood
uso	- lie! [it can't be true]

The English translations provided in the list above are only rough approximations of the Japanese. In actual conversation a word like "*e*" can mean "yes," "I understand," "I agree," "what?" or "I disagree" according to the intonation it is given and the context in which it is used. What the list should clearly indicate, however, is that there is a broad array of Japanese acknowledgment cues. The richness of these formulaic devices used by speakers of Japanese is further evidence of the interactive aspect of the Japanese language as used in ordinary conversation.

Another feature of Japanese speech, especially in cases of relatively formal conversational exchange, is that while a speaker is making statements, a listener will acknowledge the utterance of that speaker, after which the speaker will acknowledge or comment upon the listener's acknowledgment. This three part structure - 1) Statement, 2) Acknowledgment, 3) Comment - is a pervasive characteristic of much conversation in Japanese, and done in a much more overt fashion than anything like it in English. Specific examples follow.

Another aspect of the Japanese in the transcriptions (and in Japanese speech in general) that bears comment is the almost total absence of personal reference pronouns. This characteristic of Japanese speech stands in sharp contrast to the Japanese found in most language texts used to teach Japanese to American students. In those texts the terms "watakushi" (I/me/my/mine), "watakushitachi" (we/us/our/ours), "anata" (you/your/yours), "kare" (he/him/his), "kanojo" (she/her/hers), "karera" (they/them/their/ theirs), etc., are more often than not subjected to the same compulsive repetition that their English counterparts are.[2] The general principle demonstrated here is that speakers of Japanese tend to avoid the use of personal reference pronouns except in cases where there is ambiguity over that specific aspect of conversation, and where their use clears away misunderstanding.

Also, it is probably safe to assume that the first point mentioned (that in general Japanese conversation is much more interactive than English) has a direct bearing upon the non-use of personal referents. Since each short phrase uttered by a Japanese speaker is acknowledged by the listener, and since these acknowledgments often also include important aspects of the topic being discussed, like the person, or thing, or idea which is the subject of speech, then the pressure to continually restate who or what is being discussed is dissipated.

Additionally personal pronouns in Japanese convey more than information represented in the English translations "I," "you," "she," etc. Pronouns of personal reference in Japanese, as has been noted, are:

> in point of fact nouns that indicate categories and degrees of communicative distance. The selection of one from among the great array of such referents will reflect the human and social relationships that obtain between the two parties. (Smith 1983, 77)

Again, the contrast with English can be seen in the number of times that these words have to be supplied in square brackets in the translations. Japanese speakers are not required to make an explicit reference to a subject in each turn at talking, especially if that subject is the one doing the speaking or listening, i.e, "I" and "you." This particular aspect of Japanese speech is one which invariably causes difficulties for American students of Japanese, but receives little attention in the texts most often used to teach in the U.S.

Further, honorific speech, in form of honorific verb conjugations, the prefixes "*go-*" "*o*" "*on*", etc., and titles like "*sensei*," or "*sempai*," is often sufficient to convey the idea of who or what is being discussed without an explicit reference to personal reference pronouns. A combination of the above factors makes the personal reference pronoun a rarely used aspect of Japanese speech.

Transcription Protocols

In the following examples the conversation has been chunked into information units which can stand apart from the speech acts which frame them. These information units are created within conversation through shifts in tempo, pauses, and changes in volume and topic. Each turn at speech has been numbered and each speaker has been assigned a letter designation. Square brackets "[ ]" have been used to make explicit certain information that is implied in the Japanese but has been necessary to include in order to formulate understandable English. Set brackets "{ }" contain information like the designation "hon.," honorific speech, to indicate a lexical attribute or grammatical status for which there is no direct English counterpart. A colon ":" indicates a slight pause or hesitation between syllables in one word.

Ellipses "..." show significant pauses in the conversation where no party in the conversation has said anything. The equal sign has been used to show where speech acts overlap. In these instances there will be equal signs on at least two lines to show which utterances overlap. Other punctuation marks like exclamation points, question marks, periods, and commas serve the same function in the Japanese transcriptions as they do in the English translations.

In an attempt to present syntactic and pragmatic aspects of the original Japanese, each transcription of the original Japanese has been followed by a literal translation into English. This literal translation has then been followed by a free translation into idiomatic English. Bold font (e.g. **aa soo desu ka**) has been used for transcription of the original Japanese. Regular type (e.g. "ah, so is it?") has been used for the literal translation. And italics (e.g. "*is that so?*") has been used for the free translation into idiomatic English.

Also, unless noted otherwise, the excerpts are all organic parts of an ongoing and continuous conversation. The breaking up of the conversations into excerpt units has been done to facilitate analysis and does not represent any break in the continuity of the speech in the transcribed excerpts preceding and following any one particular excerpt.

Conversational Work

In the following excerpt a Japanese college professor (**A**) gets his wife's (**E**) attention (I.1) and then tells her that only three of the seven students invited will be coming to the tempura party that the couple is holding in their apartment. In talking to one another in excerpt I, **A** and **E** use language that is short, abrupt, and familiar. This befits their relationship as husband and wife. Moreover, **A** and **E** maintain the familiar discourse pattern of acknowledging new information, and in I.3,4,5, even acknowledging an acknowledgment. Notice, however, that in acknowledging her husband's news, **E** uses the more formal **"hai"** (line I.2). More than indicating formality, the use of this word reflects female speech (feminine speech patterns generally containing more polite forms of speech, even in informal settings, than their masculine counterparts).

In lines I.6-7, the place that **A** and **E** are talking about is the dining room table. As it is now obvious that there will not be seven students, there will be no need for anyone to sit in the living room and eat at the coffee table. In addition to being closer to the kitchen, the dining room table is larger and higher, therefore a more convenient place to eat.

(I)

1.A: **a soo, ano ne,**
ah so, um hey,
that's right, [I forgot], um, hey,

2. E: **hai?**
yes?
yes?

3. A: **sannin da tte.**
three people will be [they] said.
they said that there will be three of them.

4. E: **a sannin.**
ah three people.
ah three of them.

5. A: **nn.**
yeah.
yeah.

6. E: **sore jaa dare mo kotchi e kureba ii.**
then well, everyone too here to should come.
well then it is better for everyone to come here.

7. A: **dakara sotchi e kureba ii kedo.**
therefore there to should come but.
so it would be better if [they] went there.

In the following exchange the same professor is talking with Japanese woman (**H**) who is riding in the car with him and his wife on the way to do some shopping. They have been talking about the children in their respective families, but there is ambiguity about whom **A** is referring to when he says that the present time is busy. When **H** responds, she uses the pronoun **kanojo** ("she" familiar, i.e., "my daughter). This serves to make it clear who it is that they are talking about.

(II)

1. A: **ima, mata choodo isogashii deshoo ne? moo,**
now, again just busy probably right?, already,
now again is [when she is] precisely busy, probably, isn't [she]? already,

2. H: **kanojo desu?** [rising intonation]
she is?
she [my daughter], is it?

3. A: **shiken ga, chuukan shiken to iu no ga, koo,**
tests "mid-term" called, you know,
tests called mid-term exams, you know,

4. H: **aa!**
ah!
ah! [yes, I see now!]

5. A: **ima arimasu ne, iroiro, koo tsugitsugi.**
now are, aren't they, variously, like one after the other.
now are [being held] at the school, aren't they, one after another.

Lessons learned through analysis of transcriptions

The purpose of making these recordings of naturally occurring speech was twofold: 1) to highlight key principles of discourse of Japanese speakers and 2) to provide a point of reference to which Japanese language texts could be compared. In regard to the former, one main point is that there are general rules and sociolinguistic conventions adhered to by Japanese speakers which manifest themselves across a wide range of social interaction. Examples of these are: the reciprocal nature of Japanese discourse, the shifting nature of personal reference according to the demands of social interaction, and the marked use of pronouns of personal reference. When comparing the transcribed speech with examples of Japanese in language textbooks it is clearly evident that the textbooks have almost universally left out descriptions of these central aspects of interaction.

From the standpoint of instruction the problem for the teacher of Japanese then becomes how to help the students develop an understanding of the rules of social interaction that make possible the production of Japanese that is appropriate in culturally genuine situations. Students must develop an ability to recognize the social context in which they find themselves and then to reflect this understanding using the appropriate stylistic, grammatical, and lexical conventions of the Japanese language.

Notes

1. Although not evident from the tape or the transcriptions, the speech was accompanied by a significant number and variety of gestures, nods, bows, hand movements, etc. Many textbook authors are aware of these aspects of Japanese speech, but more often than not treat them as matters of style, not as important ways that are used by Japanese conversationalists to accomplish linguistic interaction. This aspect of Japanese linguistic interaction indicates a broad area where further integration of research methodologies could yield much valuable information.

2. The difference between subject, object, and possessive being determined by the particle following the Japanese word, e.g., "watakushi *wa*" corresponding to "I," and "watakushi *o*" corresponding to "me," "watakushi *no*" corresponding to "my/mine" etc.

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Benefits of a Delayed Introduction to Japanese Writing

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Linguists and language teachers have long been aware of the importance of putting speech ahead of written language. However, in teaching European languages, such as French, German or Spanish, it is taken for granted that introducing the alphabet and orthography from the very beginning is desirable, because all use essentially the same set of letters that English uses, with the exception of a few diacritic marks not used in English. Even in teaching Russian or Greek, which employ different alphabets, an early introduction to the writing system is successful, for all alphabetic writings operate on the same basic principle, that is, the principle of phonemic writing (Gelb).

In teaching Japanese, however, when and how to expose students to the Japanese mixed writing system has always been a thorny issue and many teachers often find themselves caught in a dilemma (Ishida 80). Most teachers prefer to start out with romanized, i.e. phonemic, representations, switching to Japanese representation early on. But in some extreme cases, romanized representations are never used (*ibid.*). The latter practice, which must be reconsidered for reasons that shall be explored in this paper, is adopted uncritically by many native speaking teachers from Japan, partly because it is the way they themselves were taught. This problem has long been a central one among teachers of Japanese.

Many teachers of Japanese introduce writing in the first quarter, or even on the first day of classes. Contrary to this practice, I will argue in this paper that the introduction to the writing system should be delayed as much as possible at the elementary stage. The paper will first outline the basic principles of Japanese writing system. It will then demonstrate how Japanese syllabic writing obscures, and sometimes leads students to a false understanding of, the phonological and morphological structures of the language.

Japanese is known for its very simple sound structure: five vowels /i e a o u/, two semi vowels /y w/, and twelve consonants (four sonorants /m n N r/, and eight obstruents /p t k b d g s z/). Allophones are not numerous either, most being palatalized coronal consonants.

Japanese is a typical open syllable language whose canonical syllable (or mora) shape is CV or CyV. The following table is a chart of Japanese moras of the shape CV, using the 'Official System' (the Kunré System) of Romanization. However, McCawley argues that /h/ is underlyingly /p/, this chart follows the general convention and lists /h/:

(1)

a column	i column	u column	e column	o column
a	i	u	e	o
ka	ki	ku	ke	ko
sa	si	su	se	so
ta	ti	tu	te	to
na	ni	nu	ne	no
ha	hi	hu	he	ho
ma	mi	mu	me	mo
ya		yu		yo
ra	ri	ru	re	ro
wa				

Mora nasal /N/

Japanese uses three types of writing systems: *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana*. *Kanji* characters represent meaning whereas *hiragana* and *katakana* represent, not individual phonemes, but syllables. In a typical Japanese text, verb and noun roots are spelled with Chinese characters and suffixes and particles with *hiragana*; recently borrowed foreign words are spelled with *katakana*. It is possible to spell everything in *hiragana* and *katakana*, without using Chinese characters, as language textbooks for first graders do; however, doing so consistently would signal a lack of proper education (DeFrancis 131).

Each *hiragana* character represents a syllable (or more precisely, a mora). By virtue of not being phonemic, the phonological units represented by *hiragana* belongs to the non terminal tier in the prosodic hierarchy. Linguists are still debating whether Japanese has syllables in addition to moras. For instance, although Poser claims that syllable are absent in Japanese, Ito argues that both moras and syllables exist. According to the latter method of representation, the word /koNnitiwa/, for instance, has four syllables s/koN/, s/ni/, s/ti/, and s/wa/, but five moras, m/ko/, m/N/, m/ni/, m/ti/, m/wa/.

Due to the very nature of syllabic writing, a *hiragana* character cannot be broken down into smaller components. That, for instance, the syllable /ka/ and /ta/ have the identical vowel sound is not apparent from the shape of their symbols, which have nothing in common.

Syllabic writing is by no means unique to Japanese: the earliest writing systems in history, such as Sumerian, Akkadian, and Linear B, all employed syllabic signs (Gelb). The basic principles of syllabic representations is that each written symbol corresponds to a syllable, without reference to its segmental make up.

The majority of modern languages opt for alphabetic writing, including those which, until recently, had relied solely on speech as the means of communication (Daniels and Bright). In alphabetic writing, each symbol is a unique representation of a single consonant or vowel phoneme. There are some exceptions to this principle, such as one to many correspondences (i.e., morphophonemic spelling) or many to one spelling correspondences (i.e., digraphs), but, overall, 'one letter, one sound' is generally adhered to in alphabetic writing.

Since alphabetic writing is so pervasive, the nature of syllabic writing is sometimes hard to grasp for students of Japanese, causing them to make mistakes that are obviously induced by the habit of spelling alphabetically. For instance, in the classes of mine and of my colleague's, it is often observed that, when elementary students, who have not completely familiarized themselves with syllabic writing, cannot remember how to write /ka/, in a desperate attempt to get partial credit, they write /a/ immediately preceded by a bracket or a box, indicating that part of the symbol is missing. In general, however, students come to grips with the proper conversion of phonological representations into graphemes fairly quickly, and mistakes of this nature soon disappear.

Another problem associated with the use of syllabic *hiragana* characters is that, although syllables are regarded as indivisible by Japanese speakers, teachers must make reference to elements smaller than syllables (consonant and vowel phonemes) in order to accurately and completely explain the phonological and morphological structure of Japanese. In the following sections, I will discuss the representation of geminates and verb morphology.

There are many examples of mismatches between *hiragana* characters and the sounds they represent. One of them is the representation of geminates. Japanese is among those languages that allow no consonant in the syllable coda, except for the first half of a geminate or a nasal homorganic to the consonant in the following syllable onset. In native Japanese or Sino Japanese words, a geminate is always voiceless. To illustrate, compare the *hiragana* representations of geminates in /ippon/ 'one (long object),' /gakkari/ 'disappointedly' and /dossari/ 'abundantly.'

(2) Phomemes: i p po n ga k ka ri do s sa ri

In Japanese orthography, the first half of a geminate, regardless of its phonological content, is always spelled with the same character. Given this fact, how would a teacher go about explaining the mapping relationship between phonemes and graphemes? If teachers taught students the romanized (or, phonological) representations first, the next step in instruction would be a matter of teaching how to convert pronunciation, as represented by Roman letters, to *hiragana* characters: 'when writing geminates in *hiragana*, the first consonant is always the same symbol. Since syllables are prosodically higher units than phonemes, the students would need to go 'from bottoms up'. Crucially, the fact that the pronunciation of the lower case symbol depends upon its environment follows quite naturally from this 'bottoms up' method.

If, on the other hand, teachers started out with *hiragana* characters, the instruction would be a matter of teaching how to interpret the *hiragana* in order to arrive at the correct pronunciation. When written in *hiragana*, the second letter in each word in (2) is identical, and therefore, appears to represent identical sound: in each case, however, it represents a copy of the onset obstruent that immediately follows. In (2), how the symbol is to be pronounced is not obvious: the pronunciation of the character crucially hinges on the syllable onset immediately following symbol, but the shape of a *hiragana* character alone provides no clue about what the onset might be. Therefore, teachers are forced to resort to romanized representations anyway. Although students eventually have to learn to go both directions, the important point here is that it would not be possible to provide the maximally general explanation concerning the relationship between graphemes and pronunciation unless one begins with the teaching of phonemic units.

The early use of romanized representations is even more desirable when teaching verb conjugation. For the majority of Japanese verbs have a root that ends in a consonant (Vance).

The verbal stem is commonly called the '*masu* form,' as it typically occurs before the formal suffix *masu*. The chart below gives some examples:

(3)	**Dictionary Form**	**Stem**	**Gloss**
	wakaru	wakari	'understand'
	kaku	kaki	'write'
	nomu	nomi	'drink'
	yobu	yobi	'call'

Given the above examples, students could easily make the following two generalizations: 1) the dictionary forms of all Japanese verbs end in /u/; 2) the stem of a verb can be generated by changing the /u/ into /i/. Thus, the internal structure of the above verbs are as follow [a morphological boundary is marked by +]:

(4)	wakar+u	wakar+i
	kak+u	kak+i
	nom+u	nom+i
	yob+u	yob+i

The roots *wakar*, and *kak* are consonant final and are followed by a kind of thematic vowel.

However, if one were to attempt to teach this conjugation using *hiragana* characters - as number of recent textbooks actually do - the same words would look somewhat different, and using this alternative approach, it is impossible to see the two generalizations obtained above. For instance, one cannot see that all the dictionary forms have the same ending. Furthermore, one would suppose, quite incorrectly, that the roots are /waka/, /ka/, /no/, etc., and that *i* column *hiragana* characters are added to them to create stems. In other words, here one would define the root as that which remains constant in *hiragana* spelling.

(5) Something similar obtains in generating informal negative forms:

Dictionary Form	**Informal Negative**
/wakar+u/	/wakar+a+nai/
/kak+u/	/kak+a+nai/
/nom+u/	/nom+a+nai/
/yob+u/	/yob+a+nai/

One can readily recognize the regularity in the phonological representations above: the final /u/ is changed to /a/ and /nai/ is added. However, if one were to use *hiragana* characters alone to explain this morphological structure, as some textbooks do, one would be forced to put forward 'Change the last *u* column character into an *a* column character,' a rather unwieldy rule. Furthermore, this approach would incorrectly identify the roots as /waka/, /ka/ and so on. Because syllabic characters cannot refer to individual phonemes and because there is an obvious predilection in Japanese toward open syllables in surface structures, a *hiragana* first approach misleads students, obscuring the fact that many Japanese verb roots are indeed consonant final. It is ironic that even this approach covertly relies on segmental units when it refers, for instance, to '*a* column' characters or '*u* column' characters. Universal grammarians agree with the tenet of accepted linguistic theory, holding that it is not sufficient that the grammar of a language be descriptively adequate; it must also be explanatorily adequate (Chomsky). It seems obvious that Japanese grammar which views /waka/ as a verb root does not satisfy the level of descriptive adequacy, the first requirement, and therefore needs to be modified.

In sum, a teaching method utilizing romanized representations can not only make explanation of the internal structures of verb forms easier, but can also provide the means of formulating a maximally general 'bottoms up' rule for generating conjugated forms. On the other hand, the use of syllabic characters alone cannot divide verb phrases into true morphological constituents.

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Narrative Strategies for Constituting Female Identity in Marguerite Duras' *Emily L.* and *Yann Andréa Steiner*

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Marguerite Duras' narrative expression is irrevocably allied with her self-perception as a woman and a writer. Her search for identity is constituted in language just as the Durasian heroine constitutes her selfhood through the telling of her story. Gender differences, a major preoccupation of her work, are based on women's exclusion from a patriarchal discourse and certain spaces of literary representation. Indeed, Duras uses literature as a self-conscious and profoundly personal examination; much of her work is autobiographical in its insistance on motifs of passion, selfhood, loss, illness and creativity. Two works in particular, *Emily L.* and *Yann Andréa Steiner*, which illustrate the author's subversion of narrative techniques in an effort to define and explore these issues.

Early in *Emily L.*, a novel as much about writing as about love, the narrator describes the importance and function of writing to her companion-lover. She says: "Je ne peux pas m'arrêter d'écrire. Je ne peux pas. Et cette histoire, quand je l'écris, c'est comme si je vous retrouvais" (22). In her signature style of repetition and rupture, the author expresses her haunting compulsion to compose that often borders on madness. In this same passage, Duras is obsessed with the deteriorating nature of their passion: "Il me semble que c'est lorsque ce sera dans un livre que cela ne fera plus souffrir ... que ce ne sera plus rien. Que ce sera effacé. Je découvre ça avec cette histoire que j'ai avec vous: écrire, c'est ça aussi, sans doute, c'est effacer. Remplacer" (23). This passage underscores the essence of writing for the author as an act of discovery, but also one of silencing. In her quest to both "effacer" and "écrire" love and desire, she creates a void which exists at the core of many of her novels. At the same time, the device of the unnamed narrator (simply "je" and "vous") represses and dispossesses identity. *Emily L* and *Yann Andréa Steiner* combine autobiography and fiction in a narrative intertexuality to create a feminine discourse which breaks with conventional aesthetics. But in assuming an intense, empathetic voice in her fiction, Duras may be tacitly reducing women to an inarticulate register of circular desire. (Witness the French girl of *L'Amant* and the passive, obsessed heroine of *Le Ravissement de Lol V. Stein*.[1]) Duras evinces an ambivalence toward female autonomy by the use of a narrative style which silences her protagonists and, at the same time, reaffirms the importance of writing as a transgression of conventional storytelling.

This argument cannot be broached without briefly discussing Duras' relationship to feminist theory since she has been ardently embraced by feminists for her literary treatment of the issues of pleasure and power, desire and eroticism.[2] Feminists judge her motifs of silence, ambiguity and madness as positive forms of rebellion. While Duras does not adhere to the French essentialist position of women possessing a fixed, ideal nature, she obviously explores feminine identity within a linguistic context and as an experimental discursive mode. Lacan praised the novel *Le Ravissement de Lol V. Stein* because of its intuitive writing of the language of the unconscious.[3] Indeed, Duras' literary production may be viewed as a Lacanian model for his theory that the crucial structuring process of the human psyche results from the acquisition of language, thus separating the conscious from the unconscious. Although female selfhood is constructed by its lack, lack of a phallus or separation from parents, for example, a woman can develop autonomy and power through the use of language. Duras uses writing to map her identity but interprets the associative loss in an emotional rather than a physiological context as do many French feminists.

Gender representations are constructed as cultural and historical factors that aesthetically undermine a patriarchal discourse in a narrative of obsessive repetitions, ellipses and interrogations. Marguerite Schuster defines Duras' style as the "rhetoric of discontinuity." She writes "Duras places at the center of her text the figure of woman as absence; through that specifically female alienation, she undoes the lie of transcendent, redemptive meaning and the illusion of masculine lucidity that constructed the absence in the first place."[4]

Duras' preoccupation with the theme of madness suggests a certain mental disasociation at work in her writing. In the process of breaking with conscious selfhood and of effecting a literary transformation in a semi-dreamlike dimension, one defines one's femaleness and one's character. Yet Duras' linguistic voyage of discovery brings not wholeness and independence, but fragmentation and a split between observer and observed. For instance, in *Emily L.* the narrator creates the metastory of Emily as a projection of her own psychological needs, and *Yann Andréa Steiner* contains a similar literary device of the narrator observing a young woman on the beach and inventing a history for her that echoes her own loss. Duras' fragmented, at times hallucinatory, style certainly reflects her personal history - an impoverished, colonial childhood, shattered family relationships and emotional instabilities of her adulthood.

Duras departs from a self-termed point of ignorance; the 'récit' emerges in the course of composition much as her own self-perception emerges throughout her work. "J'écris de l'ignorance," she has stated. In the same manner that the author defines herself by her relations with her lovers-friends, her female characters are measured by the degree of desire aroused in the other. In a sense, they become the "other" in a blurring of identities. Duras' binary universe of reconciliation and rupture, of absence and passion, creates a narrative tension of paradox in which disjunctures and repetitions echo the author's sense of the sublime, an abstracted place of pure desire and of consumed emotion. In fact, Duras portrays the moral center of her work as a process of self-dissolution for her characters. As Carol Murphy observes, "The story of an impossible but necessary love whose essence is the fragile moment of dissolution of self in an absolute, metaphoric love-death persists in nearly all of the novels."[5]

The two works under discussion, *Yann Andréa Steiner* (1992) and *Emily L.* (1987), belong to a period in which Duras returned to fiction after a decade writing screen plays and theatre scripts. 1984 marks her reemergence as a commercial and critically acclaimed author with the appearance of *The Lover.*[6] Compared to her earlier, more conventional novels such as *Un Barrage contre le Pacifique*[7] and *Le Marin de Gibraltar,*[8] these two works are structured like skeletal frameworks of recurring motifs, both apocalyptical and abstracted. Although they are related through character and dialogue, *Emily L.* is a more independant piece in its representation of the lives of an English couple. Yet a brief, but tantalizing testimony to the intertexuality of the two books signals one of Duras' key narrative strategies. As the autobiographical narrator and her companion in *Yann Andréa Steiner* drive across the plains of the Normandy coast, she says "C'est après, après encore, dans les terres alluvionnaires du Marais Vernier que se trouve Quilleboeuf où Emily L. a été vue par vous et moi pour la première et la dernière fois de sa vie" (71). Here is evidence of the subtle linking of creation and meaning in the writing from one book to another. In fact, the French couple of the earlier *Emily L.* are transposed to the narrator and her companion of *Yann Andréa Steiner.*

On its fragile surface, the narrator of *Emily L.*, the anonymous "je," addresses an unnamed "vous" with whom her relationship is deteriorating. Living in the countryside near the Normandy coast, they spend summer hours in one of the portside bars discussing the narrator's wish to record their love story in order to quell her suffering. The narrator dwells on her neurotic dependence on her companion as a source of literary inspiration as well as the object of desire.

> Je crois tout ce que vous dites, les choses les plus fausses, vos mensonges. Je crois à la totalité de ce que vous exprimez, à toutes vos paroles, à vos distractions, à vos imbécillités. Et même à votre sincérité transcendentale au milieu de ce fatras, j'y crois. (26)

The narrator's obsession with writing their story in an effort to assign meaning to it takes on an incantatory repetition. "Je n'ai rien à écrire, autrement. Je crois que c'est notre histoire qui m'empêche d'écrire autre chose. Mais c'est faux. Notre histoire, elle ne sera nulle part, elle ne sera jamais tout à fait écrite" (55). But her companion insists that there is nothing to write about, that she must invent. "Il n'y a rien à raconter," he assures her (23). Within the ambiguity of their relationship, Duras searches for meaning in writing as an expression of anguish and desire. As perhaps a response to his challenge, the novel shifts to a neutral narrator who recounts the relationship of an English couple, Emily L., a poet, and her husband called the Captain. A brief summary will explain their role in the novel. Years ago, the Captain was hired by Emily's parents to maintain the family yacht on the Isle of Wight. They fall deeply in love, but must wait ten years until the death of Emily's parents to marry because the parents were opposed to the union.

Duras describes the family dynamics: "Dans la décision du père de les garder auprès d'eux tout au long de ces dix années il y avait aussi - le père en était sûr - le souci de les préserver de leurs propres égarements" (75). At that juncture, their sea odyssey begins when they decide to break with the burden of her family history. As the French couple observes and overhears the English couple at a bar in Quilleboeuf, they begin to reconstruct the Captain's and Emily's lives until it gradually becomes the center of the novel. The complexity of feminine representation becomes a space of internal difference and similarity as the narrator seems to project the emotional detritus of her experience into Emily's *récit*. Duras establishes an intertextuality at the interior of the novel since the two female characters are *dédoublements* of each other, both writers being 'read' by the men in their lives. The English couple's story unfolds as a series of precarious, touching and ultimately failed attempts at constructing a creative life as Emily is misread by her husband and they take up a melancholy existence.

If literature has become a lie in Robbe-Grillet's words,[9] where does this narrative ambivalence leave the reader in a Durasian text? The deliberate dislocations and shifting points of view underscore Duras' refusal to follow any illusion of reality and force the reader to confront the very arbitrariness of the novel by destroying the usual fictional references. In *Emily L.* and *Yann Andréa Steiner* writing mediates as both revelation and concealment. A central episode in *Emily L.* underscores the importance of female expression for Duras and also raises the gender issue of how men read women. Emily writes poetry of essential meaning for her and eventually finds a small circle of admirers when her father has her poetry surreptiously published. Here Duras was inspired by Emily Dickinson's poetry which she greatly admired.[10] Emily's writing, however, causes a rift with the Captain because of his lack of education.

> Le Captain avait souffert. Une vraie damnation. Tout comme si elle l'eût trahi, qu'elle eût en une autre vie parralèle à celle qu'il avait crue être la sienne, ici.... Une vie clandestine, cachée, incompréhensible, honteuse peut-être, plus douloureuse encore pour le Captain que si elle lui avait été infidèle avec son corps. (78)

Duras obviously is mocking the captain's obtuseness. After the loss of a baby girl at birth, Emily writes a particularly evocative poem called *La Lumière d'hiver*. When the Captain comes across it, he is devastated to find that he has been excluded from this personal work. His reaction points out Duras' belief in the fundamental difference even between lovers.

> Ce poème avait l'air d'avoir été fait pour faire du mal au Captain ... dans ce poème, le Captain était ignoré. Le Captain était à la torture. Il avait encore cherché ce jour-là ce qu'il avait bien pu faire pour démériter à ce point aux yeux de sa femme– Et puis il avait découvert la vérité, à ses

> yeux, abominable, à savoir que dans l'univers de cette femme, lui il n'avait jamais existé et il n'existerait jamais. (84)

The Captain's interpretation is supremely misguided and fatal. His miscomprehension arouses fear in him, fear of Emily's "otherness" and her access to a universe denied to him. In a sort of feminist revenge, Duras ironically renders the man excluded from female discourse. Yet the importance of writing causes a split at the center of desire which results in a silencing of the woman. The Captain burns the fragile poem, suppressing Emily's creativity because of his inability to believe or even allow that she have an autonomous life.

> En un instant elle redevient pour lui celle qui ne sait pas, celle qui ignore la puissance de son pouvoir sur lui, le Captain. Cette innocence allait jusqu'à l'écriture de ces poèmes dont elle ignorait qu'ils tenaient leur valeur de leur obscurité même. Il fallait protéger cette enfant contre elle-même.... (86)

Emily sinks into an inarticulate lethargy, never to write again, but instead assumes the itinerant life of a couple in boozy exile at sea. "Le bonheur avait été rejeté. L'écriture bannie" (90).

In *Yann Andréa Steiner* Duras explores literary issues through an experimental mode combining fiction, memoir and fable which incorporates the author's obsession with Jewish victims. As in *Emily L.*, the work opens with a description of Duras' relationship with the writer-lover of the title, Yann Andréa, a gay, live-in friend of Duras who collaborated with her on several readings for films. In both books the tenuous communion of two creative people is dissected; ruptures and alliances form and dissolve. Andréa comes to visit Duras at her home in Normandy. Reclusive and somewhat paranoid after a hospital stay because of alcoholism, Duras expresses her fear and desire of the "Other," the other meaning fictional characters as well as Yann as an object of desire. Structurally *Yann Andréa Steiner* defies genre as it weaves together strands of narrative which haunted Duras for decades; it focuses on the story of Théodora Kats, a literary duplication of Aurélia Steiner, the young Jewish victim of a concentration camp. Three difference versions of Aurélia Steiner were written and turned into films in the Eighties, yet Duras never shaped them into a coherent novel. In a typical narrative device, she sublimates the character into that of Jeanne Goldberg, a counselor at a Normandy camp. Carol Murphy points out the primacy of this character construction in noting:

> It is exactly this ambivalence and multiplicity of character which Duras aims to capture or crystallize in her texts. Her dual purpose is to portray ideal love as sharing or breakdown of identity in a text whose novelistic and linguistic conventions evince this very fragmentation. (139)

The blurring and disintegrations of tales which frame *Yann Andréa Steiner* reflect another aspect of Duras' narrative strategy of seeking emotional truths in the act of composition as she reflects on events from several perspectives. The text becomes fragmentation as stories dissolve into one another, an aspect of other novels such as *Moderato Cantabile*[11] and *Le Ravissement de Lol V. Stein*. In conversations with Yann Andréa which parallel those of the opening dialog of *Emily L.*, Duras describes the anguish associated with literary production. In fact, the inability to conclude stories and fables accentuates the void in the Durasian discourse. "Je sais mal pourquoi je ne peux pas écrire l'histoire de Théodora" (29). In a complex, multi-layered characterization of the Jewish victim (in this instance, Aurélia Steiner, Théodora Kats, and Jeanne Goldberg), Duras evokes the difficulty in realizing certain characters. "Que c'était un livre que je ne pouvais pas écrire sans aussitôt m'égarer vers d'autres livres que jamais je n'avais décidé d'écrire." As in *Emily L.* where alternate fates are imagined, different versions of Théodora's life are suggested; either she died or she married an English writer after the War, or she became insane, or perhaps all three. "Peut-être était-elle devenue folle d'une folie latente, douce, qui la privait de vouloir voir, savoir, comprendre. Une sorte de folie de la normalité s'était peut-être emparée d'elle, de son esprit, de son corps" (48). Duras' stylistic strategy of evasion, contradiction and supposition written in a series of repetitions and ellipses lends an incantatory rhythm and tentative aspect to the narrative in opposition to a patriarchal, hierarchal discourse.

In turn Théodora's muted story is subsumed into the tale of the friendship between a young boy and a counsellor at a summer camp on the North Sea, a tale written by Duras as a weekly serial for *Libération*,[12] a left-wing daily. The boy, Samuel Steiner, finds a sense of redemption in his relationship with the counsellor Jeanne Goldberg. Both victims of loss, their presence evokes the collective memory of absent family and the despair of war, but also offers a measure of hope and desire. Connected by a profound bond of empathy and fate that takes on mythic proportions, Samuel pleads to Jeanne "... il lui a dit que si elle ne l'emmenait pas avec elle, lui il se jetterait à la mer pour mourir - , les autres enfants lui avaient dit comment faire pour mourir dans la mer, il savait ça" (123).

The mythification of self as an absent or marginalized being is entwined in Duras' tales of the disposessed and the alienated. The Jew, especially the Jewish woman, assumes a huge metaphorical value for the author as Leslie Hill explains:

> Judaism is inseparable from the unspeakable catastrophe of Auschwitz - -and both reveals and affirms the values of innocence, despair, and nomadic transgression that - like writing itself - have always already been repressed by history, technology and rationalism. The place of the Jew, for Duras, is to be ever present in the margins of discourse as a force of nomadic exteriority and radical questioning that challenges all identity or authority. (133)

The theme of writing as transgression, transgression as the subversion of a rational, conventional discourse, is closely tied to the image of a sacred place in Duras' mind as the center of being.

> J'ai dit que j'avais abandonné ce livre sur Théodora Kats que j'avais cru possible depuis des années. Que je l'avais caché pour l'éternité de ma mort dans un lieu juif, une tombe pour moi sacrée, celle, immense, sans fond, interdite aux traîtres, ces morts-vivants de la trahison fondamentale. (16)

Silence as an overwhelming literary motif reasserts itself with the image of a sacred tomb. And yet writing as an endless exploration into the other continues. Duras writes:

> On ne connaît jamais l'histoire avant qu'elle soit écrite. Avant qu'elle ait subi la disparition des circonstances qui ont fait que l'auteur l'a écrite. Et surtout avant qu'elle ait subi dans le livre la mutilation de son passé, de son corps, de votre visage, de votre voix, qu'elle devienne irrémédiable, qu'elle prenne un caractère fatal...." (20)

This is a telling passage that captures many of the motifs of inspiration for Duras - the sense of the unknown in writing, the incorporation of the past and memory, and especially, as she switches from the impersonal possessive adjective "son" to the personal "votre," to encompass the object of desire, the "other" as both absence and presence.

Each of the two books concludes with an interrogation on the nature of writing as an exploration of identity and as a gap in experience which reinforces Duras' ambiguity towards female selfhood. The narrative experiments discussed here seem deliberate and unconscious as Duras measures the borders of desire and loss. At the end of *Emily L.* the narrator pleads ardently for a raw, undisciplined kind of literature. Separated from her lover-companion by the closed door of her lover's bedroom, she nonetheless insists on his complicity in her act of writing.

> Je voulais vous dire que ce n'était pas assez d'écrire bien ou mal, de faire des écrits beaux ou très beaux, que ce n'était plus assez pour que ce soit un livre à lire dans une avidité personnelle et non pas commune....Je vous ai dit aussi qu'il fallait écrire sans correction, pas forcément vite, à toute allure, non, mais selon soi et selon le moment qu'on traverse ... laisser tout dans l'état de l'apparition. (154)

The novel ends as it begins, encoding the circularity of desire in her texts. In a parallel vein, absence and silence conclude *Yann Andréa*

Steiner. Returning to the theme of the difficulty of writing Théodora Kats, Duras judges that:

> C'était trop peut-être, ce blanc, cette patience, cette attente obscure, inexplicable, c'était trop, cette indifférence. L'écriture s'était fermée avec son nom. Son nom seulement c'était toute l'écriture de Théodora Kats. Tout était dit avec. Ce nom. (138).

Reducing this character to purely a name subjugates her identity, just as history has done. She incorporates the female victim who is repressed and reduced to silence, but one who will surely find an alternative voice in the endless intertextuality of Duras' literary universe.

Notes

1. Marguerite Duras, *Le Ravissement de Lol V. Stein*, Paris: Gallimard, folio, 1964.

2. For a discussion on the feminine as discursive in Duras' writings and films, see Sharon Willis's *Marguerite Duras, Writing on the Body*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987. pages 11-31.

3. Trista Selous gives a complete analysis of Lacan and feminism in *The Other Woman*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1988. pages 34-59.

4. For a reading of how Duras inscribes a woman's story in different moments and in different modes, see Marilyn Schuster's *Marguerite Duras Revisited*, in which she examines narrative and cinematic representations of women in a wide range of Duras' *oeuvre*.

5. Murphy gives a detailed, provocative textual reading of many of Duras' novels in *Alienation and Absence in the Novels of Marguerite Duras*,Lexington, KY:French Forum Publishers, 1982.

6. Marguerite Duras, *L'Amant*, Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1984.

7. Marguerite Duras, *Un Barrage contre le Pacifique*, Paris: Gallimard, folio, 1950.

8. Marguerite Duras, *Le Marin de Gilbratar*, Paris: Gallimard, folio, 1953.

9. For a detailed analysis of the writer's concerns with the mid-twentieth century novel, see Alain Robbe-Grillet's *Pour un nouveau roman*, Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1963, in particular, pp. 135-144. Robbe-Grillet stresses the evolution of the definition of the realistic novel when he says: "On mesure à quel point le 'vraisemblable' et le 'conforme au type' sont loin de pouvoir encore servir de critères. Tout se passe même comme si le *faux*–c'est-à-dire à la fois le possible, l'impossible, l'hypothèse, le mensonge, etc.–était devenu l'un des thèmes principaux de la littérature moderne." (139-140) Duras has been loosely associated with the writers who are part of the Nouveau roman movement because of her aesthetic experiments with narrative devices.

10. Schuster interprets this homage to Emily Dickinson as a parallel of Lacan's "The Purloined Letter." See *Marguerite Duras Revisited*, p. 136-140.

11. Marguerite Duras, *Moderato Cantabile*, Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1958.

12. Duras wrote for the *Libération* throughout the Eighties, the time when she created this serial.

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The Mitterrand Years: La Vie En Rose

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- 10 May 1981, François Mitterrand unexpectedly wins the presidential election, triggering a wave of euphoria and expectancy that the promises of May 1968 will finally be fulfilled.
- 8 May 1988, Mitterrand wins a second term, but few are expectant that great change will occur.
- 17 May 1995, Mitterrand ends his unprecedented fourteen year reign and the feeling is widespread that *quatorze ans, c'est long!*
- 8 January 1996, François Mitterrand loses his battle with cancer and dies at the age of 79.

Mitterrand's death, expected for some time by many, for the ravages of the disease and the demands of his office were evident in his appearance over the last few years, provoked a wave of national mourning and an outpouring of praise from representatives from both the left and the right. Many French citizens left messages expressing their sorrow, a few their rancor, on the internet, while political leaders proffered their praise for the late president in front of TV cameras. As an editorial in one French newspaper observed "Les multiples visions qui ont été proposées de François Mitterrand sont en effet si diverses et variées que chacun a pu y trouver matière à conforter ses propres a priori. Il n'y a qu'à puiser dans ce véritable self-service."[1]

It's always risky to pronounce the judgment of history before the sands of time have finished their flow but the question tempts us to ponder just what the legacy of Mitterrand will turn out to be. Will time solidify his image into a national hero of the stature of Charles De Gaulle or will the tarnish of his last few years diminish his image? Will the accomplishments of his double *septennat* remain or will they be swept aside by the new political order? In order to risk an answer to these questions, let's review the ledger.

Just what did his double *septennat* accomplish? Among the more important accomplishments of his presidency, I would cite the following five: First, he brought the Socialist party from its perennial position as opposition party to that of government party; secondly he fostered a series of laws, *les lois Defferre*, that turned back a centuries old system of highly centralized government and began a process of decentralization; thirdly, his majority party overturned the system of state-controlled media and provided for the eventual creation of private commercial radio and television; fourthly, he became a major force in the creation of a new European unity; finally his presidency left its mark on the physical presentation of France, particularly Paris, to a degree unequaled in the twentieth century.

The transformation of the Socialist party from a voice of opposition to one of the administration was no small accomplishment. While the party can trace its roots back to the formation of the SFIO in 1905, the party rarely had the opportunity to belong to the majority.[2] Under the Fifth Republic the party was locked out of power until 1981, when it was swept into the majority in the wake of the successful election of Mitterrand to the presidency. Both victories, Mitterrand's and the Socialists', were attributable to Mitterrand's able political maneuvering within the party and with the electorate. Within the party, Mitterrand, as First Secretary, had fostered the growth of the party and managed to fend off attacks from his most serious rival, Michel Rocard. It was largely Mitterrand's efforts that resulted in a successful coalition with the Communist party during the seventies, and though this alliance fell apart before the presidential elections, it laid the groundwork for eventual support from a significant number of communist voters during the 1981 election's second round. The Socialist victory was overwhelming, obviating the need for coalition to form the majority.

The party's success carried within it the seeds for its eventual defeat, however. Structurally the party suffered considerably from the victory which transformed it from a party of opposition to one of administration. Its administrative ranks were gutted of talented staff in order to fill ministerial posts. This made it difficult to maintain a party image and philosophical orientation distinct from the presidency and its executive cadre. These weaknesses contributed to the eventual decline in the party's popularity.

Mitterrand's support of the decentralization reform of 1982 was probably driven in part by his realization that the Socialist party historically had greater support at the local level than the parties on the right. Nevertheless, the reform represented an historic about face for France. The legislation, which passed in 1982-1983, gave the *départements* far greater powers than they had ever had before. The *conseil général* became the seat of executive power within the *département* and much of the power of the *préfet* has been transferred to the president of the *conseil général*. The principal innovation of the legislation was the creation of a new tier of twenty-two regional councils elected directly by the voters of the concerned region. At this level, too, the *préfet*, the symbol of the centralized French state since the time of Napoleon, has lost some of his former power to the regional council.

Unfortunately the Defferre laws did not clearly distinguish between the jurisdiction of the *département* and the *région*. This ambiguity has usually resulted in a situation of rivalry between the two levels.[3] Another common criticism of decentralization is that it has increased corruption at the local level.[4] After a dozen years of this reform, it is clear that the reform has been quite successful, but that some new legislation may be in order to correct some of the deficiencies that have come about with the change. Perhaps the greatest problem in need of correction is the inequity that exists between the rich and poor *communes*.

Today it is difficult to remember that in 1981 there were only three television channels and a handful of radio stations, all run by the state. Those were the "good old days" when advertising was limited and strictly regulated and programs "made in U.S.A." were relatively few. But those were also the "bad old days" of censorship and jealously guarded political control of the audiovisual industry.[5] On the receiving end of this state control as a member of the opposition prior to 1981, Mitterrand was understandably anxious to abolish such heavy-handed practices after his election. Driven by the ideological commitment to the citizens' right to freedom of speech and access to information, Mitterrand's socialist majority passed a revolutionary audiovisual reform in 1982. Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of this reform was the creation of a buffer regulatory board between the state and the audiovisual establishments, ending decades of unilateral government exploitation of the media. This board changed names and composition with every shift of the political winds for the first several years of its existence, but over the years it has managed to establish its own autonomous authority.[6] While the reform also provided for the creation of commercial channels strictly regulated by the audiovisual board, Mitterrand in 1984 and again in 1985, heavy-handedly attributed charters to personal and political friends for three new commercial channels, Canal Plus, La Cinq, and TV6. Mitterrand had used a loophole in the 1982 law to circumvent the audiovisual board in order to assure a measure of control of the television industry by trusted associates. Moreover, the creation of these channels before the 1986 legislative elections was unabashedly a political strategy aimed at frustrating the right when it would return to power. While many lament the flood of commercialism and the decline in program quality engendered by the reform, most agree that liberation of the industry's information services has been a welcome improvement.

During his double *septennat* François Mitterrand evolved into a leader in the construction of a new Europe. At the beginning of his first term, his European policy stood in stark contrast to the rest of Europe, as he tried to persuade his European partners to adopt economic strategies to fight recession similar to those being implemented in France. The other EC members refused and France could not stand alone. After a devaluation of the franc in 1983, debate broke out between pro-Europe and anti-Europe partisans within the Elysée over whether to remain in the European Monetary System or break away. Mitterrand was forced to resolve the dispute. He sided with the pro-Europe faction. This decision turned around France's European policy and began the long struggle to construct a unified Europe.[7] The nomination of Jacques Delors to the presidency of the European Commission coupled with Mitterrand's friendship with Germany's Helmut Kohl gave momentum to the development of a Europe without borders. The struggle has confronted many obstacles since the signing of the Single Market agreement in 1986 and nearly fell to defeat in the referendum to approve the Maastricht accords in 1992. The near-defeat managed to dampen the ardor of many of the supporters but the current president and prime minister have publicly stated their commitment to the overall plan in spite of the social and economic upheaval caused by the reforms necessary for its implementation.

As much as any of the great leaders of France, Mitterrand has left a considerable physical imprint on the appearance of France and its capital. Le Grand Louvre with its glass pyramid, l'Arche de la Défense, l'Opéra-Bastille, le Musée des Sciences et Techniques and le Parc de la Villette, l'Institut du Monde Arabe, le Ministère des Finances, le Conservatoire nationale de la Musique, and la Bibliothèque de France form an impressive list of architectural projects that have transformed the face of Paris. Many of the projects provoked heated debate.[8] The Minister of Culture, Jack Lang, repeatedly defended the *forme et fond* of the more controversial constructions such as the Pyramid du Louvre in the press and before television cameras. Mitterrand, although directly involved in critical decisions such as choice of architect, remained aloof and above the controversy. While the architectural merits of the various projects usually were overshadowed by the political dimensions of the controversy, the *grand travaux* now are widely appreciated and have definitely left a lasting memento of Mitterrand's double *septennat*.

Unfortunately the last years of his presidency seemed to erase the gains of the earlier years. Mitterrand's image began to become tarnished by the revelations of corrupt practices by his appointees as well as disclosures concerning his past. Serious problems began to become evident with the rapid succession of Prime Ministers: Rocard was replaced by Cresson in May 1991, and Bérégovoy replaced her in April 1992, but was swept from Matignon one year later. The Socialist party had suffered resounding defeat in the 1993 legislative elections, managing to win only 19% of the vote. Its representation in the Assemblée Nationale fell to only fifty-two, a considerable drop from the heady days at the beginning of Mitterrand's first *septennat* when it enjoyed an overwhelming majority. The President was forced to once again endure a state of cohabitation with a right wing *gouvernement*. Shortly before this resounding legislative defeat, the nation learned of Mitterrrand's cancer. The remaining two years of his presidency would reveal him struggling with health as he managed the affairs of state.

While his physical appearance seemed to decompose a little more with each public appearance, his *mythic* image also began to disintegrate. The book *Une jeunesse française* (Pierre Péan, Fayard, 1994) revealed Mitterrand as a young man during the occupation who was less than incontrovertibly opposed to the policies of the Vichy government. The book gave rise to a storm of controversy. Because of this contention, Mitterrand made a national television appearance to discuss his past and talk about his friendship with known collaborators. In his appearance he did not deny this questionable past. Reaction to Mitterrand's TV commentary and the revelations of Péan's book were uniformly negative and many commentators felt that the affair would have a long lasting effect on both the Socialist Party and the office of President.[9]

It is true that the Socialist party found itself in crisis, but it is unclear to what extent the president could be blamed for the party's woes. The infighting and the accusations of corruption involving major party figures is certainly responsible for much of the decline in the party's fortunes at the polls. The results of the regional elections of March 22, 1992, prior to the revelations of Péan's book, already indicated widespread voter disapproval. Abstention rose to 33.3%. The *Parti socialiste* won only 18.3% of the votes. Many former socialist supporters cast their votes for one of the two ecologist parties: the *Verts* won 7% and *Génération écologie* polled 6.8%.[10] These poor results continued in the legislative elections of the following year and the Socialists headed into the presidential campaign without a clear candidate. The burning question was who would pick up the party's standard and face the revitalized right. Clearly Mitterrand himself would not run. His favorite *dauphin* during his double *septennat*, Fabius, did not appear as a strong candidate. Rocard, Mitterrand's perennial opponent within the party, had also lost favor. The only seemingly viable candidate, the architect of French participation in the new Europe, Jacques Delors, after some hesitation, announced that he had decided not to run. The late entrant, Lionel Jospin, the other *dauphin*, made a valiant effort and almost upset the front-runner Jacques Chirac. To a certain degree the party missed the Mitterrand magic. However, it seems unlikely that Mitterrand, had he had the good health and the vigor to run, would have been able to win the election after the tarnish of scandals and the revelations of his past.

Will the tarnish endure? Will Mitterrand be relegated to one of the many impressive but not extraordinary figures that people France's historical archives? Or will he be assessed on the merits of the accomplishments of his double presidency? Most likely he will be appraised in comparison to his arch opponent, Charles De Gaulle. Mitterrand cannot help but suffer from such a comparison. While the names of both figures evoke some aspect of the nation's historical beginnings, the *Gaullois* or the *Francs*, the motives guiding their actions appear diametrically opposed. Charles De Gaulle clearly acted as if his principal concern was for the *grandeur* of France.

François Mitterrand, on the other hand, while adopting the persona of an "homme de culture autant qu'homme de pouvoir, *roi-philosophe* respecté comme arbitre suprême et père de la nation," created the image of a monarch seated far above the fray.[11] So it was a very long distance to fall when the revelations of his Vichy past and his relations with René Bousquet became public in September 1994. He finished his presidency with dignity, but one no longer viewed him as *tonton* nor as *dieu*. In the end he had become all too human, a man with a mistress, a love child, and the persona of the *florentin* that he had been at the beginning of his political career.

Notes

1. Jean-Marie Colombani, "François Mitterrand, le roman d'une vie," *Le Monde*, 9 Jan 1996.

2. Sudhir Hazareesingh, *Political Traditions in Modern France*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994, pp. 243-244.

3. Henri Mendras, Alistair Cole, *Social Change in Modern France: Towards a Cultural Anthropology of the Fifth Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991, pp. 130-142.

4. Jean-Marie Colombani, Hugues Portelli, *Le Double Septennat de François Mitterrand*, Paris: Grasset, 1995, p. 70.

5. Douglas J. Daniels, "The Master's Voice: Television censorship and the ORTF," *Government Publications Review*, 20, pp. 149-162.

6. Douglas J. Daniels, "Television and/in French Politics", *Contemporary French Civilization* (Communication and Media in Contemporary French Culture) 13 (1988), pp. 190-199.

7. Colombani et Portelli, 235-238. See also: Wayne Northcutt, *Mitterrand*, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1992, pp. 335-349.

8. Pierre Vaisse, "Dix ans de grands travaux", *Contemporary French Civilization* 15 (1991), pp. 310-328.

9. Richard Golsan, "Reflections on Mitterrand's *Années Noires*:Pierre Péan's *Une Jeunesse Française: François Mitterrand 1934-1947*", *Contemporary French Civilization* 19 (1995), pp. 292-311.

10. Colombani et Portelli, 39-43.

11. Thomas Ferenczi, "Du *Florentin* au président de tous les Français," *Le Monde*, 9 Jan 1996.

Self-Production and the Economics of Anti-Semitism in Jean Lorrain's *L'Aryenne*

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In a *fin de siècle* permeated with antipathy for Jews, the works of Jean Lorrain are filled with anti-Semitic commonplaces. Lorrain's images of Jews speaking a discordant *baragouin* equate phonetic deformations with a distorted view of literature, which is commodified, its value measured out by weight and volume. Lorrain tells about a dinner at which a "good Jerusalem banker" is asked to recommend one of two current, well-known plays. Perplexed, a woman wonders which performance to attend: "irait-elle au *Pardon* ou à l'*Age difficile*? ... A quoi notre *paron*: '*Allez à l'Ache difficile; il y a un acte de plus, fous en aurez bour vôtre archent*'" (Poussières 129).

In the era of the Dreyfus Affair, the political climate was conducive to the emergence of Edouard Drumont and his virulent *Libre Parole*. Author of the rambling, three-volume treatise *La France juive*, Drumont would direct his most scurrilous invective against the institutions he saw as destructive or corrupting: colonialism, capitalism, banking and finance, what he perceived as the sapping force of bourgeois ideology. It was Drumont who assumed the dubious distinction of voicing the abhorrence of his countrymen for Jews.

Yet while Drumont grounds his arguments in radical economic theory, in nationalistic zealotry and traditional folk values, he joins others in indicting Jews for their bastardizing French, for mongrelizing literature and cheapening it as commerce. So while Jews are assigned a special influence or power, they are paradoxically qualified by their state of dispossession. Pictured simultaneously as inarticulate and glib, they are ubiquitous yet ghettoized as infiltrators who must be quarantined.

To the anti-Semitic writer, the Jew perverts and frustrates language, "for both his name and his speech sound an inauthentic, unmelodious cacophony" (Sonnenfeld 80). As "he is the man without a country [;] he is the man without a language" (Sonnenfeld 79), and so the Wandering Jew who emigrates from one book to another is a muted character articulated in the diatribes of enemies. Yet anti-Semitic discourse is necessarily impoverished, depriving those who speak it of the prerogative to signify. The avaricious, media-controlling Jewish financier, the cosmopolitan *agioteur* is a figure out of myth, and as Roland Barthes has commented, "myth is always a language-robbery" (131). So tautologically self-apparent is the meaning of the Jew that efforts to define him lead to endless repetition, yield an unproductive rhetoric that is reflective of its subject.

While Lorrain repudiates the charge that his works disparage Jews, dismissing his accusers, who "me traitent de Drumontain" (Poussières 129), he recycles Drumont's reasoning that, unlike the peasant laborer, whose sweat produces artifacts that are tangible and useful,[1] the Jew resembles writers in their trafficking in signs, investing a capital of words so that it may reproduce and multiply.

Frequently the people who are anathematized by bigots are projections of the unacknowledged defects of the haters. Thus, descriptive anti-Semitism gives a list of the deficiencies, an inventory of the vices that are reasons for self-loathing. The rootless, urban poet, whose works are paper money, who trades in shiny symbols that are valueless and hollow, may consider himself a Jew despised for his manipulative facility and for his texts which intend the sterile reproduction of the self. As this essay argues, Lorrain, who has been taxed with uninventiveness, incriminated for his derivative and self-cannibalizing *oeuvre*, impugns the Jew to whom he ascribes his own proliferative barrenness. As remunerative plagiarism turns into artful speculation, the Jew assumes the author's guilt for marketing impostures. By failing to invigorate the economics of anti-Semitism, by usuriously profiting from exhausted, shopworn themes, Lorrain's "Jewish" text attacks itself as uncreative. As his emphasis is on the fruitlessness of recirculation and exchange, Lorrain's prolificacy as a Jew-baiter is assured by saying nothing.

The writer who professed "une sorte d'anarchisme de droite," "un antisémitisme qui le plaça parmi les anti-dreyfusards" (Jullian 221), conveyed his prejudices most subtly and thoroughly in a posthumously published novel provocatively titled *L'Aryenne* (1907). What distinguishes Lorrain's novel is not its catalogue of platitudes, its images of wily Jews and their stupid, helpless victims. Instead it makes a link between supposed Jewish values and the decadence of culture and its emasculated literature. The book suggests that the history of the homelessness of Jews, their forever being objects of their hosts' abusive language, is what explains their occupation of unguarded French terrain and their usurpation of the power that is wielded by the media. The stranger in our midst becomes a gracious source of sanctuary; the target of public obloquy assumes the duties of an editor.

The backdrop of the novel is a vitiated world, a corrupt, enfeebled nation whose integrity has been compromised. The landed aristocracy, in whom peasant virtue had been euphemized, is not grounded any longer in the soil of folk tradition, but is deracinated, citified, its blood polluted by interbreeding. Lorrain's text deplores the consequence of miscegenation and exogamy, cites genealogy as another medium defiled by Jewish influence. Like Drumont, who saw a threat to a "racially-selected-élite" in its seduction by the Jew bent on "usurping `the bed of others'" (Wilson 586), Lorrain shows a couple that is infirmed by inter-marriage and that welcomes in their home a financially vulnerable Aryan woman. Lorrain's Jewess, Rébecca Riesmer, is a parvenue of the sort that had been vilified for decades, an arriviste established through her cunning and ambition, by an ability to dominate and exploit another's weakness.

The narrative is structured on positional inversions, role exchanges favoring the monied Jewish hostess, who exults in the abjection of her Aryan dependent and who is masculinized at the expense of her ineffectual, pampered husband. Ironically, the glory of the self-producing poetess is not achieved through her amassing of artificially increased wealth, but through her ostentatious acts of altruistic liquidation: "La princesse de Ragon d'Helyeuse, juive convertie, ... était trop heureuse d'entretenir publiquement une contesse Ilhatieff, née de Malhouëtt, une des plus vieilles familles de la Basse-Bretagne (6-7). As the title of her husband inhumes her ancestral identity and confers on her the prestige of his Jockey Club environment, she fashions a persona meant to promote her career and takes the name of Mélisande after the heroine in Debussy, whose opera had enjoyed such popularity at the time.[2] Yet Rébecca's wish to hide a socially damaging identity is not motivated by shame nor by an impulse to assimilate but by the methods that are stipulated for advancing her career.

Later in *Maison pour dames* (1908) Lorrain would denounce the world of publishing, which had set about corrupting a naive provincial poetess. Titillated by the candidly erotic nature of her verse, Emma Farnier's publisher, the unscrupulous Oscar de Farenbourg, describes the path that leads to celebrity and wealth as requiring the assumption of a pretentious pseudonym, her sexual submission to the magazine's chief patron, and the surrender of her image to her publicists and handlers. The commercial degradation of literature as business, which subsumes the quality of texts to the number of editions, makes authors into hirelings of exploitative agents and resurrects the scarecrow of a press controlled by Jews: "the crisis in French publishing in the 1890's exacerbated the ... fears of writers that found expression in antisemitism" (Wilson 609). As ideas became mass-marketed and as publishing was sexualized, the figure of the Jewish writer who paid for good reviews inevitably suggested the incestuous nature of her *praxis*.

In fact, Rébecca's acquisition of the Countess as a "trophy" (11) was intended less to generate the acceptance of society than to condition the reception that was accorded to her poetry. An incarnation of the antecedent art works she pastiches, she promotes herself at once as a celebrated author and as the benefactor of Countess Ilhatieff and her children (10). The accepted tender utilized in the economics of Jewish discourse, the Aryan is ransomed to obtain the public's favor. A companion whose appearances at Rébecca's salon readings attenuates the Jewess's disturbing sense of otherness, she is a coach who schools her protectress in the theatrics of delivery, who teaches her the art of the expiring final syllable, eurythmic intonation, the ecstatic haggard glance, and the languid, tragic glance into consoling other worlds.

While, ironically, the oppressor becomes the victim held in bondage ("Dans les salons rivaux on appelait la jeune femme protégée l'*Otage*" [10]), the instrument of her perdition becomes the price of her redemption, and is the money that her enemy is skilled enough to wield. The cultural elite, as the narrator observes, are leery of reputations that have been purchased as commodities: "le monde est plutôt hostile aux carrières littéraires aggravées de grosses fortunes" (9). But even yachtswomen with pedigrees and literary hostesses are disarmed by the charity done to the Countess by her benefactor.

Lorrain, who saw writing as a financial obligation and who rushed to churn out books to pay his legal fees and debts, was aware of his dependency on a fickle public's interest, and so was jealously contemptuous of aristocratic scribblers, self-dramatizing poetasters striking visionary poses, like the slim, ephebic figures from the paintings of Burne-Jones. The view of textual piecework as ill-paid, modern labor only fired the impatience of a writer for whom literature was not a self-expressive luxury but a way to stay alive. Cobbling together metaphors, crafting strained analogies, creating tortured images conveyed a shallow virtuosity, attesting to a gift for linguistic sleight of hand that linked composing poetry to the illusion of making money.

In fact, Lorrain's execration of Jews may be symptomatic of his coveting the wealth that would have given him the freedom to live the life of profligacy he describes in other volumes, and which he explicitly disparages in his book *Le Crime des riches* (1905). The ideology of anti-Semitism that Stephen Wilson has examined is motivated in Lorrain by the full array of reasons: by fears of the economic despoliation of France by Jewish bankers, a need to blame the Jews for the 1892 Panama scandal, a belief in the esthetic unregeneracy of Semites,[3] a fear of the sexuality of the calculating Jewess, and a perception of the Jews' control of literature as commerce.

Exemplifying throughout his life the writer as performer, Lorrain, with his buffoonish and often scandalous persona, projected an image intended to elicit public outrage, the curiosity and reprehension that would boost his novels' sales. With a carnation in his buttonhole and a ring on every finger, with his mascaraed eyes and tinted hair and emphatic, brushy mustache, Lorrain, as McLendon writes, "cut quite a figure on the Parisian scene" (Communities 9). His dubious celebrity for his duel with Marcel Proust, his publishing the recipe for strawberry salad soaked in ether made him a text collaboratively authored by bemused or dismayed gossips or a fiction he incorporated into several of his narratives.

More than any of his contemporaries Lorrain showed an understanding that, not only are authors dispossessed of their works by publication, but become the products marketed by promoters and consultants. Proficient in the art of image management, Lorrain must have worried about being commodified himself, being exalted or demeaned by a capricious, changing audience, or being dependent on the publishers who determined his survival. "Je suis si peu antisémite que je suis en affaire avec deux éditeurs israélites, dont j'ignorais même la religion. J'ai été à eux sans m'enquérir de la forme de leur baptême et, s'ils ne me l'avaient appris eux-mêmes, je les croirais encore bons chrétiens" (Poussières 129).

To Lorrain, those who oversaw the retransmission of ideas, the suspect Jewish press, assumed a cultural hegemony. The writer could produce a work that conditioned its response, could cultivate an image affording a lucrative notoriety, yet still remain a property that was disposed of by his publisher. Thus, what Lorrain seems to ridicule in the figure of Rébecca is her presumption of control over the whole creative process: from the fatuous confection of her lapidary imagery to the launching of a reputation based on status, not on talent.

The most offensive Jewish trait that is imputed to Rébecca is her insistence on promoting the very nothing she produces. Displaced onto his villainess is Lorrain's penchant for self-advertising, the *cabotinage* the Prince deems so unseemly in his wife. Yet Rébecca's "manie maladive de vouloir partout faire imprimer son nom," "ce besoin de se produire" (44) make the writer's name more current, more meaningful than the hoary title of Ragon d'Helyeuse. The Prince may fume indignantly over the greed of *gendelettres*, over the reciprocal exploitation of authors and their critics. Yet it all comes down to the money that fills the balloon of empty language, that allows bad verse to be exchanged for insincerely good reviews.

The capital of familial honor and ancestral distinction is a resource that is squandered to redeem a deficient language output, and so Rébecca's apotheosis in the reviews the Prince supports is a word asset she values as being so much "argent comptant" (40). Like the publishing house in *Maison pour dames* whose decadent insolvency had given it the appearance of bankrupted bordello (78), the house of Ragon d'Helyeuse assumes the character of a brothel and in being opened to the public, becomes itself a *maison close*. Shrunken metonymically into detumescent pens, writers come to see their craft as dreary, ill-paid whoring.

Apart from the devaluing of intellectual productivity, the cultural empowerment of the Jew in Lorrain's writing engenders "a more powerful fear of emasculation or impotence" (Wilson 588). As the spread of Jewish influence was economically determined by the obliteration of the object and its conversion into money, so the effects of Jewish integration were imprinted on the body, which was similarly inscribed with scars of diminishment and loss. Circumcision was imagined as a ritual disfigurement that was projected as aggressive threats of enslavement or castration. An ornamental adjunct that enhances Rébecca's glory, the Prince at first is feminized by being likened to the Countess, and is marginalized by his useless life of wealthy dereliction. The implied exchange of sexes imparts a professional virility to the wife, who then asserts: "vous êtes le mari d'un homme de lettres" (38). One can only speculate about the significance to Lorrain of the view of successful writing as a clearly gendered practice. The flamboyant homosexual, friend to butcher boys and wrestlers, saw his intercourse with readers as a token of submission. But a celebrity conferring financial self-sufficiency remasculinized an author who could reassert her dominance. So when he beds a wife conflated with Maurice Barrès, the anti-Semite (38), it is the Prince who must assume the role of object, Jew, and woman.

The symbol of the ring, which is at once a racial marker and an assertion of the triumphant professional status of Rébecca, is a figure used to trace the shifts in the relationships of power between the poetess, the Prince, and the hostage to their munificence. As a book becomes its sale price multiplied by its editions, the text as object disappears in the course of being quantified and, as words eclipse their referents, counting takes the place of reading. Productivity is measured, not by the amount of what is written, but by the republishing and distribution of a single, hallowed volume. Success is its own vehicle and that which signifies itself, so that the total of volumes sold becomes the cause for printing new ones.

Wishing to recrystallize her fame in solid form, to advertize her glory as something other than a number, Rébecca buys a Lalique ring and gives it to her husband, who wears it as publicity for her achievements as a writer. The ring no longer functions to commemorate a union but formalizes the disparity in the marital relationship. Thus, the Prince comes to regard himself as the chattel of his wife, an *homme rangé* exhibited and "entretenu par sa Muse" (50).[4]

When the Countess takes the ring and puts it onto her own finger, breaking the symbolic tie subjecting the Prince to his wife's influence, she tries to substitute a link between two Aryan subordinates and to create a bond of consent in place of a union of coercion. But the jewel is still the sign of Rébecca's cultural ascendancy, of the commercial triumph crowning her imposture as a poet. In turn, the Prince and Countess bear the evidence of their servitude, the cicatrix attesting to their castrated surrender to the authority of Rébecca, who makes her dependents like herself. The abrading of Marthe's hand on which the heavy ring is worn fantasmatically repeats the mutilation of the Jews, the circumcision of all those who fall within their baneful sphere.

The novel ends with the shedding and acquisition of new rings, with a quest for self-recovery, emancipation, and detachment, and the final, dismal confirmation of the Jewess's dominion. The Countess spurns the ruby ring that is sent her by the Prince, and which she rightly sees as another sign of subjugation and enslavement - to the predatory male who succeeds her scheming benefactor. The Countess's desire to reaffirm her self-possession entails an attempt at suicide through the ingestion of a poison, which corresponds to the bitterness of her humiliated status. But Rébecca finds the antidote to the liberating toxin and retrieves the piece of property that almost managed to elude her. Thereafter public sympathy for Rébecca's act of heroism guarantees the literary autonomy she had wanted from the start. Not dependent any longer on redemptive social contacts, on her faithless husband's title, she is haloed by her goodness, enriched by the accrual on the interest of her charity. The exalted Mélisande succeeds the Princesse d'Helyeuse, who had eclipsed Rébecca Riesmer as the unspeakable identity. Affixed to the text of adulation is the literary signature that wipes away the racial name that had impeded her ascension. She is able to "produce herself" in constructing a persona which obliterates a history that had robbed her of her voice. As her literary duties call her to Florence and Milan, with periodic sojourns at her villa in Bellagio, the Princess resumes a life of opulent itineracy, adopts the cliche Jewish style of vagrant ostentation.

Lorrain's anti-Semitic text paradoxically conveys his jealous idealization of the figure that he vilifies: the Jewish writer who, by effecting a commercial transformation, rewrites herself as a fiction that can model its reception. Not an artist who is authored by her publishers and readers, Mélisande expresses Lorrain's wish for self-creation. Yet she also is the vehicle for his unconscious self-inculpation, his shame at the futility of his trafficking in symbols. Accused of unoriginality, of pilfering from others, Lorrain also fashioned texts that were patchworks of preceding ones. A version of the Jew, whom he perceives as uncreative, an adept in the science of sterile self-proliferation, he turns into the stereotypic character that he scapegoats.

The Jewish writer emasculating editors and audience, denying their prerogative to evaluate him freely, may fulfill the narcissistic fantasy of being author, text, and reader. But applause and recognition are devalued as commodities when they are purchased with the successful perpetration of a hoax. Writing must therefore be a transaction that acknowledges the independent judgment of the client, the otherness of critics who appraise, reject, or hire.

The literary onanism implied by self-production would remain a guilty longing that was imputed to the Jew but that actually was a feature of anti-Semites like Lorrain. Thus, in a propaganda poster from the Nazi Occupation, from an exhibition in the Palais Berlitz in the early 1940's, there are lines of text accompanying a picture of Jewish writers, among them Marcel Schwob, a friend and contemporary of Lorrain: "L'écrivain juif `produit,' `lance' et `vend.'... ," the poster reads. "Le plagiat et le scandale ne sont pour eux que des moyens de se pousser."[5]

Lorrain's novel does not contribute to the ideology of anti-Semitism, defined as that which needs no explanation or description. Reaping new returns on its investment of stale theory, it recirculates the platitudes that it borrows from its sources. So appealing was the notion of an effortless increase that Lorrain multiplied himself in a variety of pseudonyms, in the graphological changes that suggested new identities, and in his voyages to distant lands that recreated the adventurer. A vagabond pariah that was everywhere unwelcome, a plagiarist who parroted the language of his hosts, Lorrain tried to exorcise the bad parts of himself and project onto the Jew what he was fearful of admitting. The more indebted Lorrain felt himself to his literary creditors, the more intent he was on mastering the economics of self-creation, by being a Jewish writer who could "produce," and "launch," and "sell."

As the Jew becomes a figure for Lorrain's own sense of inadequacy, a wizard who used literature as a way to make new selves, he shows that in his works there are, in fact, no Jewish characters, only vessels for the author's insecurities and wishes. Reenacting the familiar gesture of the hated financier, the text of anti-Semitism treats the Jew as language currency, as it liquidates its object and turns it into an abstraction. Anti-Jewish sentiment becomes the literary capital which is invested and earns interest on the proliferation of new books. A compilation of the hackneyed views of Drumont and his ilk, empty pages filled with unoriginal ideas, Lorrain's novel demonstrates that the return of the repressed is manifested in the self-repeating texts of anti-Semitism - as the discourse of the other informs the language of the bigot and as those condemned to silence speak in their persecutors' voice.

Notes

1. "The corollary of the identification of the Jew with money and with urban capitalism ... was to oppose the Jew to the land and to rural society. For antisemites, Jews were essentially foreign to the land and to agriculture. Drumont contrasted the `landless' Jew with `the man who is French, born and bred, whose fathers have colonized and tilled the soil ...'" (Wilson 267).

2. Lorrain's ridicule of the esthetes swooning over Debússy's opera is the subject of his satire *Pelléastres* (1910).

3. Sander Gilman notes that already in the eighteenth century, "aestheticians refused to ascribe a sense of beauty to any group they believed to be marginal. Whether black or Jew, the outsider was perceived as inherently unable to sense, and therefore to produce, the beautiful" (119).

4. Similarly, in *La Dame turque* (1898) an opal ring is designated as "la pierre de l'abnégation et de l'amour sans même espoir de retour, c'est le signe de l'esclavage" (127).

5. The poster appears on the opening page of *SubStance* 49 (1986): "Anti-Semite and Jew: The Aesthetics and Politics of an Ethnic Identity," and comes from an AntiSemitic Exhibition, Paris, 1941-42, Collection Viollet.

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Ernst Wiechert's Thomas von Orla: The *Heimkehrer* as Escapist

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Attempting to lend definition to the central figures of his novels, Ernst Wiechert writes in an early volume of *Die Literatur*: "Die Menschen meiner Bücher sind Fanatiker. Ich bin es auch. Sie gehen durch Wandlungen und werden niemals fertig."[1] The significance of this statement for better understanding Wiechert's *oeuvre* is twofold: it intimates that the author's characters are an extension of their creator, and that these creations are often characterized by a restless, romantic strain. They are in a perpetual state of flux and development but seldom attain perfection or fulfillment. Such is the case of the protagonist, Thomas von Orla, a retired Navy captain, in Ernst Wiechert's novel, *Das einfache Leben* (1939). To be sure, von Orla is one of the *Heimkehrerfiguren* whose numbers are legion in the postwar literature of Brecht, Toller, Remarque, Borchert, Böll and others. Yet unlike the Hinkemanns and Beckmanns, whose primary concerns focus on basic human needs like sustenance, lodging, and family, Wiechert's *Heimkehrer* appears to have everything when the novel begins. His family, home, and possessions have escaped the ravages of war. He has an endless number of influential friends and possesses a seemingly inexhaustible supply of money. Nonetheless he is depicted as one of civilization's malcontents who wants nothing to do with what Stephen Spender referred to as: "The crudeness, adventure and extraordinary freedom offered by the Weimar Republic."[2] Nor does he wish to become politically involved and work for constructive change in the regime of post-World-War-One Germany.

The novel begins depicting its protagonist, von Orla, alone at dusk in the confines of his home library. At once there emerges the portrait of an escapist, an indecisive dreamer who has extricated himself from the real world. With his fingers pointing to the ninetieth Psalm, "Wir bringen unsere Jahre zu wie ein Geschwätz,"[3] his eyes trained on a globe and his ears attuned to the muffled sounds of the street beyond his walled garden, he weaves an emotional tapestry of his life; past, present and future. As if in a dream he transmutes the sights and sounds of life into those of a vicarious aquatic realm:[4]

> Nun in der wachsenden Stille des Abends, hob das Brausen der abseitigen Hauptstadt sich über die Gärten der Vorstädte und stand wie der Ton ferner Brandung, unmerklich steigend und fallend, über der Dämmerung. In den licht grün verblaßten Himmel ragten die Stämme der Kiefern schwarz und unbewegt, über einer fernen Straße schimmerten weiße Lampen auf, schnell und nacheinander, und wer lange auf dem Meere gelebt hatte, mochte nun bei halbgeschlossenen Augen leicht sich einbilden, wieder auf einer Brücke zu stehen oder hinter den Fenstern der Kajüte, das leise Brausen des Schiffes im Ohr. (EL 11)

After a series of nocturnal adventures in which von Orla surveys the sins of derelicts and dignitaries, the protagonist, "berauschter als sie alle" (EL 17), is ushered out of "die Peststadt, die er haßte" (EL 18), and into an idyllic, sylvan setting on Baltic shores. It is here where he hopes to find what he vaguely refers to as "den Engel, der fort war," or "ein Stückchen Sinn" (EL 19). The remainder of the novel turns its back on the tumultuous years of the Weimar Republic to focus on the forty-five-year-old von Orla's attempt to carve out a new life for himself as a fisherman and handyman on a remote island in the Baltic.

The degree to which von Orla succeeds or fails in realizing his goal and the irresponsible nature of his quest are best illuminated when one considers the people whom Thomas encounters when moving to the island and his relationships with individuals once he has settled. With the exception of his concern for the welfare of his son, the former Navy captain is emphatic about making a clean break with the people and things that so prominently figured in his past. It is not surprising to the critical reader that Thomas, "ein Mann, der auf zwei Pferden steht" (EL 344), an individual straddling the world of reality and the world of illusion, finds that all is not well in paradise. The owner of the vast estate, General Platen, laments that the young are leaving the area to seek excitement and employment in the city and underscores the necessity of bearing arms in the event of a Polish offensive. But even more discouraging are the disparaging remarks about the severe winters by Christoph, the man whom von Orla is replacing. Expecting to find a vital, robust naturalist with a zest for life, von Orla comes face to face with a frail, disenchanted shell of a man who is burdened with a chemical dependency problem, the severity of which surpasses those he witnessed in the city.

On the surface Thomas von Orla seems concerned but undaunted by his harsh discoveries and declares his intention to overcome the hardships posed by the intemperate climate. This he does in part by pursuing an elusive fish, which, as local lore has it, sports a crown of gold. Not unlike *die blaue Blume* so relentlessly pursued by Heinrich von Ofterdingen, "der Fisch mit der goldenen Krone" (EL 221) becomes the leitmotif of the novel, underscoring von Orla's futile and irresponsible quest and longing for an elusive something, which in his case can never be attained. Try as he may to mollify his petulance and ease his anxiety by hours of hard, physical labor, he is never successful in realizing his goal or catching the elusive pike. To be sure, the most beautiful passages in the novel, those where Wiechert emerges as a consummate prose artist, focus on von Orla's hopeless attempts to discover happiness and meaning in life. The scenes depicting him drifting on the quiet, moonlit backwaters studying contours cut in the algae by the keel of his canoe, tracing the configurations made by wildfowl in flight across a cloud-laced sky or musing on the hieroglyphics in the designs on the frost-covered windows of his thatched-roof cottage rival those of Stifter and Storm in their sensitivity and beauty.

No less impressive are the innumerable passages depicting nocturnal globe spinning and star gazing, activities that occupy a disproportionate amount of von Orla's time. With sensitive, seductive, finely-nuanced prose, Wiechert appeals to all of the reader's senses in a subtle and intoxicating manner. From outside one hears the harsh winter winds, the shrill cry of a distressed gull in flight, and the distant howl of a lone timberwolf; from within, the crackling of coals in the hearth and the creaking of rafters attempting to gird themselves against the onslaught of winter. The smoke trailing from von Orla's pipe and the shadows cast by his whale oil lamp encircle the rotating globe while von Orla contemplates elements of geographical and metaphysical import and their relationship to his emotional well-being.

The ubiquitous albeit not omniscient narrator of the novel provides occasional glimpses of life in the city, focusing on the decadence of von Orla's estranged wife and the intellectual development of his son; but once Thomas has settled on the island, the novel evolves around the visits by von Orla's son, Joachim, and the relationships between the protagonist and his two best friends, Friedrich Bildermann and Count Pernein. Pernein, much like von Orla himself, has turned his back on the real world to lead a life immersed in aesthetics and introspection. A firm believer, "daß alle fünfzig Jahre einer das Recht zu spielen oder auch zu beschauen, ein wirklich beschauliches Leben zu führen hat" (EL 126-27), he leads a life not unlike von Hofmannsthal's Claudio.[5] The initial visit made by the count to von Orla's remote island realm, which is separated from the mainland by a stretch of calm water and "eine Nebelwand, die sich zuschlag, wie die Tore eines Totenreiches" (EL 137), is characterized by a discussion that illuminates the protagonist's desire to lead a reclusive, self-centered and irresponsible life in which he is accountable to no one but himself and a higher power. Upon entering von Orla's cottage Count Pernein spies the globe, "eines der wenigen Spielzeuge für Leute mit grauen Schläfen" (EL 122), and as is so often the case, poses a question of civic responsibility to his host while spinning it:

> Man läßt die Welt sich drehen und sitzt wie der Schöpfer davor ... aber würden Sie auch am siebten Tage gesagt haben, daß es gut sei, Orla? Da und da und da? Dort bringen sie sich um auf die fortschrittlichste Weise, sich und Frauen und Kinder und Tiere, und Bäume und Blumen auch, und dabei haben sie die herrlichsten Worte dafür und Papier, auf das sie es drucken. Und die anderen sehen zu und warten ab, was daraus wird. (EL 123-24)

Not surprising is von Orla's response, "Es war niemals anders" (EL 124), one which acknowledges no civic duty while at the same time intimating that it is futile to fight against the natural order of the universe.

Zusehen and *abwarten* are apt words to describe von Orla's escapist posture toward the outside world. It is three years after his arrival when he undertakes his only solo journey to a neighboring village, hoping to notice improvement in human behavior. His discovery, however, is one of disappointment: "Die Raben flogen noch immer um das Land, es gab wenig Hoffnung in den Gesichtern, die er sah und das Leben trieb wie ein Schiff ohne Steuer und Masten dahin" (EL 232). Although disillusioned, von Orla makes no attempt to develop a plan to benefit mankind. He hastily retreats to his isolated island retreat to immerse himself in physical labor and patiently waits for someone else to improve the world. Even the appearance of von Orla's upbeat wartime comrade, Friedrich Bildermann, who moves into the cottage during the protagonist's first year of residence and is residing with him four years hence, when the novel ends, brings about no change in von Orla's propensity to shun society and follow what he refers to as his "inneres Gesetz" (EL 313). Bildermann, described as "die Brücke zur Welt, eine heitere geschwungene Brücke, mit der Weisheit eines einfachen Mannes" (EL 163), comes to admit that he faces an impossible challenge: "Von Orla ist immer allein, auch auf einem Schiff mit tausend Mann. Auch zu Hause. Überall. Wie ein Brett auf dem Ozean" (EL 133).

Von Orla's lack of purpose and total disregard for civic responsibility are underscored in the three visits his son makes to the island. The retired captain feels he cannot alter anyone's behavior, yet he has guilt feelings about exchanging his son for a new life of escapism. These he is able to mask on the initial visit when father and son relate well to each other. By the time of Joachim's second sojourn to the island, however, his father has published a curious book, *Die Ethik des Seemannlebens*, in which von Orla makes numerous attempts to justify his new life as an ascetic. Reviewed as "die sonderlichen Gedanken eines Sonderlings" (EL 197), it advances a nebulous doctrine of cautious humanism, while at the same time it embraces a reverence for Old Testament sternness. The publication is a major embarrassment for his son, who feels it will have a deleterious effect on his career as a naval officer. By refusing to yield to his son's request to retract passages that make the former military officer appear weak and petulant, von Orla defends his right to pursue his personal interests. Mirroring the vague, enigmatic contents of the book, he chides the younger generation for having learned little from the war and calls for a new race of more responsible beings. "Ihr habt nichts vom Kriege gelernt. Ihr seht noch nicht, daß er mehr war als eine Folge von Schlachten. Ein neues Geschlecht ist nötig, nicht nur ein junges sondern ein neues" (EL 219). Having broached the issue with his son, von Orla feels his charge has been executed and his responsibility to society satisfied.

Indecision and uncertainty are the hallmarks of von Orla's behavior on the final visit by his son to the island, the occasion of a graduation party arranged by the elderly General Platen for von Orla's son and several cadets. Thomas, who has acquired the pseudonym of "der Meditierende" (EL 301), and whom the general refers to as "eine seltsame Mischung von Einfachheit und Kompliziertheit" (EL 302), initially shows no interest in the celebration and agrees to attend only if he can invite the eccentric cadet Finckenstein, "der merkwürdige Bücher lese, Geige spiele und immer Abseits stehe" (EL 360). His toast, which he reluctantly presents after being encouraged by those who preceded him, is not a salute to the graduating officers but a defense of his escapist life style, and as such a disclaimer of personal civic responsibility.

> Er habe nur arbeiten wollen, denn Arbeit sei die zuverlässigste Seeligkeit dieser Erde. Er habe die goldene Krone vom Grunde aufheben wollen. Das sei ihm nicht gelungen aber in manchen Nächten sehe er doch ihren Schimmer über das Wasser blitzen. Wer sie gewinnen wolle, müsse fröhlichen Herzens sein, und still wie die Steine auf dem Grund. (EL 38)

That his is the only toast presented in indirect discourse and endorses no course in life for the aspiring young officers comes as no surprise to the reader. Indeed, as the narrator informs us, von Orla himself has severe misgivings about both the delivery and the content of his address. "Er hatte eigentlich nicht die jungen Leute angeredet, sondern über sie hinweggesehen. Er war nicht zufrieden mit dem, was er gesagt hatte. Er sah mit ernsten Augen vor sich hin" (EL 387).

The ideas conveyed in the novel's conclusion are vintage Wiechert. The reader is reminded of von Orla's earlier vindication of his escapism. "Die Menschen sind immer böse, wenn man nicht mitspielt. Ich habe es mir verdient hier zu sitzen und mein Leben in Ordnung zu bringen" (EL 389), laments a brooding Captain von Orla as he returns to his island retreat. The charge to work for an improved society is assigned by the narrator to a higher power. "Alles hatte seinen Plan und seine Ordnung, alles war richtig, wie es war und werden müßte. Die Schöpfung ging ihren Gang" (EL 389). Viewed from a socio-political frame of reference, Wiechert's portrayal of von Orla's escapist life style would seem irresponsible to many. To be sure, it is just the type of novel against which Hans Werner Richter and Die Gruppe 47 inveighed.[6] Considered from an aesthetic standpoint, however, *Das einfache Leben* is a masterfully written novel of finely-nuanced prose so hypnotically captivating as to make the sensitive reader indifferent to matters social and political. As such it reveals Wiechert as a novelist of the highest order whose first responsibility was to his craft.

Notes

1. Wiechert, "Zu meinem Leben und meinen Büchern." *Die Literatur* 29 (1926-27), p. 512.

2. Spender, p. 51.

3. Wiechert, *Das einfache Leben* (11). Subsequent quotations are from this edition.

4. Images of water and aquatic birds in flight go back to an experience in Wiechert's childhood when he paused to peer out over a lake upon returning from his father's funeral. "Wir müssen eine meilenlange Wagenfahrt gemacht haben, zu einer Stadt an einem großen See, und ich sehe über graublauem Wasser einen Vogel fliegen, eine Möwe wahrscheinlich, und das Bild schmaler Schwingen und des lautlos fallenden und steigenden Fluges, von einem zarten Spiegelbild wiederholt, erfüllt mich mit solcher Seligkeit, daß es haftengeblieben ist bis heute" (Wiechert, *Wälder und Menschen*, p. 6).

5. "Was weiß ich denn vom Menschenleben?" laments the decadent Claudio from his secluded residence (Hofmannsthal p. 9). The chief difference between Claudio and von Orla is that Claudio is attempting to break from seclusion into life, while von Orla has turned his back on life to lead a contemplative existence.

6. Like most critics of Wiechert, Herd (p. 268) makes the focal point of his article *Das einfache Leben*. Pointing out what he believes is a paradox between Wiechert's life and his work, Herd states: "As a man he opposed and defied the Nazis, but, as a writer his work tends to foster a spirit of uncritical submission to any tyranny." Sommer refers to Wiechert's protagonists as "egozentrische Einzelgänger, die sich von den Aufgaben der menschlichen Gesellschaft abwenden." See also Ralf Schnell (23), who views Wiechert as the least responsible writer of the inner emigration.

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There is no arbitrary limit to the length of a manuscript, although submissions which do not exceed 20 typewritten pages are preferred.

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Submissions are sent to the editor in two typewritten, double-spaced, copies, without identification of the author(s) on the manuscript itself.

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Bertha von Suttner on the Dreyfus Affair: A Pacifist Commentary

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Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914), Nobel Peace Prize recipient in 1905, was an important spokeswoman for the peace movement in Europe before the outbreak of World War I. She wrote articles and commentaries on current events for various liberal newspapers and for her own pacifist journal *Die Waffen nieder!* as well as in the periodical of the German Peace Society, *Die Friedens-Warte*. As a member of the Austrian aristocracy, she came into her own as pacifist leader and commentator in part through the success of her best-selling novel *Die Waffen nieder!*, referred to in contemporary reviews as "the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the peace movement.[1] Her voice expressed the dismay and indignation felt by many throughout Europe and the United States when news of the Dreyfus Affair hit the international press. She had followed the affair from its outset and at times wrote extensive essays about it. When we read her accounts, we sense the deep division caused by the demands for retrial and of the importance and urgency of what was at stake in the recriminations and counterattacks.

The arrest for treason was noted by Suttner in the last number of 1894 of *Die Waffen nieder! Monatsschrift zur Förderung der Friedens-Idee* with a follow-up comment in the next number of January 1895. Beginning in November 1897 the affair was a regular feature of Suttner's current events column for a year-and-a-half, with the last commentary appearing in the August 1899 number. This continuous commentary was a response to the articles about the affair that appeared in the Viennese press, whose slant and anti-Semitism she found offensive (Hamann, 222).

The fact that Suttner continued to comment on the emerging details of the Dreyfus affair is an indicator of how important this event was in the eyes of liberals of various stripes. Even before the battle lines were drawn, Suttner made clear that she was on the side of Truth, Tolerance and Justice. No doubt, the affair caused arguments in the Suttner family. On an earlier occasion Suttner's mother-in-law had burned novels by Zola she had found in the family mansion, and there is evidence that the senior Suttners took the anti-Dreyfusard side (Kleberger, 114). Suttner's repeated assertions that right would prevail testify to her belief that humankind was on the way to a better future, that human problems and conflicts could best be solved by looking to reason and that power, self and national interests must be set aside.

Alfred Dreyfus was arrested October 15, 1894 on the charge of treason. A letter written by a French officer containing a list of documents to be made available to the Germans, known in the press accounts as the *bordereau*, had been found and for a variety of reasons was thought to be attributable to the artillery captain from a wealthy Alsatian Jewish family. A closed court-martial convicted Dreyfus on December 22. Documents continued to be transferred to the Germans and in March 1896 a letter addressed to Major Walsin-Esterhazy that requested further information was taken from the office of the German military attaché, Colonel von Schwartzkoppen. The new director of the French espionage division, Major Georges Picquart, pursuing this lead, was struck by the similarity of the handwriting of the *bordereau* and samples of Esterhazy's handwriting. Picquart shared his doubts as to Dreyfus' guilt with his superiors, and by the end of the year was transferred to North Africa. His suspicions had raised alarms in the espionage division, where forgeries were created by a Colonel Joseph Henry to strengthen the documentation against Dreyfus.

The Dreyfus family meanwhile, steadfastly convinced of the innocence of the captain, sought revision of the trial. December 7, 1897 a formal request for a new trial was made in the senate by the Alsatian parliamentarian Scheurer-Kestner. A court-martial of Esterhazy January 10-11, 1898 found him innocent. Two days later Emile Zola published his denunciation in *L'Aurore*, drawing the battle lines. In the ensuing months one event after another absorbed national interest and filled international headlines. Picquart was dismissed from the army, Zola's trial for libel ended in a guilty verdict and exile provided the only guarantee of safety, the government's majority was lost and a new cabinet was formed. With a new minister of war, Godefroy Cavaignac, came the possibility for a reconsideration of the evidence. Cavaignac admitted the possibility of forgeries in the dossier against Dreyfus; Colonel Henry of the espionage division was arrested, whereupon he committed suicide. Esterhazy fled to England and made a confession. The highest court in France, the Court of Cassation, then agreed to a reopening of the case against Dreyfus.

At this point, many who had not joined the Dreyfusards previously now supported revision of the case. The affair was no longer a matter of individual injustice; rather the survival of the Republic hinged on the outcome. The second court-martial of Alfred Dreyfus was opened in Rennes on August 7 and on September 11 Dreyfus was again found guilty, but now with opposing votes and with extenuating circumstances. He was pardoned September 19, 1899, a vote against re-opening of the case passed October 18, with an amnesty for all parties involved granted December 18. Dreyfus was not fully cleared until July 12, 1906 having requested reconsideration in 1903 (Derfler, xi-xiv).

Long before the Dreyfus Affair focused Suttner's attention on France, she had been fascinated by the literary experiments of Zola and Ibsen and she followed the literary debates of the German Naturalist writers. She herself entered them in essays and in novels, seconding the notion that literature ought to concern itself with life in all its aspects; that social problems must be examined and diagnosed before they could be solved, and that literature had a role to play in the quest for a just society. Her best-selling anti-war novel *Die Waffen nieder!* (1889) prompted her to become active in the peace movement. Other social problems concerned her as well, and she had contact with social reformers and political leaders. Her husband had founded a league to combat the growing public anti-Semitism in Austrian, particularly Viennese politics, and Suttner herself supported the work of this organization and maintained contacts through it. She had requested an expression of support for the peace movement from Zola, among others, for publication in her journal, and he complied. Her enthusiasm then for Zola's courageous stand in the Dreyfus affair is based in the sense of unity among those struggling for peace, for social justice, and for the rights of the individual.

Suttner's articles go beyond merely summarizing for her readers what was being written in the French press,[2] for she makes the connection to pacifism and its demands. Her slant is clear, for she is aware of her audience, which shares her point of view. Her immediate interest in the reports of treachery is interesting for the conclusions she reaches. Suttner began to doubt the verdict and take the Dreyfusist side much earlier than many who followed the case closely.[3] She used the standard format of her commentary here as with other events: a brief summary of the event, followed by an interpretation of its significance to pacifist goals, and a possible outcome scenario based on an application of pacifist principles. In the case of the Dreyfus Affair, the last element consisted of an assertion that truth would prevail.

Her first commentary in December 1894 reports the arrest of Dreyfus and comes to the conclusion that the treachery lies not in an individual selling secrets to the enemy, but in the very necessity for espionage. Suttner concluded that under such conditions peace is an illusion--the truth is that two countries are at enmity. In her next report on the conviction of Dreyfus in the following month she attacked the nationalist fervor and its militarism that had broken out in response to the verdict, claiming that no longer does "the army exist to serve the needs of the state, but rather to benefit and flourish, fed by the nourishment of nationalism."[4]

During the Esterhazy phase of the affair, as authentic and forged letters implicating Esterhazy were being leaked in the press, Suttner registered consternation at his treachery and baseness. She quoted from his letters, in which he dreamed of "a red sun of battle in a Paris taken by assault and handed over to pillage by a hundred thousand drunken soldiers."[5] She then asked why the public is outraged at such brutality only when turned on the homeland, reminding her readers that all dreams and plans for war's inhumanity are to be deplored.

In her column at the end of January 1898 devoted exclusively to the affair in response to Zola's accusations in the press, Suttner wrote that there is evidence of a "European soul" for everyone seemed to be taking [illegible] interest in the case (445), with the lines drawn throughout Europe as they were in France between the "solidarity of civilized humanity" on the one hand and the supporters of authority in anti-Semitic, clerical and militaristic circles on the other (446). She continues:

> The Dreyfus case as it is now developing will yet become a Dreyfus Revolution. It has already gone through the phases of drama and nightmare. The man who freed the conscience of our time from the nightmare by taking the courageous risk of calling out the entire truth into the world was a poet, a seer, --it was Emile Zola, who had stepped in as advocate of a man perhaps unjustly condemned when he adressed France and its youth with his letter even before the Esterhazy trial. Now with the acquittal of Esterhazy, he has grown to titanic heights in writing his letter to the president of the republic raising his continuous accusations. A stormy wind has been let loose, perhaps to purify the air .... (446-447)

The first letter referred to is the *Lettre à la France* of 6 January 1898 in which Zola appealed to the conscience of the nation and identified anti-Republican forces, and particularly the Church and the terrorism of anti-Semitism as dangers to French society (Kedward, 81-2). The second is the *J'accuse* article of 12 January 1898 that led to Zola's trial for charges of libel. Suttner's optimism that sweeping change would revolutionize France was typical of her conviction that progress toward a more just future was inevitable, but also indicative of the foresight (that came of insight) in her analysis of other political developments.[6]

In the same column Suttner quoted the Swedish writer Björnstjerne Björnson, in which he described the storm of reactions swirling around Zola during this time:

> Words of gratitude and of enthused admiration flew toward this brave man from the ethical societies, the peace organizations, the intellectual clubs; threats, words of condemnation, of anger rained down on him from the Anti-Semites, the autocracy worshipers, the chauvinists and the clericals. 'Zola to the gallows! Death to the Jews!' Such cries were heard amidst the cries 'Long live the army! Long live France!' And from the Jesuit monastery in the Rue des Postes the printed formulas of these slogans were sent out to the schools of half-grown boys, who then carried them out onto the streets. More clearly than ever the chasm between the followers of the newly dawning age of a culture based on enlightenment and justice and those who cling to the old principles of force and deception has appeared. The two camps are defining themselves ever more precisely and thereby the decisive battle is approaching ever more swiftly. The party which stands for justice has on its side the more persuasive power in the goal of human well-being; the other party however has raw power behind it - in the form of cannons. (447)

This description testifies to the deep divisions caused by the affair particularly as they increased after Zola's denunciation; Björnson echoed the partisanship in contemporary reports to be continued in subsequent historical interpretations (Kedward, 10). Here the tendency was to identify the forces of reaction as the church and the military and to draw attention to the influence of both in the education of coming generations. Björnson's description condemned those who opposed justice and acknowledged the possibility of a violent outcome.

Suttner then described the Esterhazy acquittal as a slap in the face of justice, with the law of might trampling underfoot the law of right and continued, writing, "The case is closed (affaire liquidée) were the headlines in the newspapers. And then one man arose and let loose the scream of his soul 'J'accuse'--. One against an army. This heroic deed will yet be praised in the distant future" (448).

Closing out the commentary for this number Suttner addressed the possibility that "the bearers of the ideals of humanity and peace must truly despair, if there were not the possibility, the hope that the self-recriminations of violent individuals would bring down the entire system of violence. Those who have been fighting for the ideals of culture now join together from all sides to establish solidarity" (448). She was convinced that they would prevail.

In the months following Zola's trial the cause of justice seemed to be a losing battle but Suttner encouraged her readers not to give up: "When the battle cry goes out it is easy to rally round the colors in the belief that thousands will join, but to stay with the cause when the numbers shrink and when the fanfare has died away--that is loyalty. 'Truth is on the march.' This slogan on the Zola-Medal will prove its validity" (457). And later she reminded her readers of the connection between justice and peace, rallying them to be "the most enthusiastic supporters of the cause of peace ... those who have the courage to struggle against the stream in this cause" (488). In August 1898 she asserted that "international solidarity must overcome political and social boundaries" and was convinced that "the revision of the Dreyfus case must proceed before any true pacification of Europe is possible" (492). In December 1898 Suttner worried about the renewed vigor of the forces for reaction, but was heartened on the other hand to report that at last intellectuals and the working classes were joined in a common effort toward the same goal.

The commentaries from the year 1899 deal less with the details of the case as it was being prepared for the Court of Cassation, than with identifying the root cause of the original injustice. While recognizing that the affair had grown beyond the individual Dreyfus, Suttner returned to themes with which she had begun: "The guilty one in the entire case, which today no longer is just a court proceeding but has grown into civil war, is neither Dreyfus or Esterhazy; the guilty one is militarism" (521-522). Her last commentary on the Dreyfus affair in August 1899 echoed her analysis of the start of the case: "The most satisfying result of the Rennes proceeding would be for it to end with a guilty verdict and a death penalty -- not for Dreyfus, not for Esterhazy, not for Mercier, but rather for the entire network of espionage" (557). For Suttner the hot wars opposed by pacifists could not be prevented without dismantling the supporting structure of espionage, for it was a continuation of war by other means.

Notes

1. For the background to this claim and a comparative study of the two novels see Braker.

2. For a brief characterization of the newspapers associated with the affair see Kedward, pp. 11-12.

3. Kedward identifies Zola's *J'accuse* article as the catalyst for many intellectuals, who had previously remained detached, to become involved (8), while François Goguel identifies a sea change in French domestic politics with the entry of socialists and radicals into the revisionist camp in August 1898 (60). The British historian Guy Chapman makes the distinction between those who supported revision before 1898 and after with the labels "Dreyfusist" and "Dreyfusard."

4. The Suttner commentaries are quoted (here p. 185) from the first volume of Bertha von Suttner, *Der Kampf um die Vermeidung des Weltkriegs*. Translations, unless otherwise noted, are by the author.

5. The translation is from Chapman, p. 112.

6. Kedward (9) refers to the period following pardon of Dreyfus, in which legislation severely restricted the power of the army and the church and regulated education and the press, as the Dreyfusian Revolution.

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Schiller's "Das Lied von der Glocke": Reactionary Idyll or Humanist Manifesto?

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Friedrich Schiller's nearly-epic ballad "Das Lied von der Glocke" was once the most widely quoted of Schiller's poems. Yet in the latter half of this century it has been rejected as a bastion of reactionary social modelling, and poor poetic crafting. That the poem warrants continued attention will be argued here on two points. First, its reception is a socio-literary phenomenon worthy of examination in its own right. Secondly, it engages societal issues and Schiller's commitment to social progress in a way that is, on the whole, ably crafted. The poem redefines a matrix of aesthetics, work, self, community, nature and artifice that reflects tensions in Schiller's milieu, and is yet relevant to questions of literary function.

To summarize "the song," it combines a number of narrative strands in two cords. The first cord portrays the crafting of a large churchbell, based on the great cathedral bell at Schaffhausen. Its inscription serves as the poem's motto: "Vivos voco; Mortuos plango; Fulgura frango" (I call to the living; I mourn the dead; I break thunderbolts).[1] The narrative of the bell consists of ten mostly-uniform trochaic tetrameters that present the speeches of the foundry-master. They describe the stages of production that Schiller observed on his visits to a foundry near Rudolstadt in 1788, supported by his readings in a contemporary encyclopedia of trade.[2] The mold is buried in the ground, surrounded by clay, the ovens heated, copper and tin mixed, potash added, the temperature precisely controlled, the mold filled and allowed to cool, then broken to release the bell, and finally lifted to the bell tower. The technical accuracy of Schiller's description is famous, and documents his respect for art as craft as well as the "loftier" variety.[3]

The second narrative cord portrays human life parallel to the creation of the bell. This cord is written in iambic tetrameters with variably loose or free-verse. Thematically, the second cord intertwines several strands. It documents birth, death, marriage, family, and community. It also shows fire and revolution, natural and human-caused disruptions that threaten that all. The caution, planning, care, complexity, fears, joys and triumphs in producing the bell reflect and are reflected by the cord of human life.

The narrative cords sometimes converge in order to highlight critical consonancies. Thus an outbreak of fire in the family home coincides with the molten ore reaching its peak temperature. A stanza located strategically in mid-poem merges the discourse of craft and community: "Tausend fleißge Hände regen, // helfen sich in munterm Bund ... Arbeit ist des Bürgers Zierde ..." (318). The crafting of society and of the bell meld as products both of work and art. The cords coincide again when the master breaks the mold, just as the community is ruptured by revolution. After the revolution, bell-ringing reunifies the community when the newly-minted bell is dedicated. The theme of harmony, reflected as "Glück," "Trost," "Heilge Ordnung," "Holder Friede, Süße Eintracht ... freundlich über dieser Stadt," and "Friede sei ihr erst Geläute," binds the pealing of the bell to the c(h)ord of humanity.

The narrative of human life is controversial. John Simons characterizes its "homespun verities" as "trite."[4] Hans Magnus Enzensberger regards it as a clumsily contrived commentary employing implausible over-simplifications.[5] But, as Leonard Forster shows, these images were the currency of social thought of the time. In the sociological context of the 18th century, "Schiller was using a completely modern idiom.[6]

The discourse of creation versus disruption is closely linked not only to art, but also to self-definition, family and society. As such it promotes "the naive self" as envisioned in Schiller's essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (ÜnsD). Selfhood in this sense is not foolish or simple, but rather a totally integrated being in which body, mind and spirit are one, and instinctively interacts in harmony with its surroundings. Schiller's call for social progress through art described in *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (ÜäEM) situates the self in a socially evolving environment guided by aesthetics. The homilitic images of "the song" do not create elitism, nor bourgeoise smugness. Rather, Schiller's text attempts to uncover and articulate through art a new definition for the individual and society which is natural and constructive. But first let us review the "bell's" reception.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this poem was adopted as a kind of German cultural anthem. Generations of school-children memorized all four hundred and twenty five lines. Johann Georg Fischer relates "wie [Schillers] 'Glocke' gleich einer höheren Geheimnis-verkündigung die Nation ergriff...."[7] In the time of German unification, schools used it as a pedagogical tool of emerging national pride. "The bell" became canonized as an unassailable emblem of bourgeoise cultural self-perception. It was recited so much that the same schoolchildren also produced numerous parodies, such as the drastically abbreviated two-line version of the poem: "Loch in Erde, Bronze rin, // Glocke fertig, Bim bim bim." Wolfgang Mieder cites a selection of these schoolyard protests against pedants and cultural philistinism. For example, regarding marriage, the parodists changed "Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet" to "ob sich eine Wohnung findet."[8] The poem was so widely memorized that at one public reading the only person in the hall who did not know the poem perfectly was the reader.[9]

Forster has shown that much adulation of Schiller as "the poet of freedom" stemmed from a biased view of his writings, falsely identifying them with chauvinistic loyalty to an authoritarian state.[10] He stresses that "the bell" presents social rather than political commentary. "Heil'ge Ordnung" does not endorse the political order of Schiller's day, nor of later times, but offers a humanistically sanctified variant of "social contract" personified by characters in the poem.[11]

At other times, the bell's song was less revered. Shortly after the poem was written in 1799, Caroline Schlegel reported that she and a coterie of romanticists "nearly fell off our chairs" with derisive laughter upon hearing the poem recited.[12] Schiller seemed to be idealizing that which they regarded as too "banal" for such treatment. In the years since World War II, "the bell" has been largely dismissed as a tool of reaction, and as trite beyond redemption.[13] The romanticists' derision has faded into an even more condemnatory quasi-silence.[14] Major commentators on Schiller and German classicism, such as Helmut Koopman,[15] Gert Ueding,[16] Gerhard Kaiser, Victor Lange,[17] and Lesley Sharpe[18] refer to the song only cursorily.

In 1966 Enzensberger, the editor of the comprehensive five-volume Insel Verlag "Schiller's Works," generated much discussion when he omitted "the bell" from the edition.[19] In 1978, Herbert Kraft repudiated this omission. He wanted to include the poem specifically in order to discredit its worth.[20] I argue that the poem has considerable intrinsic value. But had it no poetic worth at all, its unique historic reception, despite misreadings and trivialization, renders it an inextricable part of Schiller's creative impact, an artifact not to be ignored.

Ludwig Tieck addressed Schiller's particular mix of virtues and faults with this observation: "Es gibt ... eine echte Kritik, die auch im Bewundern wohl tadeln darf und auf Schwächen oder Launen des Dichters aufmerksam machen...."[21] Enzensberger left out of his collection not only "the bell" but a number of ballads that had become objects of uncritical adulation, such as "Die Kraniche des Ibykus," "Die Bürgschaft," "Der Kampf mit dem Drachen," "Die Würde der Frauen," and "Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais." He justified these omissions by asserting that their inclusion would validate uncritical sentimentality: "Schiller ist keine Zitatengrube. Nicht ernst nimmt dieses Werk, wer vor seiner Nachwelt kuscht. Ernst nimmt es, wer's gegen seine Anhänger verteidigt."[22] It can well be argued that all these omitted works contain trite and stereotyped elements worthy of criticism.

One might also imagine that, in addition to deleting these poems that he deemed less worthy, Enzensberger might have omitted the dramas *Die Räuber, Don Carlos, Die Jungfrau von Orleans* and *Wilhelm Tell* because the characters Karl Moor, Amalia, Carlos, the Maid and Tell exhibit qualities now considered trite and stereotyped. Or perhaps he should have banished "Die Teilung der Erde" due to its "ivory tower" model of the poet, or spurned "Die Götter Griechenlands" since it fell prey to 18th-century idealization of the Greeks, ignoring their use of slavery, oppression of women, and class rigidity. But Enzensberger did not omit these, and should not have done so. The appropriate way to "defend" Schiller is not to withhold his texts from readers but, as Tieck suggests, to elucidate perceived weaknesses in the context of Schiller's more encompassing virtues. Had Enzensberger done this, he could have used the opportunity to attack the platitudinizing and distorting effects of its reception. Such a critique would have been more convincing on the site of the work as a whole, rather than arguing with other critics, as it were on the sidelines, in the press. The critic's task should be to enlighten the public, not to presume it ineducable.

Arnd Bohm argues convincingly that the metaphor of the bell's creation mediates between two types of beauty drawn from ÜäEM. The beauty of the sublime or untamed power, and "melting beauty" which is "controlled and managed" and therefore "civil" or anti-tyrannical in nature.[23] These blend in the poem to produce aesthetic harmony. However, the poem's prominent themes of self-and-society, creation and disruption, and art as social function require more expansion in the direction that Bohm has begun.

The casting of the bell represents self-engendering guided by art. This exemplifies Schiller's call in ÜäEM for a self-actualizing society as a blending of imagination ("des Möglichen") and of necessity ("des Notwendigen").[24] In human beings, "Stofftrieb," the drive of nature, is countered by "Formtrieb," reason, ethics and other organizing principles. The playful aesthetic "Spieltrieb" mediates the first two drives, transforming human behavior to beauty.[25] The poem depicts selfhood as a continuum of birth, growth, marriage, work, and death. But individual selfhood expands outward to family and community ("der Hände lange Kette" 193, "süße Eintracht ... über dieser Stadt" 323). "Trieb zum Vaterland" 309) is a term drawn significantly from family rather than statehood. Thus, each entity participates in a creative way in the formation of the others. The poem defines humanity as based on bonds, benefits and restraints of nature as well as on artistically guided mutual interactions. The humanistic ideal of basing human society on rational awareness of and harmony with nature is a fundamental statement of Schiller's text.

The "possiblities" or imaginative side of life appear in "the song" as fate and providence, and determinations of interaction residing in *nature*, rather than a specifically named deity or traditional social constructs. For example, the newborn child receives a life-plan devised by a secularized providence: "Ihm ruhen noch im *Zeiten*schoße // Die schwarzen und die heitern *Lose*" (53) [emphasis mine]. Similarly, the newly married couple creates bonds, working constructively with the necessities of life: "Die Leidenschaft flieht! // Die Liebe muß bleiben...Der Mann muß hinaus // Ins feindliche Leben // Muß wirken und streben // Und pflanzen und schaffen...Die züchtige Hausfrau // Die Mutter der Kinder, Und herrschet weise // Im häuslichen Kreise" (102). These are among the most reviled lines of the poem because of their current social outdatedness. But for Schiller's times they represented a new idea. The concept of romantic love was considered progressive due to its advocacy of human relations based on one's personal nature.[26] In formal terms the poem reinforces the creation of natural, rational and creative social relations. The metric form oscillates gently between a reflective narrative and free rhythms suited to dramatic moments. The narrative is written appropriately in a trochaic tetrameter cross-rhyme (abab) or "embracing" rhyme (abba). But the verse freely adapts its form to content. Describing the mixing of molten ore, "Kocht des Kupfers Brei, // Schnell das Zinn herbei" (25) mimics the sounds of work, foreshortening the tetrameter to a pounding trimeter. The outbreak of fire is presented in forms that reflect chaos, panic and the force of necessity: "Das ist Sturm! // Rot wie Blut // Ist der Himmel...Welch Getümmel // Straßen auf // Dampf wallt auf..." (175). The narrative consistently uses terms that unite nature and the senses with reason, restraint, skill and control, just as Schiller seeks "ein harmonierendes Ganze" to blend the natural and the civilized in ÜnsD.

The romantics scorned "the bell" because it seemed to glorify the banal. Kraft would prefer that the "normal" rise to glory.[27] But, as Schiller shows in ÜäEM, it is precisely the distinction between the high and the low that denies the normal its due:

> Sobald auf der einen Seite die erweiterte Erfahrung und das bestimmtere Denken eine schärfere Scheidung der Wissenschaften, auf der anderen das verwickeltere Uhrwerk der Staaten eine strengere Absonderung der Stände und Geschäfte notwending machte, so zerriß auch der innere Bund der menschlichen Natur, und ein verderblicher Streit entzweite ihre harmonischen Kräfte.[28]

In this poem the ordinary is honored, not glorified pompously. Lofty language is reserved for lofty occasions. Thus, cows are described as cows: "Breitgestirnte, glatte Scharen // Kommen brüllend // Die gewohnten Ställe füllend" (279). The famous couplet in which the master breaks the mold, paralleling the outbreak of revolution becomes lofty in tone only in the second half, when the commentary takes over from the craftsman: "Der Meister kann die Form zerbrechen // Mit weiser Hand, zur rechten Zeit, // Doch wehe, wenn in Flammenbächen // Das glühnde Erz sich selbst befreit" (342).

Also in the social sphere, ordinary acts remain plain, while ideals alone rise on a lofty tone. The revolution is portrayed not as the specific French Revolution which was its avowed model, but as disruption in general. It contrasts with the "sacred order" which is holy but nonsectarian, and closely linked with the humanistic goals of freedom, equality and happiness: "Heil'ge Ordnung, segenreiche // Himmelstochter, die das Gleiche // Frei und leicht und freudig bindet, // Die der Städte Bau gegründet,... // und das teuerste der Bande // Wob, den Trieb zum Vaterlande" (300). The choice between creation or disruption is left open, although the author's preference is clear. One can mold, like a bell, a society that honors the unique natural worth of each person, with safeguards protecting all. Or a society of unalloyed selfishness can prevail and allow the community to self-destruct. Thus the motto in the subtitle, "fulgura frango," provides an archtypal metaphor of nature tamed. It mourns destructiveness in nature, but condemns that of humanity, because people can choose restraint. The presence of lofty goals implies that higher harmonies are within human scope. Idealistic language occupies those sites where nature and restraint are in balance. Thus, as the bell is raised to its tower, the benediction intones: "Dem Schicksal leihe sie die Zunge, // Selbst herzlos, ohne Mitgefühl, // Begleite sie mit ihrem Schwunge // Des Lebens wechselvolles Spiel" (410). Consonance of nature and restraint parallels the elusive "Übereinstimmung zwischen ... Empfinden und Denken" sought in ÜnsD.[29] A similar but more societal goal is found in ÜäEM: "Totalität des Charakters muß also bei dem Volke gefunden werden, welches fähig sein soll, den Staat der Not mit dem Staat der Freiheit zu vertauschen."[30]

Art in the "Song of the Bell" performs key defining functions. It defines the skill of the artisan who plans and executes the bell's production. Art as well-wrought language enables and validates creation: "Wenn gute Reden sie begleiten, // Dann fließt die Arbeit munter fort" (11). Speech gives labor self-awareness and integrity: "Und dazu ward ihm der Verstand, // Daß er im innern Herzen spüret, // Was er erschafft mit seiner Hand" (18). At the song's beginning the bell articulates human fate: "Da wird es von uns zeugen laut ... was... // Das wechselnde Verhängnis bringt" (32-40). At the end, destiny is fulfilled as the bell is raised: "Dem Schicksal leihe sie die Zunge..." (409-416). Art as language documents life's manifestations lending it intelligibility and dignity.

Some critics such as Kraft and Enzensberger reject the poem's diction for mingling crudity with loftiness of expression. In the context of a redefinition of social forms such criticism is quite inappropriate. For example, "Die *Glock* " instead of "Glocke," as the craftsman orders the bell raised to the tower, accurately reflects workers' abbreviated and elliptical shoutings during work. It also reflects the use of dialect, which is typical for workers. This tone appears consistently in the narrative of artisanry: "Jetzt Gesellen, frisch! // Prüft mir das Gemisch." Schiller's works typically used "banalities" to recreate the dialect and idiom of soldiers and workers, as in *Die Räuber, Kabale und Liebe, Wallenstein*, and *Wilhelm Tell*. His reverence for Shakespeare was based partly on the view that reproducing the entire range of speech was essential to truthful mimesis of the social sphere. Such language is only inconsistent with the accompanying lofty narrative if one rejects Schiller's premise that all life, even its most ordinary manifestations, are part of the whole that produce the best.

The charge that this poem is an anthem to bourgeoise pomposity is understandable, but wrong. The only mention of "Bürger" is in relation to work, specifically the work of creating a bell as craft, art, and voice of humanity. The creativity celebrated here is not defined by class or caste, but by function and interaction. The foundry master's role signals significant absence of reliance on high social status or heroic stature in the creation of social models, rather than a supposed "glorification of the lowly." Schiller sets goals for human development while acknowledging its existing condition. Thus he prescribes tolerance for differences within society in the context of aesthetic education:

> wo...die eigne schöne Natur das Betragen lenkt, wo der Mensch durch die verwickeltsten Verhältnisse ... geht und weder nötig hat, fremde Freiheit zu kränken, um die seinige zu behaupten, noch seine Würde wegzuwerfen, um Anmut zu zeigen.[31]

The full, free development of humanity, as fostered by the arts is not new in Schiller studies. However the "Song of the Bell" redefines social and aesthetic achievement as process rather than product. Individual life metamorphoses by phases, gradually transforming its interactions to the life of society at large. The foundry master's speeches echo the development of humanity through the bellmaking process. The interaction of nature and culture offers a model of social progress through education rather than destruction. It projects models of self-creation as art and craft that unite the loftiness of idealism with the sweat of hard work.

One need not agree with the "bell's" images of gender roles or demonic revolutionaries, because they are not central to its argument. One may identify aspects of 18th-century life that Schiller accepted uncritically. But that need not detract from the liberating and vitalizing aspects of the poem as a whole. The text promotes self-creation as interaction, the acknowledgement of realities while striving for ideals, and language/artistry as essential to the self-educative process. The text of "Das Lied von der Glocke" is consistent with the mature Schiller's theories, and supports the progressive idealism of his youth.

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Notes

1. For the translation of this motto, I am indebted to my colleague Hans Mussler, as well as von Wiese, *Schiller*, p. 701 . The text of "Das Lied von der Glocke" cited here is Schiller, *Gedichte* .

2. See Forster, p. 99, and von Wiese, *Schiller* pp. 700-701: Caroline von Wolzogen reports on his visits to the foundry, and a letter from Schiller to Goethe on 7 July 1797 indicates that he has begun work on the poem and is using the Krünitz *Oekonomische Enzyklopädie* to improve his knowledge of the casting process. His work on the poem was interrupted repeatedly, and he did not complete it until 1799. The memorial pamphlet from the Hofglockengießerei, the Royal Bell Foundry, praises Schiller's accurate and perceptive portrayal of their craft.

3. Forster praises this as an "informed...poetic treatment of a technological process," p. 115.

4. Simons, pp. 57-59, concedes that the poem has value, however, this book is an introductory overview of Schiller's works for English speakers, and is not representative of mainstream Germanistics.

5. Enzensberger, *Die Zeit.*

6. Forster, p. 107.

7. Fischer, p. 412.

8. Mieder, pp. 301-303.

9. Mann, pp. 875-876.

10. Forster, pp. 104, 112-113.

11. Forster, pp. 90-115.

12. Burschell, p. 473. Caroline, Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel also harbored personal antipathies toward Schiller based on professional and generational differences that probably contributed to their mockery.

13. Buchwald names the poem in a list of Schiller's better classical poems, but accords it scant comment as creating "idealistic images of the German family" (I. Bd. p. 90, II. Bd. p. 379). Burschell, p. 473, seconds Wilhelm von Humboldt's approbation of the poem for its epic depiction of the "entire scale of human sentiments in such a small space and in a thoroughly lyrical manner,"commenting that, despite its "naive places," a certain "Genialität" cannot be denied the work. This is still faint praise for a piece that was the basis for such copious Schiller enthusiasm for so long.

14. In numerous modern studies of German arts and letters dealing with the decade of the French Revolution and the classical-romantic movements, the song of the bell is either totally absent, or mentioned merely in passing, e.g.: Mandelkow, Behler, Brandt and Koopmann..

15. Koopmann, in *Schiller*, simply omits "Das Lied von der Glocke" in lists of poems from the high classical period such as "Das Ideal und das Leben," "Die Ideale," "Der Spaziergang," "Nänie" and the ballads. In Koopmann's earlier contribution to von Wiese, *Deutsche Dichter des 18. Jahrhunderts*, p. 943, it is included, but given only passing mention.

16. Ueding, pp. 74ff.

17. Lange, p. 120, interprets the poem succinctly as an example of Schiller's "whole man" approach to art and society, but does not discuss the work in detail.

18. Sharpe, p. 203. Cf. also Simons, pp. 57-58. He concedes that the song has value as a metaphor for unity and harmony, and points to the poem's depiction of cooperating societal institutions and the employment of aesthetics to create a better society.

19. Some of the responses to this editorial choice include Reich-Ranicki, H., HSt., and Nöhbauer. In 1972 Forster, the editor of the *Penguin Book of German Verse*, reviewed the fortunes of the "bell" and pronounced the poem of literary worth. That does not seem to have been heard on the other side of the channel.

20. Kraft, pp. 209-214; 319-321.

21. Tieck, p. 605.

22. Enzensberger, in Oellers, p. 472 .

23. Bohm, pp. 20-31.

24. Schiller, "Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen" in *Schillers Werke*, 4. Bd., p. 216.

25. *Schillers Werke*, Bd.4, 13.,14.,15. Brief, pp. 228-236.

26. Forster, pp. 106-107; Kluckhohn, pp. 181 ff; Boeschenstein.

27. Kraft, p. 210.

28. *Schillers Werke*, Bd. 4, pp. 205-212 (6. Brief).

29. *Schillers Werke*, Bd. 4, p. 308.

30. *Schillers Werke*, Bd. 4, p. 202.

31. *Schillers Werke*, Bd. 4, 27. Brief, p. 286. This translation is my own, and the rendering of "schöne Natur" as "pure nature" is an attempt to stress the unsullied aspect of one's inner being, which I believe to be Schiller's emphasis in this passage.

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In Search of Germany: Patriotism in Christian Schubart's *Deutsche Chronik*

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In the decades prior to and following the French Revolution, Germany witnessed a broad spectrum of patriotic philosophies, ranging from the proudly nationalistic ideas spawned by the Enlightenment and the Sturm-und-Drang to the revolutionary Jacobin sentiment of the Mainz Republic to the Xenophobic, racist and anti-Semitic leanings of Turnvater Jahn. Understanding how the general population viewed patriotism and nationalism presents an intriguing problem, especially earlier in the century when the opinions of the average citizen were often denied an open forum. If we examine the writings of a journalist who came from a modest background and lived among workers, soldiers and artisans, we many find an illuminating mosaic of middle- and lower-class patriotism, sometimes vague, often inconsistent and contradictory, but always fervent and inspired by an unwavering love of Germany. Such an investigation reveals a growing awareness that the cry for a *Vaterland*, for a united Germany, in addition to all else that it may have implied, also represented the rudimentary opposition to the feudal-absolutist state.

When Christian Schubart began his twice-weekly newspaper, the *Deutsche Chronik* in 1774, he did it, as the title implies, with the stated purpose of publishing a new type of political and literary journal for Germany.[1] Originating in Augsburg, the paper was quickly forced out of the city to nearby Ulm after only nine issues, due principally to Schubart's often reckless articles and decidedly anti-Jesuit stance.[2] Schubart himself followed his journal several months later after having nearly rekindled the 30 Years War in religiously divided Augsburg.[3] Intended for a broad spectrum of the society, but appealing mostly to the middle and lower classes, the *Deutsche Chronik* offered its readers short articles, anecdotal humor, popular lyric, and criticism of the abuses of absolutist power, all written in a style as uncomplicated as it was subjective. The conversational nature of the paper derived from Schubart's own method of dictating the journal, with beer glass in one hand, and pipe in the other as he paraded before spellbound textile guild members and other artisans who frequented the inns and taverns of Augsburg and Ulm.[4] Never one to revise, rewrite or otherwise edit his articles, Schubart made use of this direct and personal style to lend credibility and quarter-year with a quote from a Klopstock ode: "o schone mein! - Ich liebe dich mein Vaterland!"[5]

The first article in the inaugural issue in 1774 set the tone for the next 295 articles, a message silenced persuasiveness to his newspaper, which achieved almost immediate popularity among artisans, workers, and peasants in the southwest.[6] Throughout his journalistic career, his interest in and support by the common people of Württemberg remained steadfast, as is evidenced by a Rousseau-like tribute he paid to "die niederen Stände" in his autobiography (which was dictated clandestinely through a small hole in his prison cell).[7]

Throughout the short four year life of the *Deutsche Chronik*, Schubart reveals in issue after issue an undying love for a Germany which would wait another 100 years to be born. Underscoring his passionate feeling for his country, he opened each only by his arrest and subsequent ten year imprisonment by the ruler of Württemberg, Duke Karl Eugen. In this initial article, Schubart treats the situation of the yet unified Germany as if it had existed for centuries alongside France, England and Spain. In fact he suggests that Germany enjoyed a richer tradition than the other countries of Europe, in that it boasted both *Kaiser* and *König*, something he repeatedly holds up to the light of his readership as proof of a proud, specifically-German heritage. Schubart unfolds his naive belief that Germany existed *de facto*, but not yet *de jure* in an article appropriately entitled, "Deutschland":

> Dieser Artikel soll immer der erste seyn, den wir mit dem wärmsten Herzen beleuchten werden. Und haben wir jemals die Ursache gehabt, stolz auf unser Vaterland zu seyn; so ist es gewiß der gegenwärtige Zeitpunkt. Der Ausländer blickt itzo mit Neid auf eine Nation hin, die er sonst durch Ränke und Moden zu bezwingen suchte; aber niemals bezwang. ... Wir ... stehen nun, ... als Colossen, auf europäischen Boden und werden an Muth und Genie Originale von unsern Nachbarn. Wir haben einen Kaiser Joseph, und einen König Friedrich, die auf jeder Seite betrachtet, die einzigen der Welt sind.[8]

Thus it is with each passing article and issue; Schubart steadfastly clings to the myth of a German nation, refusing to deny its existence, thereby playing the part of a patriot whose duty it was to bolster national morale.

Yet we should by no means construe this naive vision of a *Vaterland* as ignorance on the part of Schubart. Certainly he was well aware of the geopolitical realities of his time. Certainly he grasped the difference between the fragmented patchwork quilt that comprised Germany on the one hand and established countries of England and France with their long and rich national traditions on the other. And just as certainly he understood the role that the press might play in eventually forging a German national state. We know from his private correspondence that the lack of a *Vaterland* troubled him greatly. But rather than bemoan the status quo, Schubart chose instead to employ his *Deutsche Chronik* as a vehicle to cultivate the embryonic national consciousness in his readers. We can see in one particular letter to his brother-in-law to what depths of his soul this situation affected him:

> Ich bin in Deutschland geboren und bin doch in Deutschland ein Fremdling - ich bin in Schwaben erzogen und bin doch in Schwaben ein Fremdling - ich bin ein Reichsstädtler, und keine einzige Reichsstadt erkennt mich für ihren Bürger. Können Sie dies Rätzel erraten? - Tausendmal denk ich nun, welch ein Glück es sei, in einem gewissen Staate ein Bürger zu sein, - ein Vaterland zu haben ....[9]

But despite his intense dissatisfaction with the absence of a unified nation, he chose to keep these sentiments a private matter, and usually avoided negative articles regarding his beloved country. Only in extremely rare instances did Schubart vent in print his anger concerning the plight of German nationalism. In one such outburst, Schubart lays the blame for the lack of a nation at least partially on the failure of the population to realize that which *he* had long since taken for granted, namely that in order for Germany to achieve national status, its citizens must first perceive it as a single entity: "Deutschland ist das Land, das in Deutschland am unbekanntesten ist."[10] In this statement, Schubart demonstrated not only his frustration, but also his romantic solution to the entire problem; that is, that faith, pure and simple, could lead Germany from its fragmented and disorganized condition to one of unity, to one which would allow the country to prosper and to take its rightful place among the great countries of Europe. Elsewhere in a similar vein, he paraphrases a Biblical passage in order to bring this point into a clearer focus "Wer sein Vaterland nicht liebt, das er sieht, - wie kann er's himmlische Jerusalem lieben, das er nicht sieht?"[11]

Despite these infrequent statements on the plight of his country, Schubart, unlike other patriots at this time, never developed a systematic blueprint on which a German nation could be based.[12] In keeping with his utopian façade that somehow, in some form, Germany already existed, he not once suggested a model for the country. Indirectly, however, his ideas on the subject gradually emerge throughout the life of the *Chronik*, and his vision of a future Germany takes nebulous shape; a vision as inconsistent and contradictory as Schubart himself. On the one hand, he conceived of a German nation united under either Frederick the Great or Joseph II, for both of whom Schubart reserved almost exclusively his highest praise.

Schubart the *realist* perceived that the system of enlightened despotism represented the model for a German state which had the best chance of bearing fruit, and in which the middle and lower classes could best prosper. As long as the rulers followed the tenets of the Enlightenment and remained fair and just (upon which Schubart the *utopian* counted), Schubart favored a German government under aristocratic leadership over the republic, the only alternative in Schubart's eyes. A republic, he argued, represented a desirable, but unfortunately much too idealistic form of government. He was convinced that once the initial middle-class fervor subsided if a German republic were to come into existence, the main beneficiaries of that system would quickly return to the task of earning money and maintaining their businesses. Schubart found nothing wrong with this, except that the entire business community upon whose backs the new state would logically rest would be too occupied to effectively carry on the affairs of state.[13] Thus, he felt that the class of society which to his mind had nothing better to do than govern would best attend to the day-to-day needs of the nation, and as long as they had the best interests of the state in mind, rather than their own.

But despite his leanings in principle toward monarchies, he mistrusted their intentions in reality, and his writings betray his sympathies for the middle-class. In one article, he rhetorically questioned the system in which a dozen people in Europe ruled over 150 million others, and given their apparent arbitrary decisions, on what they based their decisions.[14] His incessant arguments in favor of the promotion of the middle class virtues of honesty and hard work, as well as his interest in the continued growth of business and commerce in Germany reveal his underlying support for the middle class and a form of government based on middle-class values. To that end, he inaugurated a column in 1775 dedicated to the problems and interests of the nascent middle-class entitled *Für den Bürger*. Whether he spoke out in favor of an increasing birth rate in Germany to support German mercantilism or the need for improved roads to enhance trade, Schubart understood the role that the economy could play in creating a German nation-state. He campaigned fervently for the abolition of all tolls and tariffs throughout the land, which he argued impeded the growth of the commerce.[15] Similarly his interest in the education system indicated his implicit grasp of the need for an educated population as a prerequisite for progress, and in one article in which he discusses the potential for Germany to increase its intellectual capacity that "eine glückliche bürgerliche Regierung ist die Mutter der Wissenschaften."[16] Of course, that notwithstanding, Schubart could easily have argued for a strong middle-class within the confines of a monarchy, but even then, his nationalism and patriotism represent progressive characteristics of a middle class ideology in its infancy.[17] Examined in that light Schubart's love of Germany represents an emancipatory force of antifeudal opposition, an opposition that manifested itself in his preoccupation with his own class, despite his approbation for the more enlightened rulers throughout Germany.

On the other hand, Schubart's support for those few republics in existence at the time remained throughout the life of the paper very visible, if occasionally inconsistent. For those who viewed the republic as a utopian dream, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Venice shone as lights of freedom in eighteenth century Europe, and Schubart lavished them all with wistful praise. In those countries where the birth pains of republican government had become evident, for example, in Sardinia and in the newly emerging United States, Schubart greeted such developments with wonder and awe. Yet, as he observed that the European system of state was nearing a major change, the possibility of a new order in Germany filled him with an uncharacteristic sense of uneasiness.[18] First of all, ongoing battles with the censors prevented Schubart from opening up a meaningful dialog on the subject. His criticism of the abuses of power among the aristocracy ran him headlong into the censorship that marked this era, especially in southwest Germany. Thus Schubart was forced to disguise many of his discussions on such topics as republics and reform in fictitious dialogues, or couch them in anecdotes and fables, which were often too thinly-veiled to avoid problems with the censor. In his fable entitled *Der Wolf und der Hund*, Schubart alludes to the lack of freedom in Germany relative to that of England. But just in case the analogy was lost on some of his readers, he felt compelled to explain in the final lines of the poem:

> Drum bist du Wolf; ich Hund - du frey;
> Ich aber in der Sklaverey.
> Und die Moral? - o die ist jedermann bekannt
> In Deutschland und in Engelland.[19]

That poem, along with several others in the very first issues of the *Deutsche Chronik* in the spring of 1774, represented the beginning of the end for Schubart in Augsburg. The final unforgivable insult occurred in an Augsburg tavern. After finishing one of his oral presentations, Schubart added a fateful concluding statement which quickly reached the ears of the local authorities, prompting the revocation of his permission to print his journal in their city: "...und nun werf' ich mit ienem Deutschen, als er London verließ, meinen Hut in die Höhe, und spreche: o England, von deiner Laune und Freyheit nur diesen Hut voll!"[20] Later in Ulm Schubart makes veiled reference to the state of contemporary Germany in another outburst, while at the same time reproaching his fellow journalists in Germany who found it safer to manipulate the news into more acceptable forms:

> Die Prospekte der politischen Welt sind eben nicht alle paradiesisch. Da giebts Steppen, Sümpfe, Lachen, Steinwege, Kletten und Brennesselfelder so gut als in der natürlichen Welt. Der Novellist, zumal der deutsche feige Novellist, muß alle diese verödeten Gegenden umzuschiffen wissen. Gebirge muß er Thal , gelbe regnichte Ströme, die faule Aeser fortwälzen, muß er Pisone, Stinkblumen muß er Rosen, und Stürme Zephyrs nennen.[21]

But Schubart's main foil throughout the life of the *Chronik* remained Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg. Schubart rarely avoided the opportunity to ridicule the duke, who was well-known for his ostentatious and wasteful lifestyle. In one such passage, the sarcasm of Schubart's facetious praise certainly would not have escaped his readers, most of whom suffered under the heavy tax burden of Karl Eugen's decade-long

building fetish: "Die Herzogl. Militärschule auf der Solitude ist wirklich ein Augenmerk von Deutschland, und was kann aber auch größers seyn, als ein Fürst, der seinen meisten Ergötzlichkeiten entsagt, um dem Staate weise und tugendhafte Bürger zu hinterlassen."

The topic of armed struggle for freedom also provided Schubart with fertile ground for discussion in the *Deutsche Chronik*, and Schubart devoted considerable space to the praise of abstract concept to the republic and the strife which usually led up to their creation. At the same time, however, if Schubart's articles and asides regarding rebellions are closely examined, they reveal an interesting dichotomy. As long as the uprisings, regardless of their ideological background, remained distant - either historically or geographically - from contemporary Germany, Schubart greeted them with approval and reported on them with glowing accolades. But when the uprisings took place too near Germany, Schubart categorically rejected their validity. For example an uprising in France in 1775 frightened Schubart, principally because he felt that anarchy could break out and possibly spill over onto German soil.[22] Likewise he condemned the revolt of the Bohemian peasants in 1775, fearing that if the spirit of revolution gained a foothold in Germany, it would divert the energies of the nation from a slow and peaceful evolution toward unification to the uncontrolled spread of violence, which in the final analysis he felt would do more harm than good to the formation of a state.[23]

One of the more illuminating aspects of Schubart's writing with regard to the importance which he attached to patriotism and nationalism is his attention to the American Revolution. Among the very first journalists to understand the potential importance of the ongoing developments in British colonies, Schubart penned his first article about America in mid-1774, and for the next four years, the conflict in North America became the single most-covered topic in the *Deutsche Chronik*. Whereas many other journalists either attempted to paint an objective picture of the dispute in the colonies, or like Göttingen professor and historian August Wilhelm Schlözer, presented the incoming reports from England and the Colonies with a decidedly pro-British flavor (owing in the case of Schlözer to his geographical location in Hannover, which stood in alliance to England), Schubart aligned himself from the very first article with the colonists.[24] As a German patriot he initially viewed the conflict abroad as one which revolved around national economic interests, political freedom and the philosophies of the Enlightenment put into practice, and therefore of great interest to all other German patriots. He followed the situation in America as closely as his limited sources allowed him, reprinting speeches made in Boston and Philadelphia and keeping his readers abreast of the pro-Colonies sentiment in England. America, unfettered by the baggage of centuries of history under feudal rule, held the hopes for a true republic, where concepts of equality and representation could be realized and freedom might be won. Thus in his own manner, he attempted to explain to his public the reasons for the colonists discontent with England. The colonists, who were being taxed as subjects of the crown, were not receiving proper representation, and in Schubart's mind therefore had the right, if not duty to rebel. He even dared to go so far as to print a translation of a quote by ardent supporter of the colonists, moral philosopher Richard Price: "Ein unruhiges, zu Rebellionen geneigtes Volk, ist gewöhnlich ein großes Volk", to which Schubart added his own succinct editorial comment: "Er hat Recht!"[25] When Schubart lacked information about the American Revolution, as was often the case, he simply invented letters and concocted battle reports, so his son tells us in his biography about his father.[26] Schubart knew very well the interests which America had aroused in Europe, and sensing the possibility to further the causes of freedom and patriotism in a distant (and therefore safe) land and simultaneously increase the popularity of his newspaper, he seized the opportunity.

Critical of both the quality and quantity of the coverage other German journals devoted to the events across the Atlantic, he rarely hesitated to expound upon the inadequacies and misinterpretations of his fellow journalists. At several junctures, Schubart responds to the widespread use of the word "Rebellen", at the time a pejorative term which other papers in Germany had labeled the American colonists: "Wir nennen die Amerikaner, dieß Volk, das unter der Fahne der Freyheit ficht, - Rebellen. der Schmach! o der Schande!"[27] After a page of impassioned commentary that these "rebels" had organized a congress and wanted nothing more to stem the advancing tide of despotism and fight for their own freedom, he asked "Kann man solche Leute wohl Rebellen nennen?"[26] But then in October of 1775 the rumor that German mercenaries are to be sold to England to fight against the colonists reached

Schubart's ears. Incensed beyond description, he embarked upon an acrimonious campaign against these transactions and the rulers who had initiated them. Dialogues, fictitious letters to the editor and even poems start to fill the pages of the *Deutsche Chronik* with the intention of exposing who Schubart perceived to be an inexcusable abuse of power and a heinous and unconscionable act of absolutist avarice. And although his reaction is at one point one of contempt for the mercenaries themselves,[29] he soon comes to the inescapable conclusion that the guilt lay elsewhere than with the soldiers sold to England, many of whom were often forced into conscription. In the second stanza of a poem entitled "Gebeugter Vaterlandsstolz" Schubart unfolds his disgust, arguing that the true reason to wage war would be a patriotic one:

> Ein Teutscher ist ein braver Mann,
> Ficht nicht für fremden Sold.
> Für Freyheit, väterliche Flur
> Für Weib und Kinder ficht er nur
> Und nicht für sklavisch Gold.[30]

He laments the fact that Germans were forced to fight against those honorable patriots in America, with whom they had no quarrel,[31] while at the same time his concern for the plight of the unfortunate German soldiers continued to grow unabated. Unable to reconcile his own patriotism with his support for those fighting for their own in America,[32] Schubart finally sided with his fellow countrymen, and almost to the day that word of the landing of the first Hessian troops on the shores of the New World reaches his ears, Schubart reversed his attitude on the American Revolution 180 degrees. He began to question the honesty and bravery of the colonists. He also suggested that subjects refusing to remain loyal to the most liberal and benevolent monarchy in the world might not deserve the freedom they sought in the first place. Schubart even reversed his opinion about taxation without representation, declaring it a foolish demand, in light of all that the homeland had done for the thankless and greedy Americans.[33] Schubart, despite deep-seated respect for the ideals of the colonists, believed that they had been betrayed those ideals, and that they in turn had also been betrayed by their leaders, calling them "betrogene Amerikaner" and even "blutbetrogene Freyheitsvertheidiger."[34] He even questioned the original motives of the entire affair, illustrated by the attention he devoted to the names of the colonial naval vessels, which he then labeled "Raubschiffe."[35] The colonists, once "Freyheitsvertheidiger," suddenly become transformed into "Teufelskerle."[36] British victories are now called "günstige Nachrichten,"[37] and England becomes land once again, and even "mein liebes Engelland."[38] The American spirit of independence and freedom Schubart now describes as the "Trotz der Amerikaner,"[39] and American military methods and warfare techniques receive damning appraisal as cruel, brutal and immoral, or as Schubart chose to phrase it, quoting Tacitus: "Unmenschlichkeit erregt den Haß der Menschlichkeit."[40] King George, previously considered a villain by Schubart for his unenlightened handling of the "Freyheitsvertheidiger," once again receives lavish praise as "der beste König."[41]

Schubart displayed this change of attitude best in the fictitious dialogues he provided for his readers as a means not only of crystallizing the differences between the two sides in the conflict, but almost certainly as a process whereby he attempted to work out his own remaining difficulties and mixed feelings concerning the war which he once unreservedly supported. In one such dialog Schubart moved closer to the position of his colleague Schlözer with regard to the behavior of the colonists: "Die Kolonisten werden ihren Trotz gewiß sehr schwer büssen müssen, und verdienens auch; dann welches Volk unter dem sanften Regimente der Engelländer nicht stehen kann, verdients - Sklav zu seyn."[42] This same argument, that the Americans should be more than willing to live under the liberal rule of King George, becomes a recurrent theme, demonstrated here in another dialog: "Ich sorg, Gott werd' die Amerikaner strafen, daß sie einem so guten Könige nicht gehorchen wollen. Wen die Ruthe nicht bessert, der verdient mit Scorpionen gezüchtiget zu werden."[43]

As a final break with the colonists, Schubart replaces the positive terms "Patrioten" and "Freiheitsverteidiger" by the previously rejected epithet "Rebellen."[44] Thus Schubart's love for his *Vaterland* and for its sons proved greater than his admiration for the colonists' struggle against feudal despotism.

Just as further word was about to reach him about an impending contract between King George of England and Duke Karl Eugen for several thousand Württemberg troops (a deal which subsequently fell through due to the woeful shape of the troops in question), Schubart was unceremoniously arrested.[45] Perhaps the report of the transaction, which would almost certainly have found its way onto the pages of Schubart's paper, played no part in the arrest and 10-year incarceration - perhaps it did. The reasons for the arrest will remain mere speculation, but it is not inconceivable that Karl Eugen, who was already sensitive to criticism about his handling of foreign affairs, wished to spare himself further public ridicule and scorn at the hands of the mercurial journalist.

Fiercely proud of Swabia (and with its many "free cities", southwestern Germany in general), Schubart resented the fact that he had been exiled from Ludwigsburg by Karl Eugen in 1773, and a year later from Augsburg by the Catholic mayor. He resented the fact that the political climate of Germany varied from one area to another to such a degree that while some regions in the north enjoyed relative political and journalistic freedom, still others, such as Württemberg, were governed by those who meted out justice as if it were a fame whose rules were only understood by those free to change them at their whim. Almost certainly the least enlightened land in Germany, a land which the eminent scholar H.A. Korff justifiably termed "entarteter Absolutismus,"[46] Württemberg offered the patriot very few choices. One could either leave - and many did just that: Wieland, Schiller, Gemmingen and Moser notable among them - or stay and remain silent, repressed and disarmed by the power of the state. A third option was to stay and test the limits of criticism. However, those who tried suffered a similar fate as Schubart. When writer and legislative council, Johann Ludwig Huber, broached the subject of nationalism, Karl Eugen, lifting a page from his French counterpart angrily responded: "Was Vaterland? *Ich* bin das Vaterland!"[47] Huber and others like Moser and Wekhrlin, served time in prison for their attempts to assert themselves, since rulers of the smaller German states viewed the rise of nationalism as a direct threat to their sovereignty.48 But none suffered to the extent that Schubart did. After ten long years he finally regained his freedom, but by this time he was a broken man, physically as well as emotionally. So tame had he become that Karl Eugen allowed him total freedom of the press, knowing that he no longer represented any threat to his ruler and jailer or to himself. This was the high price for Schubart's quest for his *Vaterland*.

Thus Schubart, with all his inconsistencies and contradictions, carried out his journalistic mission with several distinct objectives: to raise the consciousness of the German people to their plight under the yoke of despotism, to provide them with a glimpse into the arcane intrigue of the court, and to instill within them a measure of national identity and pride. His sense of patriotism, often rooted in the utilitarian context of social responsibility and duty to one's fellow Germans, transcended nearly all other considerations in his *Deutsche Chronik*. It was this patriotic fervor and love of Germany that set his journal apart from all the others of his era, just as it was this patriotism that contributed to his demise.

Notes

1. After having served as a contributor to one of the very few moral weeklies published in southwestern Germany, *Der neue Rechtschaffene*, Schubart decided to publish his own journal directed first at the southwest and inevitably at the whole of Germany: "ich fieng an, mit aller schuldigen Ehrfurcht vor dem Publikum - denn ich glaube nicht, daß iemals ein Schriftsteller ehrfurchtsvollere Begriffe von seinem Publikum gehabt hat, als ich von dem meinigen, die ersten Blätter zu schreiben. Meine Absicht war erst auf Augsburg und Ulm, dann auf alle die von mir bereisten Gegenden, und endlich auf ganz Deutschland gerichtet." See Christian Schubart, *Schubarts Leben und Gesinnungen (von ihm selbst, im Kerker aufgesetzt)* 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Mäntlern, 1791/1793), p. 8. According to his autobiography, the journalist sought a patriotic title which would simultaneously speak to all of Germany. He demonstrated his adherence to this original guiding principle as he renamed his journal several times over the next 18 years: (1774-75), *Teutsche Chronik* (1776-77), *Schubarts Vaterländische Chronik* (1788-89) and finally the *Vaterlandchronik* (1790 until its demise two years after Schubart's death in 1791). Schubart's writing, like that of many of his contemporaries, displays idiosyncratic spelling and punctuation. I have retained those peculiarities throughout the article.

2. Schubart, 53-54 and 63-65. See also Kurt Honolka, *Schubart. Dichter und Musiker, Journalist und Rebell.* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1985), pp. 174-176.

3. Several articles and an anti-Jesuit poem he published in April 1775 (the poem did not appear in the journal, however) led to demonstrations against Schubart at which copies of the poem and his journal were publicly burned. See for example Christian Schubart, *Deutsche Chronik* (Heidelberg: Schneider, 1975), 61. Stück, 27 October, 1774, pp. 482-483, 24. Stück, 20 June, 1774, pp. 190-191, and 31. Stück, 14 July, 1774, p. 243. [Subsequent entries for this work are indicated by *Chronik*.] And after insinuating in one of his articles that Jesuits may have been behind the death in 1773 of Pope Clement XIV, he found himself in a tavern, surrounded by Jesuit priests. Unrecognized, Schubart listened to the tirade against him, and even joined in on their side in condemning himself, thus ensuring himself of an evening of drinking at his enemies' expense. Schubart, *Leben und Gesinnung*, vol. 2, p. 48. (The poem can be found in the Reclam edition of Schubart's poems: *Schubart. Gedichte*, Ulrich Karthaus ed., (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1978), pp. 13-14.

4. Ludwig Schubart, *Schubarts Charakter. Von seinem Sohne Ludwig Schubart.* (Erlangen, 1798), pp. 23-23.

5. This line comes from the fifth stanza of Klopstock's ode, "Mein Vaterland". F.G. Klopstock, *Oden*, ed. Johann Joachim Bode (1771; Berlin: Lang, 1971), p. 270.

6. Hans Böhm and Ursula Wertheim, foreword, *Schubart, Werke in einem Band* (Weimar: Aufbau, 1959), p. 397. With a circulation that climbed almost immediately to 1600, a considerable number by

18th century standards, and which may have reached 3200 by 1776, Schubart's journal created widespread interest throughout Europe. Schubart himself recounts that he sent it to subscribers across the continent, even all the way to St. Petersburg. *Schubart, Leben und Gesinnung*, p. 97.

7. Schubart wrote in his autobiography: "Ich habe als Dichter unter den niederen Ständen weit mehr gelernt als unter den höhern; denn iene stehen näher am Quell der Natur." *Leben und Gesinnung*, p. 6. Schubart, who was for the most part self-educated, himself came from a middle-class background, and throughout his entire life had no substantial contact with anyone of note from the literary world, with the exception of a few letters to Wieland and a close friendship with the writer, Maler Miller.

8. *Chronik*, 1. Stück, 31, March, 1774, p. 5.

9. Christian Schubart, "To Christian Gottfried Böckh and Jacob Schubart," 18 April, 1767, letter 27 *of Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart. Briefe*, eds. Hans Böhm and Ursula Wertheim, (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1984). p. 60.

10. *Chronik*, 88. Stück, 2 November, 1775, p. 698.

11. *Chronik*. 53. Stück, 29 September, 1774, p. 419. This quote is similar to the passage in John I, 4:20: "Denn wer sein Bruder nicht liebt, den er sieht, wie kann er Gott lieben, den er nicht sieht?" See Gerhard Kaiser, *Pietismus und Patriotsmus* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1973), p. 246.

12. Whereas other writers like Moser, Möser, Huber and others offered specific outlines for the formation of a German state, Schubart never proposed just how his model of Germany would look. Until the 1790s, when after ten years of incarceration he spoke out for some form of constitutional monarchy, Schubart never seemed to favor one political system over another in any overt and concrete manner. Although in a vague, abstract form he does praise the republics of Venice and Switzerland on occasion (and the fledgling United States until 1776), in a number of articles he betrays an underlying mistrust of that particular form of government for Germany. In this regard, Schubart has perhaps more in common with the earlier moral weeklies, in that they, too, avoided specific campaigning for any particular type of German nation, choosing instead to place patriotism in an almost entirely societal context, as an ill-defined act of social responsibility. See both Wolfgang Martens, *Botschaft der Tugend* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968, especially pp. 326-350, and Dieter Paul Baumert, *Die Entstehung des deutschen Journalismus - eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie* (Munich and Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1928), pp. 69-78. See also Rudolph Krauß, *Schwäbische Literaturgeschichte* 2 vols. (Freiburg: Mohr, 1897), pp. 194ff.

13. *Chronik*, 75. Stück, 15 December 1774, 597-598 and 51. Stück, 26 June 1775, 406.

14. *Chronik*, 89. Stück, 6 November 1775, 705.

15. *Chronik*, 102, Stück, 19 December 1776, 802.

16. *Chronik*. 42. Stück, 25 May 1775, 335.

7. Kaiser, 59-62.

18. Schubart states: "Kurz, das europäische Staatssystem, das so fest, als irgendein Traum von St. Pierre zu dauern schien, ist einem Umschwunge sehr nahe." *Deutsche Chronik*, 5. Stück, 16 January 1775, p. 37.

19. *Chronik*, 1. Stück, 31 March, 1774, 8.

20 Schubart, *Leben und Gesinnung*, vol. 2, pp. 12-13. Upon learning of the statement, Catholic mayor of Augsburg von Kühn reportedly stood up in the next meeting of the city legislature and angrily responded to Schubart's commentary: "Es hat sich ein Vagabund hereingeschlichen, der begehrt für sein heilloses Blatt einen Hut voll englischer Freiheit: - Nicht eine Nußschale voll soll er haben."

21. *Chronik*, 19. Stück, 6 March 1775, 145.

22. *Chronik*, 43. Stück, 29 May 1775, 337-338: "Am meisten befürchtet man wegen Paris; dann Aufruhr in einer Stadt, wo beynahe eine Million Menschen wohnet, ist was schreckliches...."

23. Although at first, the uprising met with Schubart's approval but soon thereafter, he changes his opinion about the unrest. At one point, he reveals his fear that if peasants gain too much freedom, they will become impossible to control: "Ein Bauer, der reich wird, ist ein tolles Thier." See *Chronik*, 32, Stück, 20 April 1775, p. 252, 35. Stück, 1 May 1775, and 74. Stück, 14 September 1775, pp. 584-585.

24. For coverage of the American Revolution among German journalists, see Horst Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 1977).

25. *Chronik*, 28. Stück, 4 April 1775, 219.

26. Ludwig Schubart, 107.

27. *Chronik*, 71. Stück, 4 September 1775, p. 562. On another occasion he speaks of the "... Kolonisten (in Deutschland würden wir sie Rebellen nennen)..." (60. Stück, 27 July 1775, p. 476), and in April 1775: "Man muß nicht glauben, daß die Kolonisten Rebellen sind." (31. Stück. 17 April 1775, p. 246).

28. *Chronik*, 71. Stück, 4 September 1775, pp. 564-565.

29. Schubart, *Deutsche Chronik*, 31. Stück, 15 April 1775, p. 248. In this article, he refers to those soldiers who made their living as mercenaries (as opposed to those who were sold by greedy rulers) as "Exkremente".

30. *Chronik*, 47. Stück, 10 June 1775, pp. 374-375.

31. *Chronik*, 36. Stück, 2 May 1776, pp. 282-283. Upon reporting that 30,000 Germans were on the way to fight against the American colonists, Schubart included the following lines of verse: "Nur schon auch dort im Lauf von großen Thaten / Der Landsmann, der dein Feind nicht ist! / Hülf seiner Noth, wenn du von Noth entfernt bist!"

32. *Chronik*, 48. Stück, 13 June 1776, p. 380. "Nun werden die Teutschen erwartet, um den letzten Versuch auf die Freyheit der Amerikaner zu wagen. Soll man ihnen Glück wünschen oder nicht?" Similarly, he writes: "Warum sollen Teutsche als Knechte dienen!!! - Ha, Hanoveraner, du wählest dir ein Thema, das mir's Herz spaltet!" *Chronik*, 20, Stück, 1776, p. 158.

33. *Chronik*, 87, Stück, 28 October 1776, p. 682 and 91. Stück, 11 November 1776, p. 713.

34. *Chronik*, 94. Stück, 21 November 1776, p. 740 and 105. Stück, 30 December 1776, p. 831.

35. *Chronik*, 74. Stück, 12 September 1776, p. 580. "Die Amerikanischen Raubschiffe führen Nahmen, die für die Freyheit sehr gefährlich sind - Alexander, Julius Cäsar, König von Preußen. - Warum nicht lieber Regulus, Brutus, Epaminondas, Tell und wie die Märtyrer der Freyheit alle heißen?"

36. *Chronik*, 85. Stück, 21 October 1776, p. 671.

37. *Chronik*, 87. Stück, 28 October 1776, p. 682.

38. *Chronik*, 66. Stück, 15 August 1776, p. 523 and 2. Stück, 6 January 1777, p. 9. From this date on, the English are once again referred to in this manner.

39. *Chronik*, 91. Stück. 11 November 1776, p. 713. See also 87. Stück, 28 October 1776, p. 682.

40. *Chronik*, 96. Stück, 28 November 1776, p. 755-756. See also, 101. Stück, 16 December 1776, p. 797.

41. *Chronik*, 51. Stück, 24 June 1776, p. 401.

42. *Chronik*, 77. Stück, 23 September 1776, p. 603.

43. *Chronik*, 89. Stück, 4 November 1776, p. 696. Journalist and historian A.W. Schlözer consistently refers to the Americans as thankless and self-serving. See his *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts*, Heft I, 1776, pp. 29-53. In Wieland's *Teutscher Merkur*, the colonists are also usually referred to as "Rebellen". (*Der teutsche Merkur*, 1776, p. 98, for example).

44. *Chronik*, 81. Stück, 6 October 1776, 634. See also 28. Stück, 4 April 1776, p. 219.

45. Lured across the Württemberg border by troops under the orders of Duke Karl Eugen and lacking habeas corpus, Schubart was quietly taken prisoner and not offered reasons for his arrest. See the arrest decree of 18 January 1777 in Document VII in *Schubart. Briefe*, 339-340. For a involved discussion of Schubart's arrest and subsequent incarceration, see Honolka, *Schubart*, pp. 189-215, Gerhard Storz, *Karl Eugen. Der Fürst und das "alte gute Recht"* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), pp. 185-200, and Krauß, in the afterword to the facsimile edition of the *Deutsche Chronik*, XII-XVI. See also Walther Bacmeister "Die Tragödie Hohenaspergs," *Schwäbische Heimat* 17 (1966), pp. 67-75. Certainly, the actual reason or reasons for Schubart's arrest are shrouded in mystery. However, in addition to the political and critical nature of his journal were the often unflattering personal attacks on many public figures from Karl Eugen to Jesuit priests and local magistrates.

46. H.A. Korff, *Geist der Goethezeit*, 2nd. ed., 4 vols. (1927; Leipzig: Kohler und Amelang, 1954) Vol. I, p. 203.

47. Emil Seidel, *Politik und Literatur in Württemberg von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zu Schillers Jugenddramen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1910), pp. 33-34.

48. Seidel, 449-450.

Witness from Wandsbeck: Matthias Claudius' *Abendlied*

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The German poet and essayist, Matthias Claudius (1740-1815), has undergone great swings in reception, during his lifetime as well as since. It is interesting to note that his popularity seems to rise during times of stress and crisis, as it did during this century's two world wars. Nearly 50 studies of his life and works were published in Germany during the Third Reich, and no fewer than 14 appeared there in 1940 alone (Rowland E 128). Admittedly, Claudius' thematic range is limited, his production is quite modest, and his works are personal in nature, religious and humanistic at the same time. Claudius, like his fellow North German, Theodor Storm, seems to have looked to narrows for depth, and to a limited spectrum in which to achieve diversity. Clearly, there is ample basis on which to disagree with Wilhelm von Humboldt, who wrote to Schiller, before *Abendlied* appeared however, that Claudius meant nothing at all to him.[1] Claudius is, at the very least, a writer in whom author and individual are one, something quite refreshing in German letters. He can claim, too, to have accomplished what not every artist manages: to provide a literature which is so self-communicative that it requires no explanation. Dietrich Bonhoeffer, writing from his jail cell in Berlin, called Claudius a writer of "Christian worldliness" (Rowland E 128). It is to some of that very lasting "Christian worldliness" that we now turn our attention.

Abendlied had barely appeared when it was included in Johann Gottfried Herder's folksong collection of 1779, although at that point the poem consisted of only the first five stanzas. We will note here that when the poem again appeared among Claudius' collected works in *Asmus* in 1782, he had added the final two stanzas (*Asmus* 265). And a modern reader who opens virtually any subsequent anthology of German poetry, from Echtermeyer-von Wiese to Penguin to Harrap, will probably find *Abendlied* included there, as well. The same happy discovery awaits those who look among collections of German songs, such as Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau's handbook of German songs (p. 33). Several of Claudius' poems have been set to music, none more frequently than *Abendlied*, however, which attracted the interest of several composers, most notably Johann Friedrich Reichardt in 1781, J.A.P. Schulz in 1790, Franz Schubert in 1816, and more recently, Othmar Schoeck in 1937. Indeed, one might contend that together with Klopstock and Goethe, Claudius brought the hymn and the folksong to their highest points of development in the century. But that is another study.

Quite apparently this particular work of Claudius has achieved something timeless and compellingly human. The poem is certainly a choice example of Pietism and therefore a "must" for inclusion in poetry surveys, where it brings to the fore the difficulties associated with a work which appears to lie somewhere within the triangulation of the *Barock, Klassik* and *Romantik*. Few of us would agree with Claudius, who claimed that "ich weiß besser, als irgend ein geneigter Leser, wie wenig dran verloren wäre, wenn meine Werke so unbekannt blieben als ich selbst bin" (*Asmus* 9). A good deal would be lost, indeed. However, the Germanist who looks for a critical evaluation of the poem is likely to search without great success, for this nearly-permanent resident of anthologies has not received the amount of interpretive scholarship one might expect, and scholarly treatment of *Abendlied* is not easily found outside the work's treatments in general studies of Claudius, himself.[2]

In certain respects *Abendlied* does represent something of a bridge between the stylized Barock, on the one hand, and the more personal *Gefühlslyrik* of the Goethezeit on the other. Claudius certainly was acquainted with the poets of the Barock. Without a doubt he knew his fellow Lutheran, Paul Gerhard, for *Abendlied* certainly found its *Ausgangspunkt* in Paul Gerhard's poem of the same title, written a century earlier (Harrap 144). Observe these comparisons:

Gerhard: Die güldnen Sternlein prangen
Am blauen Himmelssaal.
Claudius: Die goldnen Sternlein prangen
Am Himmel hell und klar.
Gerhard: Nun geht, ihr matten Glieder
Geht hin und legt euch nieder.
Claudius: So legt euch denn, ihr Brüder
In Gottes Namen nieder.

Here the Barock poet should here feel himself flattered, even if we consider Claudius' poem, on balance, to be a much advanced work.

Given a close reading, Claudius' *Abendlied*, although not without problems, shows itself to be a remarkable compilation of structure, form, and meaning. We find the poem to be composed of seven stanzas, each with six lines. Each stanza contains two tercets, set off with appropriate punctuation. The first two lines of each tercet are two iambs and one amphibrach - the Germanist will settle for "*dreihebiger Jambus mit weiblichem Ausgang*," of course. The third line of each stanza is in iambic trimeter (*mit männlichem Ausgang*), while the last line is in iambic tetrameter (*auch mit männlichem Ausgang*), effectively releasing the poetic tension, marking the end of the stanza and separating it from the next. We will refer to this line later.

While the tercets are rhythmically autonomous, they are linked by the rhyme of the final line of each pair of tercets and by the *a a b c c b* rhyme scheme (*Schweifreim*) within each stanza. The poem's structure, then, is eminently well suited to the elevated folksong form.

Evening, in the Judeo-Christian experience, is the holiest portion of the day, the time for Vespers. From the sonority of the poem, the reader is immediately lulled into the mood of the day's special moment through the peaceful, even reverent use of language. Sibilants, fricatives and liquids predominate among the consonants - there are well over 200 of them - giving a quiet, rustling character to the sonority of the poem. If, likewise, one counts the plosives occurring at the outset of stressed syllables, i.e., those which might give a different feel to the language, one finds that there are fewer than 25; in other words, some 85% of the accented syllables (*Hebungen*) start with quiet, more relaxed phones.

A close look at the vowels in the poem renders similar results. In fact, considering only the stressed syllables again, the lax, open and rear vowels dominate to an even greater degree. Only some 10% of the vowels are tense, forward vowels, sounds we recognize as carriers of intensity. Quite apparently, we are dealing with a work which speaks to the receptive reader in quiet and reverent, even subliminal, tones.

An inspection of the inner form of the work is equally revealing. In the first stanza, the *persona* presents a series of images which is nothing if not remarkable. With true poetic economy, six separate elements are introduced, which combine to evoke a sense of perfection. The elements presented, the moon, stars, and heavens, woods, fields, and fog, are balanced between the firmament on the one hand, and the earth on the other. They appear from farther to nearer, such that each is in its own perfect place and could be in no other place. And as each element is perfectly defined and located, so are the relationships among them. The *persona* accomplishes this not only through choice of words, but also through prosodic structure. The *persona*'s use of personification ("Sternlein prangen" [2], "Wald steht" [3], "der Nebel steiget" [5-6]), alliteration ("Himmel hell" [3], "steht schwarz und schweiget" [4]), and recurring consonant sounds ("aufgegangen" [1] and "prangen" [2], "schweiget" [4] and "steiget" [5]) establish links among elements both poetic and natural, so that the perfection of the entire scene is what emerges, rather than perceptions of individual elements. Through the experience of language one feels the narrator's experience.

This first stanza, then, immediately establishes the tonality of the poem. Through the use of prosodic elements, the *persona* will maintain and even reinforce a sense of perfection even as in later stanzas he reveals that human knowledge of true perfection (as manifest by God's presence in

Nature) is impossible. This comments ironically on his own inability as an artist, at the peak of his skill, to create a work of beauty that can rival the work of God.

In the second stanza, following the same form as the first, the *persona* elaborates on the feelings of comfort to be derived from the human experience of the perfection presented in the first stanza. But by the third stanza, he has introduced the contradiction between the beauty that truly exists in the universe and our human inability to fully comprehend it, thereby introducing the fundamental problem of the poem. Suddenly the *persona* challenges the reader directly with a question: "Seht ihr den Mond dort stehen?" (13). He tells us that the moon is but half visible, yet gently reminds us of its full roundness and beauty and suggests, while still maintaining a perfection of poetic form (which is a human creation), that that form is inadequate to capture the reality being described. We allow ourselves to be deceived, confidently ridiculing that which we cannot really quite see and which we therefore fail to understand.

From the problem established by the third stanza, and particularly from the question addressed directly to the reader, the *persona* in the fourth stanza invites the reader to join him in prayer by establishing a shared identity. Both *persona* and reader are no more than poor sinners. From this point to the end of the poem, the perfection of form the *persona* achieved in the first stanza becomes no more than his imperfect offering to God of the hope of receiving God's grace. The underlying problem of the first two stanzas, emphasized especially by the second, is that the scene of perfection witnessed by the *persona* also expresses a longing, a desire, for life to always be that way, as well as an acceptance and recognition of the fact that it cannot be.

For example, despite all of his powers as a poet, the *persona* (and we are content to believe the *persona* to be Claudius's voice) recognizes that his artistry may only be artifice, and though he may have power as an artist, in the fifth stanza he recognizes he is as artless ("fromm" [30]) as a child. And he recognizes that his poetic evocation of a perfect scene in the first stanza is mere child's play compared to the poetic power of God to have created that scene for an earthly poet to describe.

Despite the recognition of human weakness, however, the *persona* asserts that we have a moral obligation to use whatever limited powers we have been granted to their fullest potential. This message is conveyed in a number of ways. In the first case, the effort represented by the poem as a whole serves as a statement of this belief, and within the poem the *persona* reveals a further commitment to its truth.

Recall that Claudius wrote and published the first five stanzas about 1779, and that by 1782 the poem appeared in revised form, this time with the sixth and seventh stanzas. The reader of the later version surely feels unfulfilled and perhaps somewhat abruptly abandoned if left at the end of the fifth stanza. By the addition of the last two stanzas, Claudius takes the reader, *nolens volens*, through a complete liturgical ceremony. Seen from this perspective, the poem is nothing less than a complete worship service in itself. The first stanza (*Mond, Sterne, Himmel, Wald, Wiese*) is a prelude. Stanza two, the call to worship, asks the reader to collect in the sanctuary (*stille Kammer*). Stanza three, the very practical sermon, reminds us through the comparison with the half-seen moon (this could be a New Testament text!) of our own lack of analytical powers. Stanza four (*eitel arme Sünder*) is of course a confession of sins. Stanza five (*laß uns einfältig werden*) is a prayer for absolution and divine guidance in life, and at this point we have an inkling of why Claudius felt it necessary to add the final two stanzas: *nolite ire, missa non est*. Stanza six (*laß uns in Himmel kommen*) takes the reader-worshiper beyond this world, and asks for that which is the ultimate goal of the Christian religion, eternal life. And finally, the seventh stanza blesses those in attendance with the benediction; the reader may now go (*in Gottes Namen*) to a peaceful, if still earthly rest, not forgetting those who are not able to be present at this evening worship service.

Another poetic phenomenon, to which we alluded earlier, is that the last line of each stanza has an "extra" foot: four, rather than the others' three. This of course creates a certain suspense within the line, which is released by the rhyming final *Hebung*. Each final word, due to its unique metrical location, becomes even more interesting when the reader considers it, with its fellows, from a Barock point of view. Those final words stand clearly apart, and take on, *ipso facto*, something of an identity of their own. Continuing in the Barock mindset, we may read each of these final works, from the first through the seventh stanzas: "*wunderbar, sollt, sehn, Ziel, sein, Gott, auch*." As a nice assortment of nouns, verbs and adverbs, they immediately assume a certain clauselike essence. With very, very little added imagination, they make the following sentence: "Wonderful, that you should see, the goal is God, too." Without a doubt, that message tracks with the others we've discovered. Is that artifice or genius? Was it intentional? One might posit that from the Barock point of interpretation, to be sure. Or is that an inexorable phenomenon of the universal experience? At very least, it is yet another artifice with which the *persona* plays, within the context of the poem, leaving readers to ponder their faith, their own existence, and their obligations.

Readers who expect their literary fare to demonstrate great ideas, clothed in unusual and surprising expression, are likely to close their volume of Claudius without having found what they hoped for, and having missed a great deal indeed. Agreed, Claudius' motifs are few, his expressions of happiness, sorrow and wonder seem perhaps even childlike. Still, one cannot fail to appreciate his ability to communicate his own experience of life's universals in such a way that the reader feels essentially - personally and intensely - the same experience. To accomplish that is, after all, a great poetic achievement. Thomas Mann observed in regard to the usually intense, frequently strident German literary condition, that "at times something simpler, softer ... is preferable, whereby Matthias Claudius, above all, is not to be forgotten, with his ... *Der Mond ist aufgegangen*. ... In final analysis, nothing surpasses that." [3]

Notes

1. Letter from Schiller to Goethe, 23 November 1796. See Fritz Jonas, ed. *Schillers Briefe*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1895, Vol. 5, p. 91.

2. Two studies of the poem are Rolf Eigenwald, "Matthias Claudius und sein 'Abendlied'," in *Projekt Deutschunterricht* 9 (1975), pp. 177-201, and Georg-Michael Schulz "Matthias Claudius' 'Abendlied.' Kreatürlichkeit und Aufklärungskritik," *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literatur und Geistesgeschichte* 53 (1979), pp. 233-250.

3. Mann, X, p. 922.

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When the Dead Reappear to Comfort the Living: Julio Llamazares and the Poetry of Silence, Loneliness, and Death

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The works of Julio Llamazares, comprising so far *La lentitud de los bueyes* (1979), *Memorias de la nieve* (1982), *Luna de lobos* (1985), *La lluvia amarilla* (1988), and *Escenas de cine mudo* (1994), display a visible mimetic imprimatur and a poetic assertiveness that place them within the flow of what the critic Joan Oleza has called postmodern realism (39). In *La lluvia amarilla*, the mimetic base rests on collective and communal histories, the history of Spain before, during, and after the civil war, and that of rural communities torn apart by the conflict and later abandoned by their inhabitants. It is within this context that the individual reflects over the relative merits of the past, the hopelessness of the present, and the inevitability of death in the future. Individual self-reflection as *product* intersects with the *process* of narrative self-reflexivity through the deployment of tropological language. The result is a narrative that is both aesthetically compelling and emotionally riveting. This article examines the interplay of individual self-reflection and narrative self-reflexivity with a view to uncovering the effects the latter has on the former. In other words, I would like to explore how poetic assertiveness, from which the narrative derives most of its reflexivity, affects the mimetic foundation of *La lluvia amarilla*.

The story of *La lluvia amarilla* revolves around the lone survivor of a village that is abandoned in the wake of the Spanish civil war. After losing his oldest son to the war, Andrés and his family witness the gradual and painful exodus of their neighbors and friends from the village. Soon their daughter also dies, followed by the departure to Germany of the only remaining son. Husband and wife are left alone to cope with the harsh winters, the silence and solitude of the mountains, the excruciating memories of the immediate past, and an uncompromising future beckoning them to the grave where they would forever be forgotten. The wife commits suicide after her son's departure, and for ten years the husband lives by himself in the abandoned village. At the start of the story, he is at the threshold of death, anticipating the arrival of men from the surrounding villages looking to carry his corpse to the cemetery. At the end of the story, he foresees his neighbors carrying him in a coffin on their shoulders and burying him next to his wife and daughter.

Two constitutive elements of the narrative product that play a crucial role are time and space. Time, not in the Genettian sense of discursive configuration but in the phenomenological sense of "tiempo vivido," lived experience, is captured and represented in its totality. The past provides the raw materials which the present processes for future consumption. Memory retrieves the experience of unity, communal intersubjectivity, and solidarity that defined the existence of the narrator-protagonist and made life more meaningful. It provides a point of reference for the present and a launching pad for the future. In an interview with José María Marcos, Julio Llamazares noted, and rightly so, that "La estructura de la novela es la de la memoria. Y la memoria es episódica. Una cosa lleva a otra y salta atrás hacia adelante continuamente, por asociaciones disparatadas" (*Quimera* 29). Memory supplies the basis for nostalgia, but there is no nostalgia when the totality of present experience is far better than the past. However, that is not the case in *La Lluvia amarilla* because the present experience of loneliness, silence, incommunication, madness, and hunger contrasts dramatically with the reality of community, companionship, saneness, and abundance that marked the protagonist's past. But the incursions of memory are not permanent because the present asserts itself unequivocally and creates a space where it can enter into dialogue with the realities of the moment. The outcome of this dialogue points to the effects of the war, including abandonment, solitude, silence, misery, hopelessness, and death. The present is perceived as intractable because the narrator believes his life is a "maldición lejana y sin remedio, una condena antigua que la resignación y la impotencia habían convertido ya en costumbre desde hacía mucho tiempo" (60). His existence is underwritten by "el azar y la fatalidad, que en [muchos] años, ha guiado [su] destino" (63). The unconditional surrender to the forces of fate makes him look to the future with both pessimism and optimism, pessimism because he will neither be able to change his destiny nor escape death's embrace, and optimism because he hopes to find in death what he lacks in the present, that is, "el consuelo a tanto olvido y tanta ausencia" (74).

Temporality's triple movement, that is, past, present, and future, provides a gradual and complete picture of the experiences of the narrator-protagonist and of his community. More than that, it underscores the ponderably futile and pathetic situation of the narrator-protagonist who undoubtedly "carece de vitalidad y de fuerza" (Miñambres 27). Not only is the past unlivable, the present is intolerable and the future menacing. There is no salvaging the present with his fatalistic do-nothing-yourself world view, nor is it possible to ascertain that he would find in death "consuelo a tanto olvido y tanta ausencia" because that hope is not based on anything remotely persuasive. It has no theological, metaphysical, or philosophical underpinning. It is at best an intuition, which makes it even more pathetic.

Spatiality also contributes substantially to uncovering the affective potentiality of the narrative product. The unfolding of the narrative action in a rural site where our protagonist has to fight single-handedly against unspeakable odds must be teleologically motivated. When he is bitten by a snake he is forced to open up the wound with a knife and suck the poison out because the nearest doctor is "a casi cuatro horas de camino" (65). He barely recovers, and the account of the high fever, delirium, hallucination, and subsequent coma that he himself gives wields a powerful affective force:

> Al anochecer del primer día, la fiebre había subido más allá de cualquier grado soportable y la mano me dolía como si fuese a reventar. Pronto entré en un estado de gran excitación. Me revolvía entre las sábanas buscando en sus extremos un poco de frescor. Tenía sed.... Hacia media-noche, la fiebre tocó techo. Todo mi cuerpo ardía como una antorcha viva.... Nunca podré saber el límite real que habían alcanzado la hinchazón de la mano y su temperatura. Sólo sé que, de pronto, mis ojos se llenaron de un vaho azul y espeso y que, a continuación, perdí el conocimiento. (66-67)

He confesses that "Durante varios días ... [luchó] contra la muerte completamente solo, desesperadamente solo, sin nadie a quien llamar para pedir ayuda" (65). There is no help for him in his part of the world, a space nestled in the Leonese mountains and far from the hustle and bustle of human intersubjectivity, inhabited as it were by forces antagonistic to human life, such as the cruel autumn north wind that sweeps everything away in its path and blankets the land with a patina of yellow leaves and fallen trees, and the long, harsh, and snowy winter months that sometimes keep him indoors for weeks without food. His is a space taken over by ruins, oxidation, rottenness, rats, snakes, and creeping plants, after the tragedy of war leaves it completely depleted of human habitation. These forces are too massive for him to fight against and so his contention of dying a completely and desperately lonely death does strike a chord of sympathy in the reader. Especially given the fact that there is no other space open to him. His parents and grandparents lived here and he believes he would not be welcome anywhere else. In a sense he is encased in this space, imprisoned by its genealogy, and forsaken by its posterity because the only surviving son will not come back to salvage it.

The site of the narrative is not only invaded by the forces of nature, it is also haunted by the supernatural, if we can consider the resurrection of the dead as supernatural. Dead family members and relatives violate the laws of nature and return to life night after night to chat with the living, to keep the narrator company, to alleviate his loneliness and his fear of death. His mother reappears first, after having been dead for 40 years, and then she brings along everybody else who had died in the family, including the narrator's wife and daughter. Significantly, each night they come they would gather in the kitchen "en torno al fuego" to share their memories. Although he initially rejects their company, when the narrator realizes that they come purposely to keep him company, to help him overcome the sentence of loneliness that society has pronounced on him, to provide him the human warmth he has been yearning for for at least ten years, and to save him from the bouts of madness that periodically arrest him because of his solitude, he resigns himself to "compartir con ellos [sus] recuerdos y el calor de la cocina" (92). The return of the dead makes communication possible again, it restores and reaffirms what H. G. Gadamer has called the "essential linguisticality of all human experience of the world," and words resume their ability to drive away "el frío y la tristeza del invierno" (19-20).

The visit of the dead to the living has a symbolic significance in that it underscores the necessity and importance of community without which the individual has no prospects of living a meaningful and wholesome life. That explains why Julio Llamazares does not limit the reappearance of the dead to narrator's household but instead extends it to the whole village. After seeing his own dead return to life and meeting face to face with a dead neighbor who had also returned to life to watch over the "memoria de una casa que ya nadie recordaba," and after hearing "un lamento infinito [que] recorría todo el pueblo," the narrator-protagonist concludes that "todas las casas estaban habitadas por sus muertos," that all the dead from the village had come back to life to mourn its present desolation, to watch over its memories, to appeal to its former inhabitants to come back to repossess it, to comfort anyone who might still be living there, and to repopulate it themselves if need be (89). The civil war-induced exodus from the rural areas is being counterbalanced by an imaginary repopulation through the transcendental act of resurrection. But perhaps what is more pertinent is the affective effect that derives from the recognition that even the dead are more than aware of the loneliness of the living, of those who for one reason or another are left in the middle of nowhere and completely forgotten by the larger society. The dead are shown to be more sensitive to the emotional and physical needs of the living than the living themselves.

The constitutive elements of the narrative product are enunciated through a long drawn out monolog, the kind that eliminates "toda apoyatura de diálogo," and filters the narrative event through the purview of the narrator-protagonist (Marco 29). Characteristic of this monolog is the free and spontaneous flow of consciousness resulting in a haphazard order of events that nonetheless are held together by the crucible of memory. The center of consciousness is the first person "I" who ruminates over the entire spectrum of his life, an act of self-reflection that is paralleled in the narrative via the use of tropological language. Narrative enunciation becomes a narcissistic event, not of the explicit type à la *Tristam Shandy*, *Don Quijote*, *Recuento*, *Fragmentos de Apocalipsis*, or *Larva*, but of a more linguistic kind, such as we find in the so-called "prosa poética" exemplified in writers ranging from Juan Benet, Julián Marías, Antonio Muñoz Molina, to Eduardo Alonso, and Luis Landero. Linguistic narcissism, Linda Hutcheon has observed, embraces the purely linguistic elements of the narrative discourse such as the use of tropological language (6). The fictionality of the metaphorical discourse, Paul Ricouer reminds us, can be found in the fact that every metaphorical assertion is a qualified one because the metaphorical "is" always includes an "is not" (Ricouer 11). Metaphors always mean something but "what a metaphor apparently refers to does not really exist ..." (Madison 86). When we speak of the "lamento verde" or the "murmullo verde" of death, we do not assume that there is anything like a green lamentation or a green murmur. Each metaphorical predication means something but their referent do not really exist. In this sense we can say that metaphors are fictitious discourses. The metafictionality of such language becomes even clearer when it operates in an otherwise prosaic context, in which case it draws greater attention to itself. That is the trademark of *La lluvia amarilla*, and indeed of Llamazares' narrative as a whole, impregnated as it is with tropological language.

What is remarkable about this novel is that while it is written in clear, concise and accessible prose, it does cultivate a tropological language that traverses the entire narrative screen, a language that is far from pretentious because of its "illuminating power," as Jürgen Habermans would say, (Habermans 209), or its "revelatory function," as Vico, Croce, and Collingwood would contend, drawing its attention not only from the clear and accessible prose background but also from a poetic tradition with which it could be identified, the "poesía pura" tradition of which Jorge Guillén and Pedro Salinas are among the undisputed exponents and practitioners. The language of this poetic tradition aims at inventing realities whose comparative constituents are more dissimilar than similar. It is a tensional language that generates a much greater distance between the elements that make up the metaphoric equation. In *La lluvia amarilla*, there is greater tension between the focus of the metaphor and its frame, between the subsidiary subject and the principal subject, to the extent that oftentimes the narrative language approximates the frontiers of surrealism. For instance, the narrator speaks of "el aullido del silencio [que] era tan fuerte, tan profundo, que, incapaz de soportarlo por más tiempo, [él] abandonaba la cocina buscando en la penumbra del portal el calor y la mirada, más humana, de la perra" (24). The genitive metaphor, "el aullido del silencio," is antithetical in nature but it is used to underscore the intensity of the silence of the narrator's *Lebenswelt*, his "immediate flow of unreflective life," so intensely and menacingly silent it approaches the howling or wailing of living beings (Madison 44). A similar process of ad hoc incompatibility is found in the narrator's observation that "la oscuridad ... del silencio volvía a adueñarse de la casa," in which case silence is given the quality of darkness that is foreign to its nature, thus endowing the metaphoric frame with a rather symbolic meaning (25). Silence is also described as possessing "láminas heladas e infinitas" and the narrator worries that he may not be able to break "la malla espesa de silencio que amenazaba ya de adueñarse por entero de la casa y de [él] mismo" (24). Again, silence is said to introduce "su larga lengua sucia hurgando en la penumbra de las casas la herrumbre del olvido y el polvo amontonado por los años" (26). In all three instances, silence is incarnated, it assumes a material body, it is objectified, thereby making it tangible and concrete.

This process of hypostatization extends to the description of time which becomes "una lluvia paciente y amarilla que apaga poco a poco los fuegos más violentos," where an abstract notion is liquefied and attributed a color (51). Forgetfulness has "pesadas paredes" and "láminas de hielo," and madness is said to have deposited "sus larvas amarillas" in the narrator's soul (40, 51, 47). Death, which is described as "un pobre y solitario cazador de perros viejos," sends out a "murmullo verde," and the stone emits a "lamento verde" but unfortunately there will be no one there to hear (129). Many more examples could be cited but these should be enough to confirm the process of linguistic incarnation or concretization that is at the heart of Llamazares' tropological undertaking in *La lluvia amarilla*, an undertaking that is aimed at reifying the major themes played out in the narrative. Those themes, including silence, the "running flux of time and life," forgetfulness, madness, and death, that come together to define the narrator's life in the rural environment, are each granted physical intensity through the use of metaphoric language so that the reader may "see" and "touch" the forces militating against the protagonist, so that he or she may feel the narrator's solitude, experience the feeling of abandonment and forgetfulness, undergo the madness that results from solitude and abandonment, suffer the anguish of time's ceaseless flow, and behold the terrifying approach of death. All of which lead us to reaffirm our earlier contention that tropological language in this novel is powerfully illuminating because it performs a revelatory function, that of opening up the narrator's wounds for the reader to see and to feel. We would say with Paul Ricouer that this is the novel's metaphorical truth.

In *La Métaphore vive*, Ricouer argues that metaphors are not just newly fabricated "fictions" but that they go far beyond the level of words to signal new "worlds" capable of extending the sphere of human experience. Dorothy Mack expresses a similar view when she says that "Metaphor is an action which is more than SAYING something: it is fabricating another 'reality', a world suspended between *a posteriori* and *a priori*" (248). The idea that the metaphoric discourse amounts to a fabricated or "heuristic fiction" is useful because it recovers the notion of narrative self-reflexivity introduced at the start of this paper. Metaphoric discourse creates an *ad hoc* fiction within the "permanent" fiction and thereby provides a discursive alternative to the individual self-reflection that characterizes the narrative product. Product and process coalesce in a dynamic and emotive portrayal of the painful realities of human life as it unfolds against a background of solitude, silence, incommunication, abandonment, forgetfulness, madness, and the unstoppable advance of the great equalizer, death.

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The Impact of a Phonetics Course on FL Learner's Acquisition of Spanish Phonology

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This study attempts to ascertain to what extent the added knowledge of a formal phonetics course has on the veritable pronunciation of second language (L2) learners. Much research has been and continues to be carried out regarding the effects of particular formal courses on students' proficiency. Although various students progress at different rates through a progression of these courses, this study argues that an increased cognizance of phonetics (through a university phonetics course) implies a pronounced beneficial effect on their pronunciation.

Numerous L2 acquisition researchers have examined the relationship between a learner's age and his or her success in learning to pronounce native-like pronunciation. Krashen's Critical Period Hypothesis declares that there exists a "critical age" for language acquisition without the need for external intervention. During this critical period, language learning proceeds easily and swiftly; however, after this time, grammar acquisition becomes difficult and, for some learners, never fully achieved. In effect, it is proposed that the ability to learn a foreign language is permanently diminished. Others contend that at puberty, certain neurophysiological processes are altered, resulting in the equivalent diminished capacity to learn a L1. In "The Phonological Basis of Foreign Accent: A Hypothesis," James Emil Flege (1981) proposes that the diminished ability to speak a L2 without an accent may not be caused solely by maturational or physiological changes. His Phonological Translation Hypothesis suggests that a more important factor may be that an older L2 learner relies on transferral of his/her L1 system more than does a young learner.

Catford and Pisoni (1970) suggest that the abilty of students to learn exotic sounds is greatly enhanced by articulatory instruction as opposed to those who were left to differentiate non-native sounds by their own perceptiveness. Mason (1991) advocates for the inclusion of Italian phonetics and phonology courses in postsecondary education:

> [I have] noticed dramatic improvement in students' articulation of Spanish speech sounds as evidenced by recorded speech samples that students make at the beginning and end of the course. Based on scores received on their recording of a reading passage, overall improvement ranged from 7% to 40%, which is statistically significant. (11-12)

With the continued evolution of foreign-language teaching methodologies, notably modern adaptations of the Direct Method, more enfasis currently is given to the oral component. For example, Omaggio Hadley (1993) states "Correct pronunciation is an important consideration in this approach (direct method), and emphasis is placed upon the development of accurate pronunciation from the beginning of instruction. Phonetic notation is often used to achieve this goal."

The postulation here is that a phonetics course is invaluable in improving students' pronunciation. Cadierno (1992) and VanPatten and Cadierno (1993) suggest that individuals who are taught to consciously process input are better prepared to produce the targeted item than those who do not practice with structured output activities. This study is designed to determine the extent of that proposed amelioration using the case of allophonic variants.

To test the veritable effect of a phonetics course on the pronunciation of L2 learners, the actual speech of native-English speakers learning Spanish was analyzed to determine the difficulty manifested in approximating native-like phones. The test involved forty students from two classes, one from the fall semester 1991 and the other from the spring semester 1992. All the students were at the third or fourth-year of Spanish study and enrolled in Spanish phonetics.

The data for testing the students' phonological proficiency was gathered twice each semester and consisted of two types:

1) Students were asked to read a dialogue in Spanish specifically designed to test a wide variety of the pertinent Spanish phones in various phonetic contexts. The script to be read was given to the students approximately one-half hour before the taping in order that they could familiarize themselves with it.

2) Students were asked to participate in a spontaneous task in which they were asked a number of questions dealing with familiar topics and every day activities. The results of this task were compared with the reading of the dialogue in (1) above, contrasting attention to function vs. attention to form.

All speech in each sample was tape-recorded in a university language laboratory and was later transcribed phonetically to determine the students' approximation to native-Spanish phones and to see if, and to what extent, the phonetics course had on their actual pronunciation. The analysis of phones was restricted to consonants because vowels, although interesting, are problematical in many respects; the main problem being the difficulty in discerning tongue height and frontness/backness, which is frequently very subtle.

Since the quality of instruction can vary greatly from one instructor to the next, a note needs to be mentioned here concerning teaching method and strategy. The author's approach in the phonetics class follows primarily the descriptive and structural framework because the structuralists' classical place-and-manner-of-articulation approach to phonetics is best suited to the needs of students whose chief objective is mastery of a target language sound system. Consequently, place or point of articulation, manner of articulation, function of the vocal chords and allophonic distribution are all key concepts. After students acquire the theoretical underpinnings of Spanish phonetics they then apply their new-found lingual knowledge in actual practice. This is carried out by extensive pronunciation drilling of Spanish

Figure 1 [ß] Sound, p≤.05

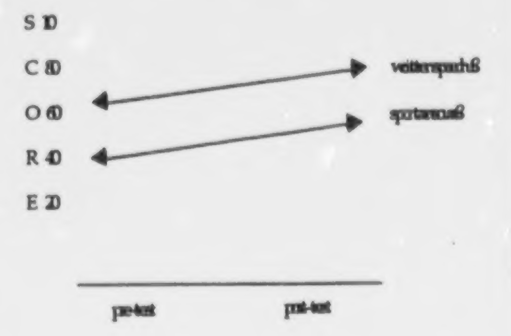


Figure 2 [δ] Sound, p≤.05

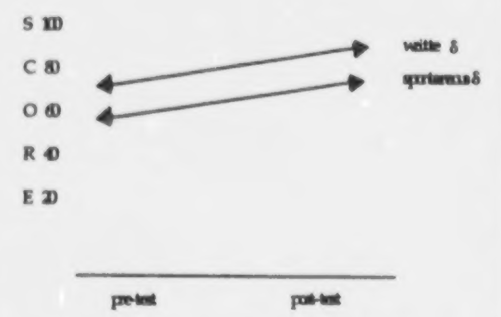


Figure 3 [γ] Sound, p≤.05

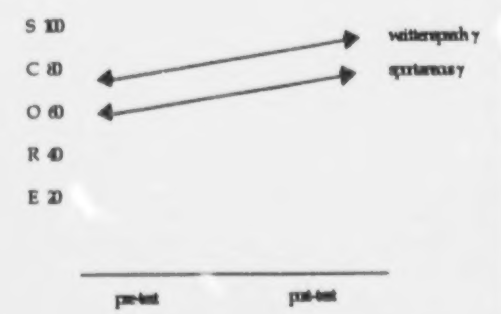


Figure 4 [χ] Sound, p≤.05

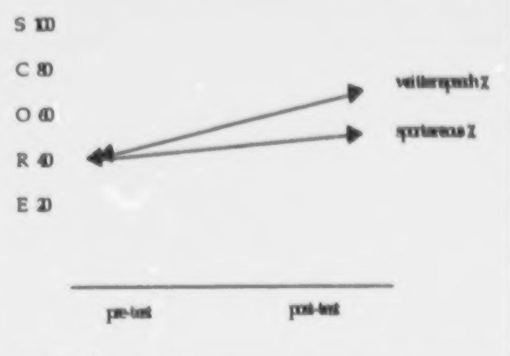


Figure 5 [rr] Sound, p≤.05

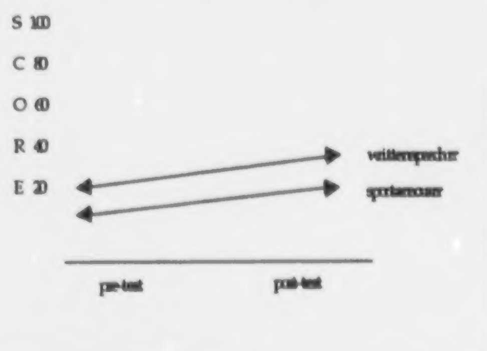
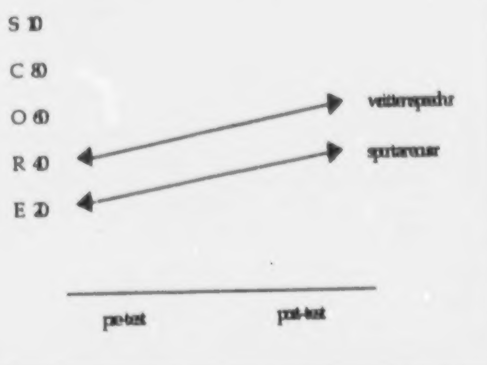


Figure 6 [r] Sound, p≤.05



allophonic variants, using the phonetic tapes of Dalbor. Furthermore, students record their own readings of various dialogues at different points in the course, transcribe them phonetically, and submit them for correction.

For comparative purposes, the students' approximation of Spanish sounds were evaluated on a three-way distinction: a) those completely correct; b) those phonemically correct but phonetically incorrect; and c) those phonemically incorrect. A numbered scoring system was devised to correspond to the above three categories: 0 = phonemically incorrect pronunciation; 1 = phonemically correct but phonetically incorrect; and 2 = those completely correct. All scores were coded and analyzed for statistical significance.
The data was analyzed through the utilization of a mixed-design analysis of variance (ANOVA) for pre-test and post-test (time) within subjects and written vs. spontaneous speech (mode) between subjects. The significant level for the results from the analysis was determined at $p \leq .05$.

For the Spanish voiced fricative [β], the findings indicated that students who were involved in the written speech and the spontaneous speech performed better in the post-test than in the pre-test ($p \leq .05$). In addition, those who were involved in the written speech performed better than those in the spontaneous speech in both the pre-tests and post-tests ($p \leq .05$) (fig. 1).

All other sounds followed the same pattern as the Spanish voiced fricative; students performed consistently better on all post-tests than pre-tests ($p \leq .05$). Furthermore, when saddled with the dual cognitive load of attention to function and attention to form, students performed as expected, performing better when reading than when having to create as in spontaneous speech. This study contributes to the belief that a formal phonetics course does indeed help learners master Spanish phonology. In second-language acquisition there are learning "plateaus", in which learners, who previously have had continuous periods of advancing through a mastery of the language, suddenly find themselves in an indefinite time of being able to progress at their former rate. In the context of phonology, these initially unconscious periods are frequently very subtle and undefined. Furthermore, when ultimately recognized, they are not easily overcome. This author feels that this is the greatest benefit of a university phonetics course; specifically, it assists students in rapidly bridging the gap to a higher level of phonological proficiency.

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La literatura como megadisciplina: El arte multidisciplinario de Mario Bencastro

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Actualmente, dentro del ambiente universitario, se discute cada vez más la profunda interconexión entre todas las ramas del conocimiento humano, y de la conveniencia de encontrar nuevos paradigmas para la investigación. La idea básica se expresa muy bien en un artículo de índole interdisciplinaria de Natalie Isser y Lita Linzer Schwartz, que dice que el impulso a hacer investigación multidisciplinaria es el resultado del descubrimiento interior de que muy pocas facetas del mundo existen por separado (45), y por eso tampoco se encontrarán las soluciones a los complejos problemas modernos dentro de los confines de una sola disciplina (46). Según las autoras, el proceso mismo de análisis y síntesis invalida la tendencia académica a categorizar el conocimiento en político, social, urbano, etcétera, porque el propósito fundamental de entender al hombre se debe apoyar en la siguiente premisa: "The study of the nature of man and of his institutions is in reality seamless--an integrated whole" (52). En fin, como concluyen Isser y Schwartz, aunque se pueden separar algunas partes de una problemática en religión, guerra, economía y cosas así, la síntesis final debe ser interdisciplinaria (52).

Optando por este marco teórico, este ensayo analiza la producción creativa, todavía relativamente desconocida, de Mario Bencastro. Como el artista mismo es una persona sumamente multifacética, sería necesario tocar lo político, social, histórico, teológico, lingüístico y artístico para elaborar una evaluación comprensiva de su temática. De igual forma, como Bencastro ha voleado su afán creativo en varios discursos artísticos, se necesitaría estudiarlo como pintor, narrador, dramaturgo, poeta y testigo de su época para formar un juicio crítico de toda su creación artística. Aunque he tenido el placer de estudiar muchos de sus textos inéditos, aquí por las limitaciones de espacio y tiempo me limito a su arte plástico y sus libros publicados. A fin de cuentas lo que se revela es la interpretación de la vida efectuada por un artista extraordinario de alma perspicaz, humanista y compasiva que nos plantea la idea de la literatura como "una megadisciplina" (Entrevista por Davies 1) que comprende las demás disciplinas y que preserva "los sagrados valores humanos" (4). Además de ofrecer esta interpretación general de la variada producción artística de Bencastro, el propósito secundario de este trabajo es presentar al autor mismo, con quien tuve la afortunada oportunidad de intercambiar opiniones a fines del 1994.

Mario Bencastro nació en Ahuachapán, El Salvador en 1949, y vive actualmente en Virginia, Estados Unidos. Ha desarrollado una amplia actividad artística como pintor, deseñador gráfico, ensayista, poeta, novelista, cuentista, dramaturgo y documentalista. Su pintura ha sido expuesta en bienales internacionales y en más de 45 exposiciones individuales y colectivas en América Latina, Italia y Estados Unidos. El autor se ha presentado en más de 20 conferencias literarias en bibliotecas y universidades de Estados Unidos y España. Ha escrito una colección de poesía titulada *Palabra: levántate y anda (poesía)*, y tres colecciones de relatos: *Traficante de sueños*, *Árbol de la vida: historias de la guerra civil* e *Historias de Carmelo*. Su cuento, "El lienzo en blanco", ganó el primer premio en el concurso de cuento del diario *La Prensa* en Nueva York (1977). *Árbol de la vida* se publicó en El Salvador en 1993. También Bencastro se ha metido en el mundo documental, escribiendo y dirigiendo el vídeo *La historia de Carmelo, el indocumentado*, que trata los problemas migratorios de la comunidad hispanoamericana en los Estados Unidos. También ha escrito una obra teatral, *La encrucijada*, y dirigido el Grupo de Teatro SCH en el Thomas Jefferson Theatre en Arlington, Virginia (1988). Esta obra fue escogida para ponerse en escena por el la Universidad de Georgetown (1989). Su obra más conocida hasta ahora es la novela, *Disparo en la catedral*, que fue finalista entre 204 obras en el Premio Literario Internacional Novedades y Diana (1989). Se publicó la novela el mismo año en México. Otra novela suya, *El vuelo de la alondra*, fue elegida finalista en el certamen Premio Literario Felipe Trigo 1994, Badajoz, España. Muy recientemente, me reveló Bencastro que Arte Público pronto publicará cuatro de sus libros, dos en inglés y dos en castellano (Carta: 18 diciembre 95).

De hecho, aunque actualmente se dedica completamente a la literatura y al teatro (Entrevista por Rivas 4), tuvo mucho éxito con su pintura. Comentando sobre sus altorrelieves que se llaman

"Serie Monogramas", Ida E. Rubin dijo en 1977 que "Este notable artista autodidacta no vacila en experimentar nuevas técnicas en sus formas, las cuales son un eco de la tecnología de nuestra época". Aparte del "eco" mencionado por Rubin, sus pinturas no parecían reflejar ningún mensaje político o social, aunque sí reflejaba la visión particular del artista joven, una sensibilidad especial a la forma. En aquella época, la pintura de Bencastro era de tipo abstracto-geométrico.

Hubo por lo menos una crítica que notó un aparente cambio o desarrollo nuevo en la obra de Bencastro a partir de 1978. Jacqueline Barnitz, introduciendo la serie "The Pyramid and Other Line Formations" en el catálogo de la exposición, dijo que Bencastro entraba en un nuevo mundo de ideas que estaba por encima de la geometría pura. Notando que Bencastro había escrito poesía y que estaba escribiendo un libro de ensayos acerca del arte y los artistas, dijo que se debía tomar en cuenta el hecho de que la exposición solamente representaba una faceta de su producción creativa. Según ella, Bencastro definía la poesía como un paralelo sublime a la realidad, y Barnitz veía en la serie la afirmación de un orden cósmico. Sospechaba ella que estuviera empezando a motivar al artista de entonces un profundo deseo de enfrentarse con su identidad histórica. Según ella, las formas de esta exposición le sugerían al artista:

> the apexes of the familiar stepped Maya pyramids of Central America as they might be seen from above; but he did not set out to paint such a theme. It addressed itself to his memory as an ancient architecture has made incursions into the consciousness of other geometric artists in recent years. (1)

No obstante, estas posibilidades no se evidenciaron en todas las pinturas de Bencastro.

Deborah Carr, otra crítica de arte, observó en el mismo año que la obra de Bencastro era precisa y arquitectónica, reflejando la tecnología moderna en su apariencia de no haber sido tanta creada como construida. Hablando con Carr el mismo año, Bencastro le dijo:

> An artist has a responsibility to interpret the world as he sees it now.... I look upon my latest series of works as very simple, very symmetrical forms--my own affirmation of the cosmic order (9)

confirmando a la crítica anterior. Seguramente lo que a Bencastro le preocupaba más era la forma, y según Anne Edwards el color era secundario a la forma en la obra de Bencastro. Ella teorizó que él buscaba un idioma abstracto y universal que tendría sentido fuera de su propia cultura en el mundo moderno en general.

Ahora bien, en medio de esta actividad artística algo crucial se le ocurrió a Bencastro. Mientras montaba una exposición de su pintura en una galería de Washington escuchó por la radio la noticia del golpe de estado en su país. Como lo explicó él en nuestra entrevista:

> Por ese entonces yo creía mucho en el arte por el arte. Pero en 1978, al inicio de la guerra civil en El Salvador, sentí la necesidad de reflejar en mi obra el conflicto social que devastaba a mi país, y en vez de buscar un nuevo estilo de pintura, lo cual me hubiese llevado mucho tiempo ya que no se puede cambiar de estilo pictórico (de lo abstracto a lo realista) de la noche a la mañana, cambié de expresión artística y empecé a escribir, lo cual tampoco me resultó fácil, pues me tomó cerca de diez años para concluir mi primera novela *Disparo en la catedral*, y luego la colección de cuentos *Árbol de la vida: historias de la guerra civil*. Puedo decir entonces que mi obra literaria nació de un conflicto social, el cual se convirtió en una constante no necesariamente como un "compromiso" sino como elemento natural, espejo de esa realidad. (7)

En una entrevista con Carlos E. Rivas, Bencastro dijo "Algún día pienso retornar a la pintura.... El misterio es qué voy a pintar.... Pienso que acaso nunca me retiré de ella del todo y que continúo pintando no con pinceles y paleta de colores sino con palabras" (4). En otra entrevista con Gregorio Martínez, dijo "Debo aclarar que tampoco hice estudios formales de literatura. Soy autodidacta. Escribo así como pintaba; por intuición" (5). Sin duda, Bencastro ve elementos de unión en ambos quehaceres creativos.

Todos los seres humanos experimentamos un proceso continuo de llegar a ser, día por día, alguien nuevo. Lo que nos pasa, lo que vemos, demanda que reflexionemos y que respondamos. A través del transcurso de nuestras vidas, pasamos por momentos cruciales en los cuales nos damos cuenta de que nuestra concepción de la realidad humana exige que nos enfrentemos con la vida en una manera nueva. Todo es movimiento y cambio. Si uno es artista, estos momentos cruciales resultan aun más desafiantes, requiriendo a veces que uno cambie su manera de expresarse. En el caso de Bencastro, le pareció obligatoria la búsqueda de una nueva voz, una manera de expresarse más adaptada a su nueva experiencia del drama humano.

Considerando entonces a Bencastro como escritor, hay que empezar con su novela *Disparo en la catedral*. Como escribió Carlos Montemayor, jurado del Premio Literario Internacional Novedades y Diana, en la portada del libro, "es un magnífico ejemplo de novela, de cómo tratar de manera profunda, objetiva y ágil un tema tan delicado como lo es la guerrilla latinoamericana, una de las realidades más difíciles e intensas de nuestro continente". La novela trata el período histórico entre julio de 1979 y marzo de 1980. Hay varios protagonistas que se envuelven en varias historias, y según Bencastro funcionan "como diferentes perspectivas sobre la misma situación, o denotan aspectos diferentes que conformaban la realidad salvadoreña de entonces" (Entrevista por Rivas 2). Estas historias se entrecruzan en "una estructura casi geométrica", y los protagonistas representan "prototipos de la sociedad salvadoreña reprimida" (2). Algunos de los personajes más importantes son un pintor, una maestra, un redactor y Monseñor Romero, pero también un periódico y el país mismo figuran como protagonistas. Todos, en una manera u otra, se sacrifican por la causa humanista de mejorar el futuro del país.

Técnicamente, la novela es una maravilla. Utiliza Bencastro un sinnúmero de técnicas impresionantes, como la alternación de voces narrativas, en los muchos episodios cortos que forman la obra. Todas las escenas que toman lugar en la sala de redacción del periódico ficticio, La Tribuna, son escritas como si fueran escenas de teatro. También se usan la primera, segunda y tercera persona, y se esparcen a través de la novela transmisiones de radio, titulares periodísticos y otros elementos intertextuales que ayudan a elaborar el hilo histórico. En las palabras del autor, resultó un collage "porque combina poesía, teatro, canciones populares, periodismo, religión, testimonio, discusiones sobre arte, tradiciones culturales, política, represión, [etcétera]" (Entrevista por Rivas 3).

Si se pudiera afirmar la presencia de un protagonista, éste sería Rogelio, que habla en primera persona a través de la novela. Las primera y última escenas tratan de él. Es un pintor que trabaja como reportero para sobrevivir. A él le afecta en varias maneras la creciente violencia en su país, y se va concientizando a través del libro gracias a sus experiencias, a la influencia de su amigo Domínguez, redactor del periódico, y a la de su amante Lourdes, una persona comprometida a la causa guerrillera. Rogelio había vivido indocumentado siete años en los Estados Unidos antes de regresar a El Salvador para buscar a su mejor amigo, Ignacio, que había desaparecido misteriosamente. Lo encuentra al final de la novela, y cuando Ignacio muere en los brazos de Rogelio, éste decide quedarse en el país en vez de huir con su jefe y amigo, Domínguez.

La experiencia de leer la obra resulta muy interesante y conmovedora a la vez porque, como dice Montemayor, "el historiador y el novelista caminan muy cerca, muchas veces se cruzan" (López 34). Por toda la novela se nota la presencia del Monseñor Romero, y fragmentos extensos de sus homilías[1] y su carta al presidente Carter forman una parte significante de la trama. Se recrea un ambiente de guerra tan real que, como lo describe Raúl Gómez Miguel, "El sabotaje, el asesinato y la represión sustituyen la trinidad cristiana" (34). Como se ha dicho en una reseña en *Pleno Político*, la novela logra ser "una escritura que rescata del olvido la lucha salvadoreña y sus héroes y mártires" (50).

La segunda obra publicada por Bencastro es una colección de cuentos que se llama *Árbol de la vida: historias de la guerra civil*. Los diez cuentos que integran la colección revelan el asombroso entendimiento de la amplia variedad de códigos que Bencastro domina, los cuales incluyen, según él, "la combinación de la realidadmanera que los mitos mayas, nos apunta al origen de los probl recalcitrante y la fantasía alucinante, la literatura política y la telenovela, la mitología maya y la realidad histórica, la comedia, el melodrama y la tragedia ..." (Entrevista por Rivas 3-4). Los cuentos no tratan directamente de la guerra civil, y aunque fueron escritos entre 1979 y 1991 y colectivamente "tienen como punto común el acontecer en El Salvador durante la guerra civil de los años ochenta" (portada del libro), no son cuentos de guerra. Bencastro mismo dice en su epílogo que "preferí titular [la colección] *Árbol de la vida* [en vez de simplemente *Historias de la guerra civil*] porque tal composición contiene el ideal central del conjunto: el final de la violencia y la resurrección de la paz" (141). A su vez, el título remite a la Biblia, en que de igual emas de la humanidad así como a la esperanza de solucionarlos.

Como nota Jorge Hernández Martín, "El autor opta por acentuar la tenacidad y el espíritu de las gentes, al mismo tiempo que da realce a los mitos que han caracterizado a esta región como a ninguna otra" (60).

En "Los insaciables" (29-50), por ejemplo, la serpiente Kulkulcán es una encarnación del dios Gucumatz, creador y jefe del pueblo quiché (Hernández Martín 60). En otro de los cuentos, "El jardín de Gucumatz" (123-136), aparecen Balam-Quitze, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah e Iqui-Balam, sacerdotes y fundadores de dinastías mayas (Recinos 71-73).

Otros de los cuentos tienen temas más universales, y uno de ellos, "Historia de payaso" (9-21), ha sido escogido para ser antologado en una colección traducida al inglés junto a los de autores tan conocidos como Isabel Allende, Julio Cortázar y Ariel Dorfman, entre otros.[2] Como Terrell Nena lo caracteriza, "Es la búsqueda que [un] payaso ha emprendido en pos de la inocencia perdida en medio de la devastación producida por la guerra" (62). Otro, que también ha sido antologado en dos textos universitarios,[3] se llama "El fotógrafo de la muerte" (51-71). El protagonista de este cuento, el fotógrafo Teófilo, trabaja para la Comisión de Derechos Humanos, documentando las atrocidades de la guerra. Bárbara Mujica nos informa que su nombre quiere decir "el que ama a Dios", y que se convierte en un "símbolo de Cristo" (621). Este cuento, como varios otros de Bencastro, nos sugiere la idea de resurrección. Se basa en la realidad, y termina con una lista de víctimas de la guerra civil que, como también nota Mujica, "es un poderoso recuerdo de que este cuento describe una realidad histórica" (621).

La colección pinta muy bien el ambiente del caos social y la violencia sin sentido que predominaban durante los ochenta, pero lo hace indirectamente, enfocándose en la esperanza de un futuro más humano en el cual la gente pueda regresar a lo mejor en todas las influencias que se juntan para formar un pasado rico en valores humanísticos y crear una sociedad mejor. En nuestra entrevista Bencastro comentó sobre su filosofía del papel del arte en este proceso así:

> ... creo que el mundo, por encontrarse en constante cambio, ya sea político, económico o social, siempre corre el peligro de la confrontación bélica, y me parece que, como especie, nos estamos acostumbrando más a la violencia que a la paz, como que el amor hiciera al odio demasiadas concesiones y pareciera que nos encamináramos hacia el imperio del odio. Sin embargo, pienso que ésta es sólo una fase de un eterno y repetitivo ciclo, y mi esperanza es que después vendrá la fase de la tolerancia, que no nos ha de traer la paz completa, pero sí mejor convivencia... [La literatura sirve como el] rescate de los sagrados valores humanos para mantenerlos vigentes a toda costa; y la promoción del humanismo, con la esperanza de que en última instancia el humanismo salve a la especie de sucumbir en el caos total. El arte, sin embargo, solamente puede aspirar a reflejar los problemas sociales, porque resolverlos es quehacer político y no artístico. Ahora bien, la literatura tampoco es mera imitación de la historia cuya función es documentar los hechos. La literatura toma ciertos pasajes históricos y les aplica un tratamiento artístico, no simplemente para dramatizar los hechos sino para arrojar sobre ellos cierta luz y resaltar los valores humanos, rescatarlos del olvido, revivirlos para que no queden archivados como frías estadísticas, y sirvan de puntos de reflexión, para que no olvidemos las atrocidades del pasado y mantengamos viva la memoria de nuestros héroes. La literatura tampoco propone regresar al pasado y estancarse en él, ni abrir viejas heridas, sino asegurar que éstas cicatricen adecuadamente mediante el estudio, meditación y comprensión de los hechos y sus consecuencias, y arribemos entonces a la firme determinación de que la historia no debe repetirse.... Creo que éste es el nivel al que el arte puede aspirar a ser una influencia en el futuro. (3-4)

Claro está que Bencastro mantiene la esperanza de que el arte pueda tocarnos a nivel individual en una manera salvadora, que puede pasar cuando la literatura pinta la realidad en tal manera y tan bien que nos hace prestar atención y pensar en valores eternas. Tiene su mensaje, que es a veces político, otras veces social o filosófico, dependiendo de lo que experimente u observe en el momento, pero siempre es consciente de su vocación artística. Intenta comunicarnos su experiencia de la vida, pintándonos su interpretación de la realidad humana. En este sentido se puede ver mucha semejanza entre la obra de Bencastro y la nueva literatura revolucionaria de El Salvador, que John Beverley y Marc Zimmerman describen como:

> less self-consciously literary and less politically sectarian, more diverse in its denunciation of class and party, less male-centered, less urban and secular, more open to perspectives stemming from Liberation Theology and from both contemporary and pre-Columbian Indian cultures, and ... more testimonial and popular. (135)

Aunque Bencastro toca lo revolucionario, lo hace con un enfoque muy sutil, muy complejo y muy universal. Él sabe muy bien que lo importante no es una solución simplista o dogmática, sino un retorno a principios humanos. Sueña con una revolución, aunque no en términos políticos. Es una revolución cultural en el sentido de movimiento astral, de giro o vuelta. Es decir, en el sentido de la restoración o regreso de los antiguos valores culturales humanistas a su posición legítima como guías para la humanidad.

Ninguna perspectiva sola, sea la crítica sicoanalítica, marxista, feminista, deconstructiva, reader response o el nuevo historicismo parece capaz de generar una interpretación adecuada de la obra de Bencastro. Su elección de medio, sea la pintura, la novela, la poesía, el cuento o el teatro, además de su mensaje, sea social, político o filosófico, cambian según evoluciona la trayectoria vital del autor. A lo largo de su propia experiencia del drama humano, Bencastro va elaborando una respuesta personal y particular a las cuestiones eternas de la vida humana por medio de su arte. Lo que resulta es una tensión dinámica entre la forma y el contenido de su obra, en que la técnica siempre complementa el mensaje, como también afirmó el autor mismo en nuestra conversación:

> A veces nos proponemos escribir una obra con énfasis en lo social, otras en lo político, [etcétera], pero la imaginación no tiene límites y ésta termina llevándonos por pasajes no previstos.... La obra misma como que no permite ser manipulada. Existe un momento en que es difícil establecer quién manda, la obra en proceso, o el escritor.... [C]reo que la literatura es como una megadisciplina que comprende muchas otras, o todas las disciplinas. Cuando el escritor se propone escribir sobre un período histórico, un hecho o una situación que le conmueve, dependiendo de la profundidad que quiere proyectar en la obra, se documentará e investigará todos los aspectos y personajes de manera que pueda revivirlos y recrearlos en su imaginación y luego plasmarlos en la literatura. (1)

Sobre todo, además de pintor y escritor multifacético, Mario Bencastro es testigo de su época. Su motivación principal como artista es ser intérprete de la vida. Por eso la megadisciplina de la literatura le sirve muy bien, ofreciéndole múltiples posibilidades de forma sin limitarlo con respecto al contenido. En un epílogo de *Árbol de la vida: historias de la guerra civil*, Bencastro escribió que "La infelicidad humana es un desafío para la literatura. [Este desafío] consiste en buscar la forma de reflejar la realidad, por cruda que ésta sea y, al mismo tiempo, cautivar al lector" (139), logro estilístico que, por su percepción especial de pintor convertido en autor, consigue realizar. Sin duda, merece ganar un público más extenso.

Notas

1. La página 207 de la novela lleva una nota al calce indicando que las homilías de Monseñor Romero fueron extraídas de *La voz de los sin voz: la palabra de Monseñor Romero*. UCA / Editores: El Salvador, 1980.

2. Carlson, Lori, and Cynthia Ventura. eds. *Where Angels Glide at Dawn: New Stories from Latin America*. Intro. Isabel Allende. Illus. José Ortega. New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1990.

3. Este cuento aparece en Mujica. También se encuentra en Montross, Constance M., y Ester L. Levine. *Vistas: voces del mundo hispánico*. 2da edición. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995.

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Volume 18

1997

Journal of the

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Volume 18

1997

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The Pacific Northwest Council for Languages is a non-profit organization of language professionals dedicated to improving opportunities for learning foreign languages at all levels in the United States and Canada. Founded in 1950, through its annual conference, the *PNCFL Newsletter*, and SELECTA, the PNCFL provides a forum for the dissemination and promulgation of information on the teaching and acquisition of foreign languages, cultures and literatures. The PNCFL has been active in promoting unity and cooperation among many language associations.

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Editorial Consultants

This volume has benefited from the expertise of many editorial consultants. The Editor extends his sincere appreciation to the following colleagues, as well as to a number of others, for their assistance: Scheila Ackerlind, Ernst Behler, David P. Benseler, Ralph W. Buechler, Mark Cory, Carvel DeBussy, Karen Eberle-McCarthy, Carl Falsgraf, Hans Gilde, Walter P. Guenther, Paul Haberland, Sanae Johnsen, Lisa Kahn, Robert Kahn, Valdis Leinieks, Suzanne Moore, John Niendorf, Heidi M. Nickisch, Cora Lee Nollendorfs, Laura Osborn, Robert Peckham, Thomas Rinkevich, Richard Rundell, Alfred N. Smith, Nicole Smith, James Schwoch, Koyoko Selden, Ford Swetnam, Will Thompson, Charity Cannon Willard, and Thomas Winter.

ISSN 0277-0598
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Language Culture Structures: Regrets and Reforms

Russell A. Berman
Stanford University

Editor's note: The following is the keynote address from the 1997 PNCFL Conference.

It is always good and moral to reflect on the mission of an enterprise, but, being human, we are more likely to do so in the context of a crisis. The crisis today, as is well known, is a matter of reduced resources. Higher education in the United States is compelled to ask why it pursues the tasks it does and to justify each one of them, for there are very many other candidates in line for the increasingly scarce funds. No field can take its presence in the university, and especially its funding, for granted.

My particular concern is the viability of the study of the cultures of the German-speaking peoples, but many of the points I will raise are relevant to scholars and teachers of the other language groups. Some languages face declining enrollments, while others, like Spanish, have strong enrollments, but face hostile political opponents. In fact, foreign language teaching in the United States - despite fairly strong overall enrollment patterns, finds itself under attack. So we have a lot at stake in the outcome of the discussion: our jobs, for example, but also the value - which I know many of us share - that the study of another culture is a very important part of what ought to be considered an adequate education. Yet to defend that value (and our jobs) it is certainly not adequate simply to complain about the budget cuts or to resent administrative decisions or to smart at the limited prestige accorded to our fields within the academic hierarchy. Nor is it particularly useful or satisfying to blame it all on the budget-cutters in Congress; yes, professional lobbying activities in Washington are important, but they hardly get to the crux of the matter. What crux? The crux is our very own responsibility: the institutional structures we choose and the agenda we pursue in our departments and programs will determine the viability of our project. In other words, our loyalty to the value of studying another culture demands that we reexamine the structure of the institution - including our jobs, and the definition of goals and the organization of practices in our departments.

By and large, the post-secondary study of foreign language in the United States is still structured in terms of a separation of language from culture (defined in the broadest and most inclusive sense). Of course, one can concede that language instruction has ceased to be the rote inculcation of a Latinate grammar it once was and has taken on more cultural components. Yet such "culture" is far too often treated as a casual addition rather than the systematic presentation of themes and issues central to the history and identities of German-speaking, Spanish-speaking, French-speaking peoples or the other groups whose languages are taught. Therefore, I will venture the claim that language remains effectively segregated from culture in at least two structurally significant ways. First, within the Foreign Language Department, it is still the case that one can distinguish with little difficulty between language courses and literature or culture courses with something called a bridge course in between, marking the border. In many but not all cases, that border also divides a language-teaching faculty from a literature faculty, with significant differences in prestige and compensation. Curriculum and, often, faculty are therefore explicitly divided into two separate fields, with the bridge keeping them apart.

Those comments pertain to the internal structure of the relevant departmental unit. However the segregation of language from culture is reinforced, secondly, by what one might think of as the external structure of the department, i.e., the additional barriers that separate Germanists (or Hispanists, etc.) in other departments from the language-learning enterprise. Literature faculty are already too far away from the language action: philosophers, historians and political scientists are further away still, although their own scholarship is surely as dependent on linguistic skills as is the study of literature.

The separation of language from literature is deleterious and should be corrected. I believe the same holds for the separation of language from history or language from political science, etc. Yet just now I am trying to make a prior and simpler point. Scholars of literature or history or politics or cultural studies are all dependent on the second language acquisition functions within our universities. This dependency operates on several levels. In a strict sense, we cannot teach our fields honestly unless our students learn the language. If their education is to entail anything more than a mechanical internalization of our own grand insights, if they are to become independent in their thinking (which is the ethical goal of research), they will have to be able to work with documents in the original German, and to do so requires linguistic skills. This is one of the reasons why foreign language learning is at the core of any liberal arts education: it underscores the project of learning to think and to speak for oneself. If a second language helps students on the job market, that is all well and good, but we should not ever lose sight of the education goal of a literate and therefore free citizenry.

More pragmatically, we cannot lose sight of enrollment questions and student interest, and the fact remains that most students who come to German departments come to learn German. If we surrender our most popular product, i.e., learning the language, we will lose most of our customers. Now, this focus on student interest in language is not an argument for a strictly linguistic, grammatical approach. On the contrary, the students interested in language typically have other interests in mind - history, economics, politics, music, literature - which is why language instruction must absolutely include authentic material with substantive content. Yet to focus solely on these contents and to ignore the interest in second language acquisition would fly in the face of common sense. In addition, any adequate consideration of the enrollment-driven aspect of the crisis should not ignore the fragile situation in history, political science, etc., not really much better than the state of affairs in literature.

Ultimately, however, our dependence on language goes beyond issues of training and even enrollment figures and has to do with the ideal structure of the university - the intellectual mission - and its vicissitudes within American society. The grounds for our presence in the university is linguistic difference. Without a language-learning agenda, we have no justification for an independent institutional existence, nor, in the long run, will we maintain one. To imagine that some sort of German or Spanish or French cultural studies might survive for long without second language learning is delusional. Of course, some individual scholars might feel equally at home in an umbrella department, teaching Freud in translation. Yet given the pressures on resources and the blindness of American culture to difference abroad, that model would, within a generation at most, lead to a diminishment and, eventually, the disappearance of the study of that different culture called German. Literature departments would end up focusing on Anglophone material; history departments always see much larger enrollments in American fields, as interest in

Europe dwindles (not that interest in much of the rest of the world is increasing); and the study of other geographical and cultural regions in Political Science has been increasingly marginalized over the past two decades, as area studies approaches have given way to more formalistic methods.

Linguistic difference is the foundation of institutional independence. In other words, it is second language learning alone that anchors the possibility of any more extensive projects in cultural scholarship. In the context of American conformism and the ever-present potential for an isolationist inward-turning and given the methodological formalization in the social sciences, only the foreign language department that cultivates language learning has a shot at preserving alterity within the university, and that "alterity" is precisely the value we share regarding the of study of another culture. Without German Language there will be no German Studies, and this is the rock on which our reflections about institutional structure must be based.

The good news is, as I have argued in other contexts, that there is a strong predisposition for a departmental mission defined in terms of Cultural Studies to accord language learning an integral status. I make this statement against the background of the history of foreign language departments which have always pursued multiple missions: language, literature, and culture, although the respective priorities have changed over time, as have the methodological paradigms in each of those fields. Until very recently, the overriding debate in the profession involved the challenge to the priority of literature, a legacy of the New Criticism; the controversy around the canon was not, ultimately, about which authors would be included but rather about the competition between literature and other, heterogeneous texts which came to constitute the research objects of Cultural Studies. The matter sounds stale now only because it has been decided: there is no doubt that German departments, redefined in terms of German Studies and Cultural Studies, will teach more than literature.

Had the profession rejected Cultural Studies and maintained a priority for literature, as now only lingering neo-formalists around deconstruction would propose, we would have seen an accelerating slide from German literature to Comparative Literature and from there to Literature in general. For it is surely possible to describe a viable scholarly field devoted to the study of pure literature, removed from context - it would be a subdiscipline of philosophical aesthetics - but given the reality of American demographics, any German specificity would have quickly disappeared. The agenda of cultural Studies, by way of contrast, has a much greater chance of maintaining a focus on specific cultural identities (no matter how internally diverse), since that specificity is the central concern of Cultural Studies.

In the most abstract terms, this concern can be described as the examination of the constitution and contestation of collective systems of meaning. In curricular and specific terms, Cultural Studies means a systematic and intellectually honest examination of majors themes and issues. My choices for German would be: 1) nationhood, regions, and Europe; 2) romanticism and art; 3) the philosophical tradition; and 4) the Holocaust. One can imagine alternatives. But Cultural Studies, i.e., the integration of language acquisition and cultural learning, is not: the presentation of the trivialities of everyday life (even if in "authentic texts"), politically correct homilies, or memorizing the capital cities of the Länder. Instituted properly, Cultural Studies should be taught by scholars who research and publish on culture. Let me be clear: I am proposing that these topics be treated as integral components of the first-year German class.

Choosing the Cultural Studies option does not absolutely guarantee the integration of the language learning function of the department. People can always make wrong choices, including academics, and it would be a very wrong choice to separate culture from language: because both aspects, culture and language would suffer. Cultural Studies without language learning is a fraud and - to the extent that Cultural Studies today emphasizes a concern with difference - it would be hypocritical and, therefore, very quickly, undermine its own intellectual legitimacy.

Aber Freunde, nicht diese Töne: let us ponder making the right choice and explore some of the ramifications of a reciprocal integration of the language and culture functions of the department. These are my prescriptions for curing the ills of foreign language learning at the post-secondary level.

1. Putting Culture into Language

As long as language instruction remains emphatically separated from literature and culture, it will retain a second-class intellectual status within the department. However, since outsiders think of our fields primarily in terms of language learning (and well they should), that second-class label will stick on all of us. We therefore all share an interest in progress. Meanwhile, as long as the literary and cultural material is deferred until after the acquisition of adequate language skills, language instruction is constantly robbed of what can make it most interesting.

Research in second-language acquisition has shown that students' achievements depend significantly on their L1 abilities, i.e., their interests in matters other than German language impact on their capacity to learn German. That points to a greater integration of intellectually demanding material about German culture into first-year courses. Indeed, given the perennial problem of attrition after the first-year, we should design a curriculum that includes in first-year German considerable cultural material, since this may well be all that a student ever learns about the German-speaking peoples. First-year German Language should therefore be redefined as first-year German Studies. Any residual understanding of language acquisition as merely a matter of technical skills should give way to a course fully integrating linguistic and cultural perspectives. At Stanford, we have been experimenting with using an English-language general discussion of German culture and society, Gordon Craig's, *The Germans*, as assigned reading side by side with a first-year German language text.

2. Putting Language into Culture

In addition to the debate on the canon, the profession has been occupied in recent years with efforts to escape its perceived isolation, sometimes blamed on an excessive orientation to *Germanistik* in the Federal Republic, and to attempt an integration into the larger intellectual discussion in the cultural fields in the United States. This argument for Americanization is often intertwined with personnel issues, especially a perceived generational shift due to which more U.S.-born scholars are occupying positions in German departments.

There are problems with this argument, but there is surely no reason to argue against participation in the wider intellectual life of the American university. However one implication of the strategy entails a denigration of German language skills, since teaching in German is alleged to conflict with the need to increase enrollments. It may also be the case that an exaggerated standard of "near-native fluency" makes some U.S.-born scholars uncomfortable teaching in German. Both parameters are easily understood, and both have to be resisted.

Of course, teaching in English will and should take place in order to reach out to a wider constituency. However, when English-language teaching displaces the core mission of the department - the study of German culture which cannot be pursued seriously without the development and maintenance of strong language skills - institutional viability is endangered. If we shift too far to teaching Kant and Nietzsche in English, the question will quickly be posed as to why that faculty line should not be moved to the Philosophy Department, and that is a fight that we will lose; and once the line is lost to Philosophy, there is no guarantee that it will remain in any way devoted to German material.

3. Putting Faculty into Language

Separating language from literature or culture has meant separating two sets of faculty from each other. Of course, practices vary from institution to institution, and it may be the case that a literature faculty fully separated from language teaching is an artifact of only a few elite universities. Yet those universities set much of the professional tone and establish paradigms of knowledge, leading to perhaps modified hierarchies elsewhere: for example, where language instruction is assigned disproportionately to untenured faculty, with the evidently more important literature courses reserved for senior colleagues; or where the assumption prevails that literature is the ultimate goal of language learning.

These sorts of hierarchies are detrimental to the pursuit of the goals of the department, and they should be done away with. They are detrimental for several reasons, most obviously among which is the irrational distribution of resources it implies: more funding is devoted to the part of the enterprise least interesting to the customers. In addition, to the extent that the tenured faculty has, one assumes, demonstrated records of achievement in scholarship (hence tenure), it is odd to set up barriers that reduce student access to them. Why place the most accomplished scholars in courses which the fewest students can reach? Given our enrollment profiles, that weeding-out strategy no longer makes any sense, if it ever did.

Keeping senior scholars out of language teaching, furthermore, compounds the problematic nature of language classes, i.e., the definition of language learning in terms of technical skills rather than cultural literacy. Conversely, the reassignment of senior scholars to first and second-year classes on a regular basis promises to lead to a transformation of those courses and the integration of weightier cultural material into them.

Is this sort of reassignment plausible? I suspect the results will be mixed, with some colleagues embracing the opportunity to work with beginning students and others resisting it. Some retooling is certain to be necessary (but isn't that good?) In my own department, we have been successful in bringing the so-called literature faculty into second-year classes, and our senior applied linguist has been teaching first-year. (We also have a culture course for freshmen which involves all literature faculty on a regular basis). When I have worked with first-year language-learners, I have found great enthusiasm to raise big questions about Germany and the Germans.

In the long run - and the run is surely not very long anymore - there is no choice but to integrate culture and language and to bring the culture faculty into the language classroom. The alternative is to continue with the status quo of low enrollments in language and even lower ones in the upper division courses, designed to be accessible only to the happy few:

a design that now threatens the viability of our departments. Alas, this problem is not only a German story: in all languages the attrition rate from first to third year is calamitous.

4. Graduate Students and Language

Segregating language from literature or culture has, for too long, sent a message to graduate students that their language teaching should be regarded as a chore, while their genuine intellectual work lies elsewhere. The result has been a psychology that has only reproduced the separation, but the situation is deeply problematic. In a moral sense, it is exploitative of the graduate students, asked to do jobs for which the faculty is too good; and it is abusive of the undergraduates, whom the faculty hopes to see enrolled in courses which are not taken fully seriously.

In a professional sense, it implies that language skills are not as important as interpretive skills, which misleads graduate students to refrain from developing the abilities which will be most pertinent to the job which they may be lucky enough to land.

Instead of conveying a disregard for language learning, we should be insisting on its importance. It is an on-going enterprise in which all scholars, graduate students and faculty alike, are constantly participating. In other words, language learning should be redefined: not as an activity that is completed after x number of years or when one reaches that always elusive near-native stage, but as a life-long process of continual improvement and engagement with the linguistic expression of another culture.

This means that graduate students should continue to work on their language abilities, and not only on their literary research. And it also means that we should give up the notion of "upper division" courses, devoted only to literature - on the other side of the bridge, so to speak - and insist instead that all courses include a strong language acquisition agenda.

Proposals such as these are intended to strengthen the German Studies initiative through a structural integration of language and cultural learning. Without such an integration, the project is deeply flawed and is unlikely to survive the pressures within higher education. These pressures involve resources to be sure, but they are equally intellectual. Cultural Studies is an important development within the humanities, but it is often highly problematic. For all of its important invocation of difference, it is frequently blind to the sort of cultural difference inherent in language. That is the sort of wider American discussion we have every interest in avoiding.

In conclusion, the concrete proposals for post-secondary foreign language instruction boil down to these points. First, it is crucial to integrate a systematic (and not casual) presentation of cultural-historical material into first-year language courses. Secondly, the viability of departments will depend on an end to the separation of language from culture and the separation of language faculty from culture faculty. Finally, we have to focus on proficiency in the sense of encouraging students' ability to achieve in the language. All this however depends on the ability to overcome the split between K-12 and post-secondary education, a fatal flaw for foreign language education. By building bridges, networks and alliances, foreign language instructors may have the strength to withstand the opposition to our shared project.

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Les Pièces de boulevard et la classe de français: perfectionnement, création et interaction

Florence Ramond Jurney
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Dans les années 80, un nouveau courant d'enseignement des langues est apparu dans le monde de l'éducation: on est ainsi passé d'un apprentissage de la langue "théorique" (insistant sur les structures et la grammaire) à un apprentissage de la langue "parlée" (insistant sur la conversation.) Les adeptes de cette vision de l'enseignement des langues voient dans le jeu théâtral l'un des meilleurs moyens pour augmenter les performances linguistiques des étudiants à cause du travail de mémorisation et d'expression corporelle que celui-ci demande. Les Essif souligne ce point de vue en soutenant qu'en utilisant le théâtre, "[t]eachers ... divert the curricular focus from the vocabulary and grammar in themselves to the students' imaginative use of them in concrete situations."[1]

Cependant, les étudiants de niveau troisième année en langues vivantes à l'université peuvent se montrer réticents quand on leur demande de jouer des saynètes inventées par eux-mêmes; cela leur apparaît comme un exercice "déjà-vu" qu'on leur propose dès la première année de français. Le théâtre quant à lui est souvent un nouvel exercice. L'expérience de jouer une pièce est très positive car elle confronte les élèves à un texte dont ils ne connaissent pas forcément tous les mots ni les idiomes, tout cela hors du cadre rigide de la salle de classe. De plus, il est un lien rêvé entre la littérature et la conversation spontanée. Enfin, il est d'autant mieux accepté par les élèves que leur attention se centre non pas sur le français mais sur la représentation.[2]

L'idée d'un cours qui donnerait naissance à une pièce de théâtre jouée par des étudiants de français a vu le jour à Lewis & Clark College comme un projet dont chacun et chacune voulait voir où il pouvait mener. Les pages suivantes présentent diverses réflexions sur l'expérience qui a été tentée, de sa naissance à son résultat.

Naissance du projet: choix du texte et des étudiants

Le choix de la pièce a été l'une des premières difficultés rencontrées, car il faut qu'elle soit sélectionnée selon des paramètres de niveau, difficulté de langue, ou de sens. En effet, lorsque nous pensons au théâtre français, nous imaginons peut-être le théâtre classique de Molière, Racine ou Corneille. Pour ceux qui se veulent moins traditionnels, il existe probablement Marivaux. Enfin, il est possible que ceux qui recherchent du théâtre plus "léger" pensent à Feydeau. Cependant, le langage utilisé dans ces pièces est bien souvent dépassé, et lorsqu'il est réutilisé tel quel par nos étudiants (pas forcément spécialistes), il fait sourire les Français. (On peut penser ici aux nombreux "sacrebleu" appris aux étudiants par un professeur soucieux d'éviter les grossièretés contemporaines, et qui extrait des *Trois Mousquetaires*[3] ou de *Cyrano de Bergerac*[4] semble être une valeur sûre et inoffensive de la langue française.)

Pourquoi alors ne pas aborder le théâtre de boulevard qui n'est pas sérieux, ne suit pas de règles, dont le langage utilisé n'est pas toujours des plus soutenus, mais qui a pourtant "bon public?"[5]

Comme son nom l'indique, c'est un théâtre venu des boulevards et originellement du boulevard du Temple à Paris. En effet les six salles de théâtre implantées avant la Révolution française entre la Porte Saint-Martin et la Bastille y étaient très populaires. On y trouvait à l'affiche toutes sortes de pièces légères destinées à divertir le tout-venant.

Dans nos classes de français, l'intérêt de ce genre est que c'est un théâtre de moeurs qui intervient dans les problèmes du temps (comme le divorce, l'émancipation des femmes, etc.) De plus, il prend partie, et bien souvent il préconise des solutions. Enfin, influencé par les dramaturgies étrangères et le langage lui-même, il évolue d'autant plus qu'il n'obéit pas à des règles strictes. Les pièces de boulevard contemporaines sont donc idéales pour les étudiants de français car elles reflètent bien les soucis et les joies d'une génération. Elles utilisent aussi le langage idiomatique récent que nos élèves entendent dans la rue lorsqu'ils sont en France.

Pour le projet qui a eu lieu à Lewis & Clark College, la pièce choisie appartient à ce qu'on appelle "le nouveau théâtre de boulevard," c'est à dire écrite après les années 30. Ce nouveau théâtre de boulevard reflète l'éclatement de ce qui était considéré comme la loi du genre, c'est à dire la variation autour du lit. Marcel Pagnol le décrit comme une bouffée d'air, et explique que grâce à lui "l'air du temps pénètre dans les salons, et, avec lui, le monde contemporain, ses techniques et ses problèmes, du cinéma au krach boursier en passant par l'aviation et le journalisme."[6]

La pièce *Les Jours heureux* de Claude-André Puget a été sélectionnée dans le catalogue de la Librairie Théâtrale à Paris.[7] Elle rentre tout à fait dans la définition que Marcel Pagnol fait du nouveau théâtre de boulevard, et est décrite par Michel Corvin comme

> une peinture transfigurée de la vie quotidienne dont les acteurs ne sont ni des mufles ni des elfes. [C'est un] hymne à la fraîcheur des amours juvéniles. [Dans *Les Jours heureux*,] le miracle de l'Amour s'incarne, à force de rêves, en un bel aviateur tout en s'accommodant d'un dialogue ... très "nature:" Puget est spirituel sans chercher à faire de l'esprit sentimental, sans tomber dans la sensiblerie, capable comme personne de suivre les méandres, dans leurs foucades et leurs désespoirs vrais, des amours adolescentes.[8]

C'est ce côté "naturel" qui a indéniablement attiré les candidats.

Tous les étudiants de français n'ayant cependant pas forcément des talents d'acteur hors-pair, leur choix a donc été influencé principalement par leur motivation, mais aussi par leur habilité à prononcer correctement des phrases et des idiomatismes simples en français. La motivation et l'engagement personnel des étudiants-acteurs sont extrêmement importants car le texte à retenir par coeur peut-être très long.

Le déroulement des répétitions

Dès les premières répétitions, il a semblé indispensable d'inclure des exercices généraux de prononciation et de respiration. Ils ont servi, entre autres, à effacer une certaine tension due au fait que chacun devait s'entendre parler à haute-voix une langue étrangère qu'aucun ne maîtrisait parfaitement. Une cassette, donnée à chaque étudiant, et sur laquelle la pièce était jouée par des Français, a aidé à la prononciation et à l'inflexion de la voix. Cela a aussi permis aux étudiants de comprendre véritablement combien le ton de la voix pouvait donner vie à certains mots plats et insignifiants. L'exemple le plus frappant de la pièce se trouve dans l'acte I au moment où Marianne annonce à ses cousins qu'elle a rencontré un homme dont elle est tombée amoureuse:

> Marianne: Mais quoi? Mais quoi? Qu'est-ce qui vous étonne? Qu'il m'ait prise dans ses bras? Nous nous aimons, je vous dis.
> Olivier: Ils s'aiment, voyons!

> Francine: Elle l'aime!
> Bernard: Il l'aime!
> Olivier: Vous vous aimez!
> Bernard, *rythmé*: C'est fou, ce qu'y s'aiment! C'est fou, ce qu'y s'aiment![9]

Sur le papier, toutes ces phrases se ressemblent. Pourtant, dans le contexte de la pièce, la première est une affirmation, la deuxième a le ton de la moquerie, la troisième de la surprise mêlée à la fois de peur et de respect, la quatrième de l'admiration, la cinquième de l'ironie, et enfin la sixième de la joie innocente. Après avoir remarqué ce genre de détails, l'inflexion de la voix a pris pour les étudiants une dimension toute autre.

Le texte était divisé en "parties" (segmentées arbitrairement) dont le but était la mémorisation rapide et la répétition constante. En effet, travailler trop longtemps sur un même passage amène un sentiment de fatigue qui peut glisser vers l'échec. Il est donc préférable d'être guidé par l'esprit de la pièce vers le français. Le français parfait étant une notion difficile à atteindre, l'esprit de la pièce n'est jamais découvert si l'on s'attache trop à la langue.

Durant les répétitions, il est devenu évident que le théâtre était vraiment un exercice complémentaire à la classe de français traditionnelle. En effet, le théâtre ne peut remplacer nos classes de français, il les renforce car il met en jeu la lecture à haute voix dans laquelle les étudiants-acteurs se sentent à l'aise de "mettre le ton" puisqu'il s'agit de théâtre; il permet aux étudiants de rencontrer, d'apprendre et de comprendre du vocabulaire et des expressions idiomatiques en situation; enfin, il donne aux étudiants une liberté avec la langue jusque-là insoupçonnée.

Cette notion de "français-liberté" et donc naturel a été très bien mis en valeur lors des moments d'oubli. En effet, durant les répétitions, personne ne soufflait le texte aux étudiants, les forçant ainsi à inventer des phrases générales en français, rendant la conversation plus naturelle et évitant la panique due aux "trous de mémoire." Cette technique a permis aux étudiants de maîtriser non seulement les onomatopées et les interjections françaises, mais, et cela a été beaucoup plus important, d'acquérir une certaine confiance en eux et en leurs possibilités de manier la langue française "sans filet."

Une nouvelle dimension pédagogique: les interactions multiples

L'interaction naturelle entre les différents acteurs n'est pas une donnée immédiate dans un groupe. C'est la compréhension véritable de la pièce et l'accès à l'humour qui en sont bien souvent la base. Comme la notion de compréhension et la notion d'humour sont étroitement liées, les étudiants doivent nécessairement aller au delà de la compréhension de base pour pouvoir communiquer entre eux à un degré plus élevé. Dans la scène, dite de la confiture par exemple, (Acte I), compréhension et humour ne font qu'un. Pendant le petit déjeuner, Olivier apprend à son cousin Bernard que leur vieille cousine Emma est morte:

> Olivier: Tu es malade? (*Un temps.*) Ben, tu ne vas pas pleurer? Il n'y a pas de quoi être triste. Tiens! Prends de la confiture. Ça te consolera.
> Bernard: Oui. (*Il se sert.*) Moi, la mort, ça m'attriste toujours. Et quand je pense à la cousine Emma, je me dis que... (*S'interrompant.*) On ne l'a pas fait assez cuire.
> Olivier: Emma?
> Bernard: La confiture, idiot. Elle est aigre.
> Olivier: Ah! Bien! C'est dommage. Je trouvais ça drôle, moi, cette idée de n'avoir pas fait assez cuire la cousine Emma![10] .

Dans ce cas précis, quand le jeu de mots sur la cousine qu'on aurait cuite au lieu de la confiture a été compris, les étudiants jouaient la scène de

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façon beaucoup plus naturelle: il y avait quelque chose de drôle dans le texte, et ils le maîtrisaient!

Une fois l'humour dominé, le jeu personnel de chaque acteur est transcendé pour devenir jeu collectif dans un espace théâtral qui n'est plus un espace américain mais qui est devenu un espace français.[11] Les étudiants passent d'une conversation polie dans laquelle personne ne s'interrompt (espace américain,) à un feu d'artifice d'"interruptions-ponctuations ... preuve de spontanéité, d'enthousiasme et de chaleur, ... source d'imprévu, d'intérêt et de stimulation, ... appel à la participation et au plaisir" (espace français.)[12] Dans la scène où Olivier et Bernard veulent se battre contre un éventuel rival, les mots fusaient et les étudiants-acteurs se laissaient emporter par les insultes tout en en rajoutant parfois certaines de leur cru:

> (*Olivier et Bernard qui écument de fureur ... veulent de nouveau s'élancer sur Michel. Les trois filles s'accrochent à eux.*)
>
> Olivier et Bernard: Laissez-nous! Allez-vous en! Je me charge de le dérouiller, je te dis! Mais laissez-nous donc! Laissez-nous! Mais laissez-nous!
>
> Les trois filles, *presque en même temps qu'eux*: Quoi? Quoi? Vous n'allez pas recommencer? C'est de la folie furieuse, enfin?
>
> Francine, *à Michel*: Je vous en prie, Michel. Allez dans votre chambre.
>
> Olivier: C'est ça! Qu'il y aille, dans sa chambre! Perdra rien pour attendre!
>
> Bernard: Voleur! Pignouf! Ordure! (*Francine lui flanque une gifle retentissante.*) Oh!
>
> Marianne: Bernard!
>
> Olivier: Pied plat! Grand lâche! Couillon malade!
>
> Pernette: Voulez-vous vous taire! Voulez-vous vous taire!
>
> Bernard: Moi, j'ai dit que je lui casserai la gueule, et je lui casserai la gueule!
>
> Michel, *à Francine*: Ils méritent tout de même une petite leçon, vous savez!
>
> Olivier: Une leçon? Une leçon? Mais laissez-nous la lui flanquer, sa volée, à ce foetus, à cette épidémie!
>
> Francine, *à Michel*: Vous voyez bien qu'ils ne sont pas dans leur état normal... Impossible de les calmer si vous restez là...
>
> Michel, *se dirigeant vers l'escalier et montant rapidement*: Vous avez raison!
>
> Olivier: Il a les foies, l'aviateur!
>
> Bernard: Va donc, hé, foireux![13]

Les paroles entraînent les gestes qui entraînent la spontanéité: le théâtre devient donc pour les étudiants-acteurs non plus un exercice, mais un vécu. Le français n'est plus une théorie, d'artificiel il est devenu réel.

Au fil des répétitions, les étudiants-acteurs se sont rapprochés de manière à former un groupe très soudé. Ils sentaient en effet le besoin de former une équipe afin d'être en interaction et non en confrontation avec le public. Tandis que le public du théâtre s'attend en général à être diverti mais aussi à être instruit, le public du théâtre de boulevard, lui, n'attend bien souvent qu'une seule chose: être diverti. Il recherche un plaisir immédiat, qui ne favorise évidemment pas la mise en scène. Il est bien souvent un public jeune, d'esprit si ce n'est d'âge, influencé par la télévision et la bande dessinée.

Le public de Lewis & Clark est lui aussi jeune et veut être diverti. Il éprouve cependant une satisfaction supplémentaire par rapport au public français: celle de comprendre un texte dans une langue étrangère.

Un texte long, et donc une pièce entière, est cependant loin d'être un obstacle à l'interaction entre les acteurs et ce public particulier. En effet, il les rapproche. Une pièce qui forme en elle-même une unité, motive tous ceux qui prennent part au projet: les uns viennent voir une histoire drôle et simple qui les divertit et ils restent cloués à leur siège d'un acte à l'autre grâce au suspense inhérent à la pièce; les autres ont le réel sentiment de faire rire et pleurer un public qu'ils manipulent car ils possèdent la clé de l'intrigue.

A Lewis & Clark, le département de théâtre organise chaque semestre une série de pièces qui sont jouées pour la communauté sur la scène du Fir Acres Theater. En devenant acteurs dans une pièce française, nos étudiants font alors partie du groupe de ceux qu'ils regardent comme des spécialistes: ils ne sont plus des *étudiants* de français mais deviennent des *acteurs* de français. De plus, l'atmosphère de la classe est totalement oubliée puisqu'ils portent des costumes et jouent sous les lumières de la scène. Enfin, leur but n'est plus de travailler pour la note et le professeur, mais pour ce public face auquel ils ne peuvent être ridicules. Investis du titre d'acteurs, ils refusent de décevoir un public, connu et inconnu, qui ne s'est déplacé que pour les voir.

Ainsi, on peut être entièrement d'accord avec Erika Fischer-Lichte qui insiste sur l'importance du public au théâtre: "The audience is in fact a constitutive part of theater: without an audience there can be no performance."[14] Sans le public, la motivation du groupe n'a plus le même poids, et d'un exercice vivant transcendant les frontières, on retombe dans un exercice limité par les quatres murs de la salle de classe.

Alors, motivés et fiers de leur performance en français, les acteurs ont tous pris différentes responsabilités quant à la publicité, le choix des costumes et des accessoires. L'interaction des étudiants-acteurs a atteint sa dimension maximale en s'élargissant à tout le campus.

La réalisation d'affiches a été très révélatrice en ce que les dessins de chacun symbolisaient ce qui était important pour eux: les uns en ont fait une métaphore de la pièce, les autres une affiche de "propagande" du français sur le campus.

La réalisation du programme a été l'occasion d'inclure dans le projet des étudiants autres que les étudiants-acteurs. Certains se sont proposés de lire la pièce et d'en faire un résumé en français et un autre en anglais pour le public. D'autres ont demandé à aider en coulisses, à la régie, ou à l'accueil du public et à la distribution des programmes. Ainsi, d'un petit projet de six étudiants-acteurs, la pièce de théâtre touchait le campus en donnant à tous ceux qui le voulaient une part active à sa réalisation.

Enfin, les professeurs de français du département ont choisi de faire étudier à leurs élèves un extrait de la pièce dont le suspense a poussé beaucoup à venir assister à la représentation. L'accent était mis sur le fait que les acteurs étaient des étudiants qu'ils connaissaient. Ils pouvaient donc s'identifier à leur effort et devenir, pourquoi pas, actifs dans un projet identique dans le futur. Cette expérience était donc destinée à dynamiser non seulement la section de français, mais aussi le campus dans son ensemble, en prouvant à tous que jouer dans une langue étrangère était à leur portée.

Si cette expérience était à renouveler, il faudrait peut-être penser de nouveau à une pièce de boulevard car c'est un théâtre de l'invention et de la surprise,[15] qui, s'il ne peut être utilisé pour remplacer la classe de langue, peut en être un complément utile pour les bons élèves des niveaux intermédiaires ou les élèves des niveaux avancés. Il ne doit pas être considéré comme "la cinquième roue de la charrette," mais comme un projet qui doit réussir. Le français parfois un peu figé qui lasse peut-être nos étudiants leur apparaît alors comme libre et vivant. D'"entraîneur de peuple"[16] il devient donc "entraîneur des étudiants dans le français" en ce qu'il est un indéniable élément de motivation à l'apprentissage d'une langue vivante.

Notes

1. Les Essif, "Way off Broadway and Way out of the Classroom: American Students De-, Re-, and Performing the French Dramatic Text," *ADFL Bulletin* 27.1 (1995), p. 32.

2. Essif, p. 32.

3. Alexandre Dumas, *Les Trois Mousquetaires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962).

4. Edmond Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac* (Paris: Garnier Flammarion, 1989).

5. Michel Corvin, *Le Théâtre de boulevard* (Paris: P.U.F. Collection Que Sais-Je, 1989), p. 3.

6. Corvin, p. 49.

7. On peut se procurer le catalogue en écrivant à la Librairie Théâtrale, 3 rue de Marivaux, 75002 Paris. Chaque pièce est suivie d'un bref résumé, du nombre d'acteurs hommes et femmes qui y apparaissent, et de la durée de la représentation.

8. Corvin, pp. 73-74.

9. Claude-André Puget, *Les Jours heureux* (Paris: Librairie Théâtrale, 1938), p. 60-61.

10. Puget, p. 26.

11. Raymonde Carroll, *Evidences invisibles: Américains et Français au quotidien* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987), p. 63.

12. Carroll, p. 63.

13. Puget, pp. 96-97.

14. Erika Fischer-Lichte, *The Semiotics of Theater*, trans. Jeremy gaines and Doris L. Jones (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1992) quoted in Les Essif, "Way off Broadway and Way out of the Classroom: American Students De-, Re-, and Per-forming the French Dramatic Text," *ADFL Bulletin* 27.1 (1995), p. 33.

15. Corvin, p. 124.

16. Corvin, p. 124.

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Acts, Turns and Routines: Strategies for Foreign Language Teaching Suggested by Discourse Analysis

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If we take a textbook definition of discourse analysis, "the investigation of the relationship between form and function in verbal communication" (Renkema 1) and reword it slightly, the result would read like a reasonably good definition of our profession's pedagogical emphasis: the teaching of "the relationship between form and function" in a foreign language. Discourse analysis seeks "to discover the rules for the production of coherent verbal interaction;" foreign language teaching deals with the "functional level of discourse" which "regulates any verbal interaction and has to be explored if one is to understand what goes on between speaker and hearer" (Kramsch 2). Just as the discourse analyst is "fundamentally concerned with the relationship between language and the contexts of its use" (McCarthy 10), the foreign language teacher's goal is to bring the student to the point of understanding the forms of the target language well enough to employ those forms in as many contexts as possible.

In recent decades many foreign language teachers have participated in a major shift away from the traditional emphases of foreign language pedagogy and linguistics - the forms and patterns which are the products of language - to a less purely linguistic interest in "the behaviors and strategies language users avail themselves of in producing and understanding language" (Fillmore 15). This shift would appear to be clearly in keeping with the spirit of discourse analysis, which concerns itself above all with those behaviors and strategies and their interactive output. Any move away from the predominantly linguistic emphasis in foreign language teaching would also seem to be a logical and desirable one for the profession, since linguistic research is at best only partially concerned with spoken language in the contexts of conversations (Henne &c 235).

Speech in conversational contexts constitutes one very significant communicative function of a language. Understanding and acquiring a language must then involve to some extent the ability to recognize the communicative functions carried out by its phrases and sentences, their interrelationships in context (Widdowson 60), and how to use those verbal means to communicate. It would seem logical that the interactive, communicative characteristics, rather than the forms of language, should become the new cynosures of language teaching; the "tactical manoeuvering" (Widdowson 64) of speaking in a foreign language should now take precedence over the manipulation of grammatical and syntactical forms. As to the usefulness of learning rules of verbal interaction in preference to learning the rules of grammar, we could argue that explicit knowledge of such rules would benefit a foreign language learner, since most native speakers of a language often act according to rules which they have never been made explicitly aware of (Fritz &c 81). Thus, clear explicit knowledge of these rules could only put the foreign language learner at an advantage in the give and take of verbal interaction.

There are also signs that the foci in some areas of linguistics have also changed. Work in generative semantics has evinced growing interest in the relationship between grammatical rules generating sentences and the *pragmatic* rules governing their use as performative utterances. The evidence indicates:

> that pure linguists and discourse analysts, both drawing on speech act philosophy for their own purposes, are now approaching common ground and that the results of their research will soon begin to cross-fertilise. (Coulthard 27)

Because of its principal concerns, discourse analysis is the field of language-related study which presently shares more interests than any other with foreign-language pedagogy. Both discourse analysts and foreign language pedagogues are concerned with how speakers select, formulate and convey information, the amount of information they can assume is shared and can be taken for granted, essentially, how information is accessed (Stubbs 30-31). Intriguing also is the possibility that the structure of discourse itself may give rise to the syntactic structures of speech (Kramsch 7). The foreign language pedagogues' interest necessarily goes one step further - in finding ways to help learners acquire the ability to convey that information in the appropriate syntactic structures of a foreign language.

This is not to say that foreign language pedagogues have completely distanced themselves from grammar instruction or might eventually do so. Rather, the recent shift among many foreign language professionals has been from the grammarians' "rules of *usage* which are exemplified in *sentences*" to something nearer discourse analysts' interest in the "rules of *use* which describe how *utterances* perform social acts" (Coulthard 9). McCarthy takes the position that "natural and sophisticated discourse" cannot be achieved without a command of grammar. He argues for the inseparability of structuring the units of speech and creating coherent discourse while still advocating the examination of "what discourse analysts can tell us about contextualised uses of structures and grammatical items" and the consideration of:

> whether grammar teaching needs to broaden or shift its orientations to cover significant areas at present under-represented in grammar teaching. (34)

Nevertheless, the applicability of discourse analytical insights to foreign language pedagogy is certainly not universally accepted. Gregg deplores the lack of a theoretical foundation and formalizing structure in the work of many discourse researchers, for "the lack of any formal rules and the absence of research guided by a commitment to devising such rules," leave us with informal description at best (30). He is also concerned that the influence of discourse analysis might bring about an undesirable rejection of the role of grammar in second language teaching. He maintains that "grammar is essential, and it cannot be reduced away to communication or discourse function." (27)

Two practitioner-advocates of discourse analysis are clearly aware of these and other objections. Stubbs allows for the possibility that no real linguistic organization to discourse exists (86) and that in the discipline of discourse analysis there exists a danger of devoting too much attention to aspects of interaction "which had no reality for the conversationalists at the time" (229). McCarthy also concedes that, although discourse analysis is able to "highlight problem areas" in foreign language teaching, "it cannot give simple solutions to the problems" (126).

Generative linguistics, as well, comes under fire from at least one discourse analyst for failing in much of its research to recognize the important functions of stereotyping and standardization in language while emphasizing the role of creativity. Stubbs believes that "the balance of routine and creativity is an empirical question which has been neglected" (155).

Although acknowledging the validity of some objections to discourse analysis, Stubbs still recognizes, with a touch of irony, a constructive role for the discipline:

> It is easy to get the impression that discourse analysis is at least a foolhardy, if not quite impossible undertaking, and that expanding the narrow range of phenomena that linguists study to include natural language in use causes all hell to break loose. Certainly, the task is daunting. However, the chaos can be contained in various ways, and, in fact, only some hell breaks loose. (15)

Foreign language pedagogues now devote more attention to the sociological function of language largely due to the influence of discourse analysis on linguistic and pedagogical research. Characterizing language and societal behavior as "equal partners," Fishman points out that "language behavior feeds back upon the social reality that it reflects and helps to reinforce it (or to change it) in accord with the values and goals of particular interlocutors" (170). Language behavior is, then, an index of social behavior, which suggests that foreign language teaching must also necessarily concern itself with accounting for differences in register and the contexts in which linguistic interactions take place (Lakoff 909; Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 175). Thus, understanding the conventions of discourse can help the foreign language learner acquire a command of the structures of a language. This understanding can be achieved most efficiently by giving language learners the opportunity to draw on the experience of language use in real contexts (Widdowson 53).

Such an approach appears to obviate using any structurally formulaic method of teaching a foreign language, although at the elementary level the usefulness of such formulas is not so easy to deny. It is important simply to realize that the formulaic character of much native-speaker language encompasses a "greater range of formulae to call upon for use in a wider range of strategic domains," due to a native-speaker's wider experience in discourse contexts, a reality which would both support "creating minimal contexts in the teaching of common communicative functions" and pointing out "the limited value of teaching single utterances" (McCarthy 122). A most persuasive finding of discourse analytical research is that "sentences used communicatively in discourse do not in themselves express independent propositions: they take on value in relation to other propositions expressed through other sentences" (Widdowson 26). Foreign language teaching then becomes much more than teaching structure and vocabulary. Teaching the interactive aspects of topics and ways to develop and change them in discourse through both speaking and listening practice would "raise learners' awareness of how speakers mark topic shifts by means of activities focusing on points in the talk where speakers make summaries and evaluations, and on markers and pitch changes" (McCarthy 135). Command of structure would then dovetail neatly with command of interactive functions, the latter lending essential aid in developing the former.

With respect to teaching both structures and functions in a foreign language, discourse analysis, as McCarthy maintains, "has presented us with a fundamentally different way of looking at language compared with sentence-dominated models, one in which the traditional elements of grammar, lexis and phonology still have a fundamental part to play, but one which is bigger and more immediately relevant." The foreign language teaching profession now is consequently better informed about "what people actually do with language when they speak and write and no longer have to rely on what textbooks largely based on intuition and sometimes, sadly, on Classical-based notions of what 'good' usage is, claim to be the way people speak and write" (170).

To what extent, then, are the findings of discourse analysis useful in any concrete application to foreign language teaching practice? This still incomplete and often somewhat nebulous sociolinguistic area of research must surely offer some beneficial approaches and satisfactory solutions to at least some of the problems of teaching foreign languages. The existence of book-length works on the subject, such as Kramsch's (1981) and McCarthy's (1991), might leave the impression that discourse analytical findings present a complete system of recipes for success in foreign language teaching. With all due respect to the valuable elucidations of discourse analysis and its role in foreign language pedagogy by both authors and to the numerous practical suggestions in their works for teaching approaches derived from the findings of discourse analysis, the principal value of this discipline as a guiding light for foreign language pedagogues, I believe, is found in its most fundamental theories of interaction: speech act theory, the resulting analyses of turn taking formulas and the role of linguistic routines.

Discourse analysts have generally agreed upon the term "speech acts" to name those markers carried through part if not all of a conversation. They are defined as cooperative structures of action determined by theme and situation which represent specific stages in the course of a conversation (Henne &c 173) or as "initiations which require responses" and which determine "local organization of sequences of utterances" (Stubbs 149). Henne and Rehbock refer to this type of act with the term "*gesprächsstrukturierender Sprechakt*" (27) ("conversation-structuring speech act"), while other scholars define speech acts more "according to psychological and social functions outside the on-going discourse" (Stubbs 149), wherein the speech act "effects an alteration in the social situation existing between the speaker and the addressee" and brings with it the fulfillment or elicitation of obligations for the participants in the discourse (Wunderlich 288).

A speech act, therefore, gives an obligatory impetus either to action on the part of one or more interlocutors to further speech acts (affirmative or negative) by these interlocutors or to mere confirmation of the initial speech act (Henne &c 203).

The marking aspect of speech acts can be characterized on both a thematic and actional level (Henne &c 174). An initial speech act refers to the content of discourse and can be "thematic" in nature, whereas a subsequent speech act refers rather to the discourse itself and its structure, thus constituting a "structuring" speech act (Engel 299). This structuring act has further characteristics depending on its sequence in an exchange: an initial one would function as introductory and context-producing, a medial and later one would function as confirming and information-strengthening (Henne &c 182-183).

Structurally, then, a speech act determines subsequent acts by initiating them. It also determines them on the actional, thematic content and relationship level through the modes of option, motivation or conclusion and can determine simultaneously different levels in different ways. Its determining effect is relative to the individual's psychic disposition and to the listener's implicit understanding of the rules of discourse (Henne &c 210-211). Each speech act has its speaker, its addressees, totality of hearers, including those other than the addressees and an assumed public to which the theme of the act could be transmitted (Wunderlich 286). At the core of any speech act, however, is the *option* to respond, an option powerful enough that an interlocutor can choose to ignore the option only at the risk of appearing uncommunicative (Henne &c 207). As Wunderlich summarized:

> most speech acts are preceded by other acts; in any case there already exists a social situation. ... Such acts ... REALIZE CERTAIN INITIAL CONDITIONS ... according to existing social rules; they thus ENGENDER PARTICULAR OBLIGATIONS for the case in question. (289)

The reason for studying speech acts is to analyze the set of circumstances which a given conversation results from and is part of (Sacks, Schegloff and Walters 9) for the purpose of gaining "insights into the requirements which the production of a form (the illocution) must meet to ensure that the illocution takes place," and to discover as well what is required "in order to determine the relationship between form and function" in a given conversation (Renkema 25).

For their research on speech acts, Fraser, Rintell and Walters make three assumptions:

> 1. Every language makes available to the user the same basic set of speech acts....
> 2. Every language makes available the same set of strategies - semantic formulas - for performing a given speech act.
> 3. Language will differ significantly with respect to both *when* a particular speech act ought to be, ought not to be, or may be performed, and with *what* strategy. (78)

The need to teach specific speech act strategies is implied in the third assumption, which expresses the belief "that although the inventory of speech acts and performing strategies may be basically the same across languages, two languages ... may differ significantly in terms of what you do when, and how" (Fraser, Rintell and Walters 79).

Cohen sees speech acts as a "particular challenge for the target language learner." He defines them as "patterned, routinized utterances that speakers use regularly to perform a variety of functions ... such as apologies, complaints, requests, refusals, and compliments" (64). The task then for the teacher is to help the learner acquire the ability to know how to "execute a given speech act appropriately." No one can assume that the learner will simply pick up the "set of strategies and the language forms to be used in realizing each strategy" (65).

His observations on the speech acts of apology by students of Hebrew as a second language yielded the finding that nonnatives lacked sensitivity to certain distinctions that natives make, such as between forms for realizing the strategy of expressing an apology such as "Excuse me" and "Sorry" (Cohen 153), whereas nonnatives tended to intensify their apologies more than natives and used a "wider and more indiscriminate set of forms" (Cohen 152).

Cohen's findings suggest that teaching these speech act sets to advanced second language learners would be more efficient, since these learners "were somewhat more likely to select apology strategies similar to those that native speakers used in that situation" (153). Speech act instruction in general would appear to be more appropriate for advanced level conversation courses because of the need to "'fine tune' speech act utterance for the given situation" (66). This conclusion is supported by Bialystok's findings that students are not able to effectively use communication strategies of any kind without first having acquired a certain amount of formal proficiency in the target language (115-116).

Although speech acts might define the

"situations" and "horizons" of conversations (Brinkmann 171), the actual process and progress of a conversation rely upon the "turn" and the procedure of "turn taking." Seen as a "basic form of organization for conversation" (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 10), a turn is said to be "at least partially organized via language-specific constructional formats, for example, syntactic construction" (Sacks &c 46). There is evidence, as well, that appropriate turn taking is already of great importance to children in their conversational interaction (Coulthard 166). Turn taking, "one of the most important strategies of conversation" (Kramsch 8), amounts to a hearer's - or next speaker's - ability to "begin as soon as a current speaker has reached a possible completion," to recognize when a speaker's utterance is possibly complete - a function requiring considerable skill on the part of the listener - which "explains the low incidence of overlap and silence" in most conversations (Coulthard 55). This skill necessarily includes evaluating the content of the speaker's utterances (McCarthy 123), which also implies a certain adeptness in evaluating and using "structural and interactive features of topics" (McCarthy 132).

Any amount of speaking ability in a foreign language would apparently have to involve considerable skill in the interactional aspects of discourse, particularly in turn taking. The kind of language which should then be "aimed at in communicative language teaching and for all aspects of the complex chain of materials, methodology, implementation and evaluation" (McCarthy 19), would be based on instructing learner's to achieve successful exchanges of the speaker-listener roles in discourse. The main focus in second language instruction should therefore be the *interactional* rather than the *transactional*, a focus requiring a certain unpredictability to be built in to role play activities, unpredictable social talk being an aspect singled out by many foreign language students as a source of particular difficulty (McCarthy 137).

In teaching any foreign language, the instructor cannot assume that the student will already possess adeptness at recognizing points of possible completion by interlocutors and at taking up one's turn in a conversation. Though native speakers apparently develop these skills early on, foreign language learners cannot necessarily be expected to transfer them from the native to the foreign language without a minimum of practice. Since a speaker's turn-yielding signals can be intonational, paralinguistic, kinesic or syntactic (Duncan 286-287), the auditor has the daunting task of being able to recognize such signals and respond appropriately to them. By logical extension, the foreign language instructor has the more daunting task of fashioning role play and verbal exchange activities which afford learners the opportunity to practice these signal recognition and turn taking abilities.

To what extent turn taking *can* be taught is a valid consideration for any foreign language teacher. The commonly used paired interview activity (with subsequent report to the group at large) has the inherent weakness of encouraging the questioners to concentrate on the journalistic function of information gathering and sharing rather than on exchanging information (McCarthy 124-125) and mitigates rather strongly against practicing turn-taking in conversation.

Students need practice in "hooking-on" to the statements of their interlocutors and developing their own contributions to the exchange from that point of connection. Even when using "pre-set" topics in the class, as many instructors do, a teacher should adopt a more open-ended policy towards where the students can go with these topics without undue concern if "the discourse develops its own momentum and goes off in unpredictable directions" (McCarthy 70).

The key appears to lie in developing activities which will "generate the natural sorts of turn-taking that occur in the target discourse type and so not inhibit typical turn-taking patterns" (McCarthy 128).

Activities should help raise a learner's awareness of the boundary markers and points of possible completion in discourse, and thus help a learner develop a feel for turn-taking. One would be the "topping-and-tailing" activity of supplying only the "middle" of a conversation, leaving it up to the interlocutors to supply appropriate beginnings and ends which lead into and result from the middle in an appropriate manner (McCarthy 131). Tasks involving development of a conversation from an element contained within an anecdote or story or timed discussions based on a "preordained list of topics" or reciprocity activities in which one speaker must respond to another speaker's comments on life, feelings and experiences or any task which builds in "some mechanism for ensuring reciprocity" (McCarthy 135-136) can go far in helping foreign language learners become accustomed to exchanging comments and information with each other, rather than merely collecting a few pertinent facts to report to a group at large.

Some of the more concrete analyses of discourse structures and discourse process types which have come out in recent years may also prove helpful to foreign language pedagogues in planning types of guided conversational practice, but these analyses are far from complete in covering all possible discourse and present for now only a promising beginning for those interested in presenting syllabi for an order of natural acquisition in foreign language learning. The methods and approaches of discourse analysis have not yet advanced to the point that exhaustively large corpora of natural speech exist with which we can analyze and determine for certain which linguistic structures and interactive situations are the most useful to teach. A certain amount of intuition will have to serve at present (McCarthy 119).

Certain limitations of foreign language learners must be acknowledged and provided for by instructors. The learner is not going to be able to match the native speaker's ability to "improvise, maintain continuity in speech and comprehension, respond immediately to unexpected utterances, make rapid changes of topic and speaker, and so on," nor be able to respond as well to "the communicative stress ... of real time processing" (Stubbs 36). Our communicative activities, at least in the first two years of instruction, should be so structured as to allow learners to experience this stress with concrete linguistic aids designed to help them become adept at processing input and formulating appropriate responses.

An aid to foreign language instruction given new legitimacy through the findings of discourse analysis results from the study of set linguistic routines in human interactions. These are defined as "routinised utterance segments holding one or more open slots, such as 'Would you please X', 'Do you mind if X'" (Edmondson 292). Characteristic of routines is that they are formed from multiples of lexical items, are transparent in their discourse functions, permit "little or no lexical, morphological or transformational variation," tend to be "stored as chunked wholes in the discourse system," are quickly accessed and used almost automatically and are so useful as to be "produced with relative frequency, by a significant section of a speech community" (Edmondson 292-293).

It has been suggested that children in their first language acquisition build up their communicative competencies through practice of formulaic language which comes to constitute a body of "social scripts" (Dore 58). These formulaic expressions, which may be evoked by standardized situations (Edmondson 294), facilitate understanding and provide for a more relaxed atmosphere and fluency between interlocutors. In second language learning/acquisition, they could help the learners structure the course of a dialogue and master definite communicative tasks without the need to solve significant problems of linguistic structure during interaction (Lüger 8, 10). In fact, a systematic presentation of common and necessary routine linguistic formulas before the beginning of an interactive activity is strongly recommended (Lüger 52). One interpretation of the role of routines sees these speech segments "first stored as units, and then later 'unpacked' to provide valuable information for creative rule construction" (Edmondson 297) in second language acquisition.

Concerning whether knowledge of linguistic routines can "be 'turned into' knowledge furthering the development of an internalised grammar," Edmondson argues that a positive answer is at least plausible and proposes to investigate the question of how the transition proceeds (287). He assumes that discourse production and comprehension must be considered together and that formation of a communicative plan necessarily precedes any retrieval of linguistic knowledge by the discourse production system (288, 291).

Routinized forms at the most basic level of acquisition are either limited in number and "available for the achieving of a particular discourse move" or amount to "routinised expressions which can essentially only be used for specific discoursal functions." A clear recognition of discourse function will result directly from the speaker's choice of linguistic routine (Edmondson 294-295).

This type of routine might be triggered "simply by the recognition of an input to which a routinised response is tied." The system is left with "little work to do in choosing the appropriate linguistic response" (Edmondson 295). Edmondson suggests that foreign language learners need an extensive repertoire of routines to be able to perform appropriate discourse moves in a variety of situations, concluding that the learners' need to acquire this repertoire will make the teaching of pragmatic contrasts relevant once more in pedagogical strategies (295). It should be evident to every foreign language pedagogue that the "range of such routines may be narrower than many native-speakers have available, but it is desirable that the type spread be the same. So the acquisition of routines will necessarily be part of the goals of teaching programmes." This leaves the language learner with two distinct tasks, that of "acquiring an internalised grammar as a basis for creative speech, and also a battery of routines appropriate to different types of situation, and different types of discourse behaviour" (Edmondson 296).

Routinized expressions, then, "will be required by L2 learners as a part of their eventual performance repertoire in L2. They might therefore play an important structural role in syllabus design and curriculum development." As a learning strategy for foreign language acquisition, "routines are not only necessary . . . but may be further useful, and indeed strategically exploited, in the classroom learning context" (Edmondson 298-299).

More interesting, however, is *how* explicit linguistic knowledge "may be effectively acquired for communicative purposes." Two reasons argue in favor of the importance of routines in answering that question (Edmondson 300).

First, routines are likely acquired much more consciously than syntax; so explicit teaching of routines focuses both on form and discourse function rather than on form alone. Secondly, the process of "unpacking" routines for use in specific discourse situations is "supported in classrooms by explicit instruction or stimulus." The aspect of "explicit 'grammar' which refers to linguistic uses already contained in embedded form in routines present in the learners' discourse systems, is more likely to impact directly on that system." Thus, "teaching a range of routines at the beginning of language courses" suggests a strategy opposite to the viewpoint that a limited amount of learning in early stages of second language acquisition might facilitate later acquisition. Rather "a little 'acquisition', focussing on the mastery of a variety of routines, might be useful early on in a course in order to facilitate the incorporation of explicit knowledge about the language into the learner's discourse systems" (Edmondson 300).

Discourse is seen "as directional, a succession of changing postures" which "must be heading somewhere" (Sinclair 16). So purposefulness must be a clearly discernible aspect of any communicative activity. Indeed, purposeful practice of specific kinds of verbal interaction, notably speech acts, turns and routines, is the major pedagogical advantage apparent when one examines the findings of discourse analysis to date.

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Les Guerrières de la Vendée

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Unies dans une cause commune contre la Révolution, les femmes se sont illustrées dans le conflit interne le plus long et le plus sanguinaire de la fin du dix-huitième siècle: les guerres de Vendée. La région qui s'étend immédiatement au sud de la Loire, d'Angers jusqu'à Nantes et jusqu'à la mer, et qui comprend les départements créés par la République des Deux-Sèvres et de la Vendée, augmentée d'une partie du Maine-et-Loire et de la Loire-Inférieure, est particulièrement difficile d'accès: les routes impraticables, les communications difficiles et les voyages réduits au minimum. La population en majeure partie paysanne y fait survivre des traditions d'un autre temps et un attachement aveugle aux traditions, au roi et à l'Eglise. En 1793 et 1794, les guerres de Vendée font, selon certains trois cent mille victimes, selon d'autres neuf cent mille.[1] La répression est terrible. La Convention ordonne à plusieurs reprises la destruction systématique par le feu des fermes, des récoltes, des églises, et la mise à mort des paysans, hommes, femmes, enfants, vieillards, qu'ils aient ou non participé à des activités contre-révolutionnaires. On parle aujourd'hui de génocide.[2]

Le rôle des femmes pendant la Révolution Française est documenté dans de nombreuses études,[3] le plus souvent quand elles soutiennent les actions réformatrices du nouveau gouvernement, et c'est là qu'elles sont les plus nombreuses. Mais elles participent aussi, et en Vendée surtout, à la réaction. Les femmes à la guerre, les femmes au champ de bataille, les femmes soldats, les "brigandes", puisqu'on appelait les soldats de la Vendée les "brigands", qu'en est-il? Non pas celles qui suivaient les soldats dans un rôle d'infirmières ou de fossoyeurs ou pour porter les messages et la correspondance des chefs, ou même les prostituées qui suivent toujours les armées, mais celles qui ont risqué leur vie dans la mêlée.

Certaines comme Madame de Bonchamps, ou comme Madame de la Bouëre, Madame de La Rochejaquelein et Madame de Sapinaud qui nous ont laissé leurs Mémoires sur les guerres de Vendée, eurent une part active à la vie des soldats, mais elles ne combattaient pas. Elles suivaient l'armée dans ses déplacements soit pour rester proches de leur mari, soit parce qu'elles étaient recherchées à cause de ce dernier, et s'installaient pour une brève période dans des fermes ou des métairies proches du campement militaire, campant elles-mêmes à la rigueur si elles ne trouvaient pas à se loger ailleurs. Lors d'une déroute, Madame de Bonchamps rallia les soldats de son mari et les mena au combat (La Rochejaquelein 330). Madame de La Rochejaquelein fut de son côté intimement liée au sort de l'armée parce que son père ainsi que son premier mari, le général de Lescure, étaient parmi les chefs les plus importants, et que les réunions de l'état-major se faisaient souvent dans son château. En outre, elle participa, comme Madame de Sapinaud et beaucoup d'autres, à la désastreuse "Virée de Galerne".

Un grand nombre de femmes combattirent de façon épisodique parce qu'elles se trouvèrent dans des circonstances qui le permettaient ou le commandaient. Ainsi, Joseph Rouillé raconte cet incident qui eut lieu à Montaigu: la bataille fait rage aux portes de la ville pendant que les femmes en prière récitent leur chapelet et chantent des cantiques pour le succès des hommes qui les défendent; soudain elles aperçoivent une bande de fuyards qui tente de se réfugier vers la ville. L'une des femmes "reconnaît son mari, un brave homme qui n'a rien d'un militaire et que seules les circonstances ont forcé à prendre les armes. Vite, la femme saisit une trique de bois mort, escalade le talus de la route et tombe à bras raccourcis sur son timide époux" et le traite de lâche tout en le battant; les autres femmes, entraînées par son exemple font de même.

> Aux fuyards, elles arrachent leurs armes, et guerrières en jupon, franchissent la Sèvre, puis se jettent dans la mêlée. Honteux devant cet héroïsme, les hommes retournent au combat. Mais les femmes se battent toujours. Perrine Loiseau, de la Gaubretière, est l'une des plus acharnées. Un sabre à la main, elle frappe à coups redoublés. Trois Bleus s'écroulent à ses pieds. Un officier l'aperçoit, s'approche, lève son épée et lui fend la tête. Près d'elle, Madame Bulkeley lutte avec acharnement. Elle a vu. Sans perdre son sang-froid, elle tend son pistolet, vise, le coup part, le Bleu s'affaisse. Et le corps à corps se poursuit, effrayant, acharné, terrible, inhumain. Le sang des blessés gicle sur les combattants. Des bouts d'oreilles, des doigts voltigent sous les sabres. (83-84)

Un cas semblable eut lieu à Torfou où une bataille très importante fut livrée. C'est Madame de la Bouëre qui parle:

> ... toutes les femmes et les filles des bourgs voisins avaient suivi de loin l'armée, et dès les premiers coups de fusil s'étaient mises en prières. Leur désolation fut extrême en voyant une partie de nos hommes en déroute, mais, s'apercevant que le fort de l'armée tenait ferme, elles vont au-devant des fuyards, et soit par les reproches les plus sanglants, soit avec des pierres et des bâtons, elles les ramènent au combat et les conduisent jusqu'au milieu du feu, en leur disant: 'Qu'elles valaient plus qu'eux, et qu'elles n'avaient pas peur.' Oculis vidi. (72)

Il y eut beaucoup d'autres exemples de la bravoure des femmes quand l'occasion se présentait.

A côté de ces guerrières épisodiques, il y eut cependant celles qui combattaient régulièrement au milieu des hommes. Combien étaient-elles? Impossible de le dire puisque pour pouvoir participer à la lutte et pour se protéger de l'ennemi, il leur fallait se déguiser en homme. Madame de La Rochejaquelein semble très ferme dans ses Mémoires: "Il était interdit aux femmes de paraître à l'armée..."(145) dit-elle, et "tous les généraux, et notamment M. de Lescure, avaient plusieurs fois déclaré qu'ils feraient tondre et chasser la première femme, déguisée ou non qui suivrait l'armée" (236). Mais le cas était sans doute beaucoup plus commun qu'on ne le croit. Madame de la Bouëre dit que "quelques femmes courageuses, ennuyées de se cacher, ne voulant pas être massacrées sans résistance, s'étaient jointes à l'armée, plusieurs d'entre elles n'ayant pu se sauver dans des déroutes furent sabrées, ce qui ralentit beaucoup l'humeur guerrière des autres. Renée Bordereau, dite Langevin, fut la seule qui continua toujours à se battre" (149). Et de nombreux exemples existent où le hasard révéla que le guerrier était en effet une guerrière laissant supposer que la situation n'était pas rare. Madame de La Rochejaquelein elle-même décrit une scène de déroute qui eut lieu lors du retour de la "Virée de Galerne": se trouvant séparée des siens et en grand danger, surtout pour une femme qui allait mettre au monde deux filles jumelles quelques semaines plus tard, elle demande à un soldat de l'aider à mener son cheval:

> 'Monsieur, ayez pitié d'une pauvre femme grosse, qui ne peut mener son cheval.' Il me serre la main, se met à pleurer et me répond: 'Je suis moi-même une femme, nous allons périr ensemble; je ne puis vous être d'aucun secours, je ne puis, non plus que vous, conduire mon cheval.' Nous restons là à nous désoler. (351-352)

Nicole Vray rapporte le cas d'un soldat qui était présumé avoir suivi son frère au champ de bataille et l'avoir vu tomber sous les balles. Ce soldat était en effet une femme et celui qu'elle appelait son frère n'était autre que son mari qu'elle n'avait pas voulu quitter. Madame de Sapinaud note cette description de l'armée de Charette et de Sapinaud par la bonne Marion:

> 'Ah Madame! nous sommes tous perdus, sans doute que nos commandants sont d'accord avec les Bleus si vous les aviez vu comme moi, ils étaient toute une [troupe, il y avait aussi tout] plein de dames, malgré qu'elles fussent habillées en homme, j'ai bien vu à leur figure que c'étaient des femmes.' (128-129)

Les femmes n'ont pas seulement combattu du côté des "blancs"; les républicains ou "bleus" comptaient aussi des femmes dans leurs bataillons. Ainsi, Rouillé cite Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, l'un des premiers historiens de Charette qui raconte l'épisode suivant:

> Au cours de la bataille de Machecoul, dans une action au corps à corps, le volailler Pageot, chef de la division blanche de Bouin, surprit à revers un combattant dont il ignorait le sexe. C'était une femme. N'ayant pas le temps de charger son arme, écrit le chroniqueur, elle prit son fusil par le canon et frappa cet officier au bras gauche où il avait reçu une blessure qui n'était pas encore guérie et dont le renouvellement pensa le faire périr. Au même moment, Pageot sabra l'ennemi qui l'avait frappé; mais lorsqu'il apprit que c'était une femme, il entra dans une telle colère qu'il la fit exposer nue sur un fumier: vengeance aussi atroce qu'inutile et qui ne servit qu'à exalter davantage l'action de cette héroïne. (20)

Et encore "dans le sud, près de Fontenay, deux amazones républicaines, mesdemoiselles Goupilleau et Monteigne, imaginèrent de couper les oreilles d'un brave homme, pris par erreur pour un soldat blanc, afin de les manger à la vinaigrette, nous raconte l'abbé Pierre Cormier dans son journal" (Rouillé 20).

Qu'est-ce qui poussa les femmes à revêtir des vêtements masculins, à s'armer, à se faire passer pour des hommes afin d'affronter des dangers incroyables et des souffrances atroces? Renée Bordereau avait perdu ses deux frères tués pas les bleus et suivi son père à la guerre où il fut tué également sous ses yeux. Jeanne Robin aussi avait perdu son père. Toutes deux étaient déterminées à la vengeance. Cette dernière, après avoir revêtu ses vêtements de soldat, alla trouver le général de Lescure et s'adressa à lui en ces termes:

> 'Mon général, je suis une fille, Madame de Lescure sait mon secret ... elle a dû prendre des informations sur mon compte, et elles auront été favorables. Je viens à vous parce que je n'ai pas de souliers et je dois me battre demain. Tout ce que je vous demande, si vous voulez me renvoyer, c'est d'attendre après le combat, et je m'y conduirai si bien que, j'en suis sûre, vous me direz de rester à l'armée.' (La Rochejaquelein 236)

Madame du Fief avait perdu son fils au berceau et dans son désespoir, ne pensait plus qu'à la vengeance au mépris de sa propre vie: elle alla s'engager dans l'armée de Charette (Vray 92). "Madame de Bruc allait au feu avec son mari" (La Rochejaquelein 238). Marie-Antoinette Adams, catholique et royaliste était mariée à un républicain athée et, sans doute après dénonciation de ce dernier, sa boutique avait été incendiée par les républicains. Pour se venger, elle s'habille en homme, s'arme de pistolets et avec son cheval, va offrir ses services au général blanc Sapinaud qui l'accepte dans sa cavalerie et qui lui fera aussi porter des messages. Grande et forte, elle s'acquerra une réputation de courage et d'intrépidité et sera surnommée "le Chevalier Adams".

Les cas de Mme de La Rochefoucauld et de Mme de Bulkeley sont les plus remarquables et les plus abondamment documentés: il est intéressant d'examiner le destin de ces deux "amazones de Charette". Marie-Adélaïde de La Rochefoucauld, née aux Antilles où elle avait passé une jeunesse privilégiée, était venue s'installer en France après un mariage de convenance. Dès le début de la révolution, ses enfants sont mis en pension à Nantes sous un faux nom et son mari émigre en 1791. Elle est farouchement royaliste. De plus, l'administration locale vient d'effectuer une perquisition dans son château et elle entend se venger de cette injustice. "Les Vendéens, au combat, étaient groupés par paroisse sous les ordres de l'un des leurs qu'ils avaient choisi pour capitaine" (Rouillé 56). Les jeunes gens de Machecoul allèrent d'abord demander à Charette d'être leur chef. Mais au début, Charette résiste. Ils se joignent alors à ceux de La Garnache, un bourg voisin, et la troupe demande à Marie-Adélaïde de les mener. N'ayant rien à faire, s'ennuyant dans son château et rêvant de jouer un rôle dans cette époque troublée, elle accepte avec enthousiasme.

> Elle organise aussitôt le soulèvement dans la région, dans la mesure où elle le peut. L'attaque de Challans étant prévue, elle envoie des messagers et des courriers dans toutes les directions, chez toutes ses relations, pour appeler à la révolte. Ils ont tous un signe distinctif qui les accrédite auprès de leurs correspondants: ils portent à leur coiffure, l'empreinte sur cire rouge, du sceau de la comtesse. Marie-Adélaïde crée immédiatement un comité d'action... (Boutin 235)

Céleste Talour de la Cartrie de son côté, était née à Angers en 1753, veuve et remariée avec William Bulkeley, un Irlandais officier d'un régiment en garnison à l'île d'Oléron (les Irlandais luttaient aux côtés des troupes françaises contre les Anglais); il avait 13 ans de moins qu'elle; avec lui, elle passera trois ans (de 1788 à 1790) à l'île de France (aujourd'hui l'île Maurice) où il suit son régiment; en 1792, il démissionne de son régiment qui ne soutient plus la cause du roi et William et Céleste se retirent dans leur domaine de Vendée.

Le 15 mars 1793 est le jour du tirage au sort (le 20 février, la Convention a décrété la levée de 300 000 hommes dont plusieurs dizaines de milliers en Vendée militaire). Les jeunes gens du village se réunissent sur la place, et tandis que William Bulkeley se joint à eux dans un rôle de conciliateur voulant les apaiser et "les empêcher de faire des bêtises", Céleste "a vite fait de revêtir sa tenue d'amazone, d'enfiler ses pistolets à la ceinture et de sauter à cheval" (Rouillé, 38). Aussitôt les jeunes gens se rallient à elle et William n'a plus qu'à les suivre.

Les femmes donc combattirent réellement et montrèrent, selon de nombreux témoignages, autant de courage que la plupart des hommes. Emile Boutin prétend même que "les femmes qui ont suivi leur mari en révolte sont de loin les plus féroces; certaines ouvrent le ventre des Républicains avec des faucilles recourbées ou des couteaux à vendange" (233). Renée Bordereau, surnommée "Brave l'Angevin" (Rouillé, 20), ressemblait à un adolescent dans son uniforme de cavalier mais elle faisait preuve d'un grand héroïsme mêlé d'exaltation religieuse et elle exhortait ses camarades "les rênes à la bouche, tenant son sabre d'une main et de l'autre un pistolet" (Vray 92). C'était une redoutable guerrière et elle brisa son sabre sur une de ses victimes. Madame de La Rochejaquelein la décrit ainsi:

> Une de l'armée de Bonchamps suivait son père; on prétend que l'ayant vu tomber dans une affaire aux Ponts-de-Cé, elle fut si animée à la vengeance qu'elle tua dix-neuf hommes de sa main... Elle était d'une taille ordinaire et fort laide...c'est une fille qui se bat comme un lion... [elle] servait dans la cavalerie... et a fait les trois guerres. (237)

Jeanne Robin se précipitait dans la mêlée comme une furieuse (La Rochejaquelein 237). Madame du Fief "montant en amazone, vêtue de nankin, souvent à la tête de brigands, fonçait sur l'adversaire, elle tirait, ou bien encore, elle combattait à pied, un fusil de chasse à la main" (Vray 92). Madame de La Rochejaquelein dit: "J'ai vu deux jeunes filles, l'une de quatorze ans, qui allaient à la guerre et se battaient avec un courage héroïque" et encore "ce que j'ai vu, c'est une femme de chambre de Madame de la Chevallerie, pleine d'ardeur, prendre au galop, un fusil à la main, le chemin de la ville, en criant: 'En avant; au feu, les Poitevines!'" (330) Mademoiselle Regrenille passe du couvent où elle était novice aux rangs de la cavalerie: "Montée sur un grand cheval, le sabre au poing, cette digne émule des Langevin et des Robin ramena souvent les fuyards au combat; à Dol, elle eut la plus grande part à la défaite des Républicains, et se couvrit de gloire au Mans et à Savenay" (Chabot, 9-10). Mesdemoiselles de Couëtus et de la Rochette refusent de se rendre malgré les coups de sabre qu'elles ont reçus et continuent de crier "Vive le Roi!" même à terre "sous les pieds des chevaux" (15-16).

Quelles sont les actions où ces femmes se distinguent? Mme de La Rochefoucauld et Mme de Bulkeley font toujours l'objet de descriptions très idéalisées. Voici celle de Marie-Adélaïde par Joseph Rouillé:

> Elle ... apparut dans tout l'éclat de sa beauté. Montée sur un cheval blanc, elle était vêtue d'un costume d'amazone. Un large feutre gris à cocarde blanche protégeait sa longue chevelure d'ébène. A sa ceinture de cuir, deux pistolets. (18)

et celle de Céleste Bulkeley

> Montée en amazone sur un alezan nerveux, son chapeau au bord relevé laissant apparaître la blondeur de ses cheveux, la belle Angevine en impose. Un pistolet au poing, l'autre à la ceinture nouée sur la gauche, son visage tendu, elle galope, entraînant irrésistiblement ses hommes et bravant l'ennemi au rythme du plumet blanc de son feutre. (Rouillé, 42)

Chacune avec une troupe composée des jeunes gens de leur village, elles décident d'abord d'aller se joindre à des groupes de soldats qui s'étaient déjà opposés aux Bleus, les bandes de Joly pour Marie-Adélaïde (Rouillé, 16-17) et celles de Chouppes pour Céleste. Très vite, elles se rendent compte qu'elles ne s'entendront pas avec ces vieux soldats, durs, plutôt misogynes (Boutin 242), et qui exigent de commander seuls. Chacune à son tour ira rejoindre Charette qui entre-temps avait accepté de se mettre à la tête des troupes. Au quartier général de Charette, Mme de La Rochefoucauld devient une des "amazones" de Charette, maîtresse avec la soeur de ce dernier de la "cour" de Legé, son quartier général.

D'avril à août 1793, de nombreuses batailles ont lieu dans la région et Marie-Adélaïde y participe avec les jeunes de La Garnache qui l'ont élue pour chef. Elle était courageuse et intrépide au combat, mais nullement la seule à y participer. A ses côtés se battaient également la soeur de Charette, Marie-Anne, qui se distinguait par ses actions, Mademoiselle de Rochette, orpheline de guerre et pupille du général, Mademoiselle de Voyneau, Madame Gouin du Fief, déjà mentionnée, Elizabeth de Montsorbier, Madame de Lépinay de La Roche d'Avau, de Commequiers, qui avait pris la tête de la rébellion dans sa commune, Mademoiselle de Couëtus, Madeleine Tournant, une jeune paysanne, Marie Lourdais qui venait de Bretagne et qui servait aussi d'agent de liaison. Rouillé dit de toutes ces femmes: "elles étaient souvent plus combatives que les hommes" (20).

Céleste de son côté avait fait une sélection parmi les meilleurs éléments de la troupe qui l'avait suivie au début des hostilités et avait formé un escadron de chasseurs qu'elle commandait.

> Elle choisit des paysans délurés, souples, et en fit des cavaliers qu'elle équipa à ses frais. La plupart montaient d'excellents chevaux avec selles et brides, d'autres durent se contenter de cordes pour étriers. - A vous de prendre à l'ennemi ce qui vous manque, leur dit-elle. (Rouillé, 50)

Malgré la réputation de cruauté qu'elle s'acquît plus tard de la part des Républicains qui s'étaient vus opposés directement à elle, elle était aimée de ses soldats, n'hésitant pas à bivouaquer avec eux et à partager leurs repas dans les fossés et dans les champs.

Les guerres de Vendée se terminent officiellement par la paix de la Jaunay signée le 17 février 1795. En réalité, seuls quelques chefs signaient cette paix et les hostilités continuèrent de façon sporadique pendant de nombreuses années. Quel fut alors le sort de ces femmes? Renée Bordereau, "L'Angevin", fut longuement recherchée et sa tête fut mise à prix quarante mille francs (Vray 92).Couverte de blessures, elle a été six ans prisonnière de Bonaparte, et même enchaînée au Mont-Saint-Michel; elle n'a recouvré la liberté qu'au retour du roi, et s'est battue encore en 1815... Elle était à Paris, tantôt en homme tantôt en femme; elle préférait beaucoup le costume d'homme, elle le trouvait plus commode. Elle reçut de l'argent du roi, des princes.... Enfin, elle fut atteinte d'une longue maladie, et mourut vers 1824 ... (La Rochejaquelein 237-238). Elle avait 54 ans.

Jeanne Robin prenait toujours beaucoup de risques: elle fut sans doute tuée à la bataille de Thouars. Selon Madame de La Rochejaquelein, "on la perdit de vue depuis, et comme on trouva le corps d'une femme parmi les morts, on a toujours cru qu'elle avait été tuée dans la mêlée" (237; voir aussi Vray 92). Marie-Antoinette Adams combattait aux côtés de Monsieur de Sapinaud mais elle préféra ne pas franchir la Loire pour se lancer dans l'exode en masse. Elle fut arrêtée par les soldats républicains et exécutée. Elle tomba sous les balles en criant "Vive le roi!" (Vray 92)

Au milieu du mois de septembre, c'est-à-dire bien avant la Grande Virée de Galerne, Marie-Adélaïde de la Rochefoucauld avait quitté Charette pour retourner dans son bourg de La Garnache d'où elle menait des actions de guérilla sur les arrières de l'armée républicaine. Une nuit, l'un de ses hommes la trahit (peut-être pour avoir vu ses avances repoussées); le 16 janvier 1794, elle est arrêtée par le général républicain Dufour avec son lieutenant Thoumazeau et un jeune garçon nommé Fortineau alors que les autres combattants réussissent à s'enfuir; les prisonniers sont emmenés aux Sables d'Olonne pour y être jugés. Joseph Rouillé raconte qu'avant de pénétrer dans la ville, le général fit descendre Marie-Adélaïde de son cheval et lui ordonna de marcher à pied après avoir fait lier ses mains derrière son dos.

> Il attache l'extrémité de la corde à une sangle de sa monture et pénètre ainsi dans la cité républicaine, vainqueur de cette rebelle hautaine, obligée de suivre son maître comme une esclave de la Rome antique. Mais cette mise en scène est effacée par l'attitude de la comtesse qui se tient droite, affrontant dignement cette épreuve. Sa belle chevelure d'ébène flottant au vent, elle regarde crânement quelques femmes qui l'injurient. La nouvelle de l'arrestation de la célèbre "brigande" s'est vite répandue dans la petite ville et les curieux sont nombreux au passage de l'escorte. La foule dans l'ensemble demeure silencieuse. (127-128)

Marie-Adélaïde essaya de minimiser son action affirmant n'avoir jamais combattu (Boutin 249). Néanmoins, elle est déclarée coupable de complots contre la république et, avec Thoumazeau, condamnée à mort par les armes. La loi du régime républicain établissait qu'une femme condamnée à mort pouvait avoir la vie sauve si elle rencontrait sur le chemin du supplice un patriote qui accepte de la prendre pour épouse. Selon un certain Collinet, citoyen de La Chaume près des Sables et connu pour sa haine des aristocrates, Madame de La Rochefoucauld se serait offerte aux hommes pour être sauvée: "Oh! sauvez-moi répétait-elle. Quel sera l'homme de coeur qui viendra me tendre la main, car je me donne en mariage au premier qui me réclamera pourvu qu'il me sauve" (Boutin 250). Un autre témoin, Dugast-Matifeux, raconte la scène d'une façon différente: "L'adversité ne fit point faiblir Madame de La Rochefoucauld; elle répondit ironiquement à ceux qui l'interrogeaient et en présence du supplice jeta un regard de dédain sur la foule silencieuse" (Boutin 250). Elle fut fusillée (la guillotine était en panne) sur la plage des Sables-d'Olonne le 24 janvier 1794.

Céleste de Bulkeley survivra aux guerres de Vendée dont elle aura connu les épisodes les plus brutaux. Elle participe à la terrible Virée de Galerne, doublement pour ainsi dire: en combattante avec son mari, livrant bataille chaque jour au sein de l'armée vendéenne; et en tant que membre et chef de famille car elle était accompagnée de sa fille et de sa bonne (Rouillé, 94), ainsi que de sa soeur et de son frère, Talour de la Cartrie, et de sa belle-soeur quoique de façon plus intermittente. Lors de la débâcle vendéenne, elle est capturée avec son mari, sa fille et sa bonne juste avant d'avoir pu se mettre en sûreté dans une ferme appartenant à son frère. Il est probable que c'est son imprudence qui ait été à l'origine de son arrestation: son frère lui avait enjoint de se cacher pendant le jour et de ne voyager que de nuit, mais elle a sans doute voulu voyager nuit et jour pour aller mettre ses proches en sécurité. Ils sont tous arrêtés. Son mari est exécuté ainsi que la bonne. Elle se prétend enceinte car une autre loi du régime républicain voulait que les femmes enceintes fussent épargnées, ce qui cependant n'était pas toujours le cas. Etait-elle vraiment enceinte? Les biographes de Céleste disent que non. Son frère, dans ses Mémoires, affirme qu'elle accoucha d'un enfant mort. Toujours est-il qu'elle fut épargnée. Elle retourna en prison pour voir sa fille mourir de froid et de mauvais soins. Et finalement elle fut libérée à l'Amnistie accordée par la Convention après la mort de Robespierre le 10 thermidor (28 juillet 1793).

Céleste retourne en Vendée. Sa maison n'est plus qu'une ruine. Elle se rend aussitôt auprès de Charette pour reprendre le combat. Elle réussit à reconstituer un corps d'un trentaine de cavaliers qu'elle dirige dans les combats du 8, du 14 et du 24 septembre. Edouard Renaud décrit ainsi sa vie pendant cette période:

> Entre ces séjours à Belleville (Le quartier général de Charette à ce moment-là), elle patrouillait avec ses gâs, mangeant sur le pouce dans un fossé ou dans une chintre (la bande de terre qui, dans les champs, sépare les cultures de la haie de bordure), vidant la gourde avec eux, couchant sur la paille, dans les granges ou dans les fermes à demi-incendiées. Ses chasseurs étaient pleins d'allant, ne voulant pas être inférieurs à leur infatigable commandant. (Rouillé, 142)

Elle participe aux opérations dirigées par Charette, mais elle s'engage aussi elle-même avec ses soldats dans des combats audacieux.

Après la paix de La Jaunay, elle retourne s'installer dans ce qui reste de son château comme le font la plupart des autres amazones; elles reprendront les armes aux côtés de Charette l'été suivant et jusqu'à l'automne, puis on les perd de vue. Céleste vivra jusqu'à l'âge de 79 ans et aura encore deux maris.

Malgré leur vaillance comme simples soldats ou comme meneuses de troupe, les noms des Vendéennes n'apparaissent à aucun moment sur les listes des conseils de guerre qui eurent lieu à plusieurs reprises. Si elles dirigeaient les jeunes gens de leur village au combat, c'était quand même sous les ordres des hommes. A aucun moment, il ne leur fut donné autorité et aucun nom de femme ne figure sur la liste, établie par La Rochejaquelein (307), des personnes nommées pour former le conseil de guerre à Fougères lors de la Virée de Galerne.

La légende eut vite fait d'embellir et d'exagérer les actions des femmes qui combattaient dans l'armée des brigands. Madame de La Rochejaquelein rapporte qu'après l'amnistie, elle fut questionnée: "Le peu de personnes qui me virent à Nantes furent surprises de mon air et de ma tournure; on croyait que je me battais, et même à coups de sabre; j'avais fait de prétendues prouesses et on s'attendait à voir en moi une femme forte et grande. Ce conte s'était tellement accrédité, que mille personnes m'en ont fait la question, et même encore dernièrement; partout où j'ai été depuis, j'ai été obligée de démentir ces hauts faits et d'avouer tout bonnement ma poltronnerie" (415).

C'est sans doute pour faire taire les rumeurs qui servaient d'excuses aux atrocités commises en Vendée par les républicains que Madame de La Rochejaquelein répète à plusieurs reprises dans ses *Mémoires* que "les femmes ne suivaient pas l'armée"; d'ailleurs, en même temps, elle énumère et célèbre une dizaine de guerrières. Les Vendéennes participèrent aux combats et y montrèrent autant de bravoure que les hommes. L'ennemi profita de ces faits pour répandre le bruit que, nouvelles amazones, les Vendéennes marchaient à la guerre, et "pour atténuer les horreurs qu'ils ont commises en massacrant tout impitoyablement" (La Rochejaquelein 238). La participation des femmes à la bataille donna un prétexte aux républicains acharnés à détruire tout sur leur passage et à exterminer une population entière. Madame de Sapinaud rapporte les paroles d'un officier républicain dont elle était l'otage: "Toutes les femmes", dit-il, "sont cause de notre malheur, sans elles, la République serait déjà établie et nous serions tous chacun chez nous bien tranquilles, vous périrez toutes" (84).

Notes

1. Le recensement de Hoche compte 220 000 soldats républicains tués, 180 000 insurgés et 200 000 civils. "L'insurrection des provinces de l'Ouest, en 1793, a donc causé autant de victimes que la guerre de Sécession aux Etats-Unis (600 000), ou la guerre civile espagnole en 1936 (400 000)" (Ragon, p. 356).

2. Reynald Sécher, *Le Génocide franco-français: La Vendée vengée* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), p. 298.

3. Par exemple: Jeanne Bouvier, *Les Femmes pendant la Révolution* (Paris: E. Figuère, 1931); Levy, Applewhite and Johnson; Melzer and Rabine.

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SELECTA

The Pity is in the Parsimony:
The Poetry of a Great War Medical Thesis

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Shortly after the beginning of the Great War, Marshall Joffre, the French commander, canceled an order for the manufacture of steel helmets for the French army.[1] The war would be over in three months, he argued, so what was the point of ordering helmets? The traditional French kėpi, a cloth cap, would suffice. As casualties mounted, resistance to a German-style steel helmet continued, until finally the French introduced as a compromise a steel casque designed to fit inside the kėpi, so that the steel hugged the scalp.[2] While the casque prevented some projectiles from entering the head, the design did nothing to reduce the force of impact. In fact the casque distributed the force of any blow over a larger area, which was a mixed blessing, since concussion wounds could be as dangerous as penetrating ones. Not until 1916, two years into the conflict, did the French begin to introduce the now familiar style of helmet consisting of a steel casing, generously cut to protect many areas of the head, face and neck, which was then suspended on a network of leather straps, so that any impact would be deflected from the skull.

The new helmet was a major improvement. As military authorities had pointed out, a trench war is by definition a war in which people stand in trenches, with the result that most parts of the soldiers' bodies are protected by the trench and its parapet, except for their heads, which stand above the ground like the tender blossoms of some deep rooted winter flower.

In September 1914, Emile Kochelin, a talented young intern from Mulhouse in Alsace, was drafted out of the Hôpital Trousseau in Paris and sent up the line, where he served as an assistant brain surgeon in one of the ambulances parked four miles behind the front, well to the rear of the dressing stations where the stretcher-bearers carried the wounded for immediate care. With the agreement of his professors in Paris, he proceeded to complete his doctorate by writing a short and exquisitely clear thesis during his spare moments in the ambulance, and in 1916 it was accepted and published, with the title, *Contribution à l'Étude des Blessures du Crane et à leur Traitement dans une Ambulance de L'Avant*.

Wilfrid Owen wrote of his experience in the Great War that the "poetry is in the pity." Kochelin's precise commentary on his ambulance experience, focused and refined by the academic genre in which he worked, makes a kind of poetry, too, a poetry that is worthy of comparison to the many great battlefield accounts that come down to us from that war, such as Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Robert Graves' *Goodbye to All That*, Guy Chapman's *A Passionate Prodigality*, David Jones' *In Parenthesis*, Edmund Blunden's eerie *Undertones of War*, Thomas Edward Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, and Siegfried Sassoon's *Sherston's Progress*.[3]

Unlike any of these authors, Kochelin's work appeared as an official document during the war itself, and so he was limited in what he could say by that fact, as well as by the reality that he made his meaning in the context of a profession and a genre of writing - the medical thesis - that prescribe strict boundaries to his content, structure, and style. His writing is understated by necessity, scientific by necessity, and yet the understatement and precision powerfully suggest meanings and feelings beyond the range of medical reporting.

Tastes in war biography vary. As Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* noted, many of the biographies that emerged from the trenches of World War I were highly unreliable; the authors were having the audience on. Robert Graves is histrionic and falsifies his exploits. Guy Chapman, who did not publish until the 1930s, explodes with unreconcilied pain expressed through description of an overwhelming rush of events. T.E. Lawrence displays his driving motivations in shamelessly purple prose, such as the famous, sensual opening paragraphs of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. These are impressive in their ways, but less so than other accounts of the war written by masters of understatement: Edmund Blunden, for example, whose *Undertones of War* describes in detail his career as an under-aged 17 year old volunteer who spent four years on the front line. Somehow Blunden never states exactly what is on his mind, though perhaps the fact that he emigrated to Hong Kong and spent the rest of his life in the Far East tells us enough about his later feelings for England and the West. It is as if his smoothly-written account defines the boundary around a dark circle of experience he can neither name, depict or re-enter. Blunden's poetry foreshadows the work of David Jones, particularly the way Jones quotes earlier poetry and national myths in the midst of his descriptions of war.

Surely the master of Blunden's kind of understatement was Wilfrid Owen, whose "Anthem for Doomed Youth" concludes with an unforgettable image of loved ones at home coping with grief:

> The pallor of girls' brows shall be their pall;
> Their flowers the tenderness of patient minds,
> And each slow dusk a drawing-down of
> blinds.[4]

Equally chilling is the unexpected macaronic rhyme that concludes another of Owen's best known poems:

> My friend, you would not tell with such
> high zest
> To children ardent for some desperate glory,
> The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est
> Pro patria mori.[5]

In a similar way, Emile Kochelin's disciplined analysis of head injuries, set in its medical and professional contexts, provides an undertone of neutrality against which his simple observations and conclusions flash like powder blasts. Kochelin's formal introduction creates - wittingly or unwittingly - a gentle and kind persona who briefly shows his pain and shock at the war only to submerge them almost immediately under his professional self. His very calmness is notable, though at times one hears an undertone of simplicity that points out absurdities in a way one expects from Brecht or Alfred Jarry.

Here is the opening of his introduction:

> Affecté depuis le mois de septembre 1914 à une ambulance divisionnaire, et obligé par les circonstances de faire une thèse sur le front, dans des conditions pénibles, loin de nos maîtres que nous avons eus pendants les années d'études dans les Hôpitaux de Paris.[6]

Kochelin regrets that his contribution to surgery must be scientifically limited because in battlefield conditions it was not possible to follow his patients' progress. Those who survived were almost immediately sent to hospitals in the South for further care. But he ends his introduction with this human note: "Toutefois un certain nombre de nos blessés ont pu après leur évacuation nos envoyer, par lettre, de leurs nouvelles, que nous rapportons à la suite de nos observations."[7]

Against this human backdrop, Kochelin

writes a scientifically distanced account of his frustrating work at the front, where he and other well-meaning surgeons did their best with limited equipment and against almost impossible odds. Head wounds, he found, accounted for about 15.5% of all injuries, because "dans les tranchées, la tête du fantassin, dépassant le parapet, est la point du corps le plus vulnérable."[8] His catalog of statistics reads oddly like David Jones' lists of medieval knights; both writers present a compressed juxtaposition of data that leaves the task of forming connections to others who are not in the press of events.

Of the cases Kochelin studied for his thesis, he made the following tabulation:

> Sur ces 42 blessés, 13 furent atteints par des balles, 29 par des éclats d'obus ou du bombe. Parmi les 13 cas de plaies par balle, on compte 6 cas de balles ayant traversé le crâne de part en part avec 5 décès, soit une mortalité de 83,3 p. 100 et 7 cas de blessures par balles tangentielles. Parmi celles-ci, un blessé avait, sous une fracture de la table interne la dure-mère normale; il a guéri. 6 autres présentaient une perforation de la dure-mére et 4 sont morts, soit une mortalité de 66,6 p. 100. La mortalité globale des plaies par balle èst donc de 69,2 p. 100.[9]

Pages of such statistics follow, drawn from the work of other doctors, presented without any formal comparison between his series and those of the other surgeons, all of the data comprising a barrage of numbers about death.

Kochelin also has a gift for stating the completely obvious in a way that is arresting and moving. The brief description of the role of the fantassin, given above, is one example. Of course it is the head that is left unprotected by the trench, though he need not remind us that in a bombardment every other body part is also fully exposed. But his comment on the unprotected head strikes with the absurdity, the starkness of unspoken truth that one expects of an Alfred Jarry, not a medical thesis. Another example is the flat little paragraph that concludes Kochelin's review of the anatomie pathologique: "Mais ces lésions qui entraînent la mort immédiate n'ont que peu d'intérêt pour le chirurgien."[10]

Kochelin's conclusions read like a litany of powerlessness. Brain injuries are very common, he says, and even the most apparently trivial cut to the scalp can be mortal. All of the wounds arrive infected because everything is dirty, the men, their equipment, the bullets, the shell casings. Neither diagnosis nor prognosis is possible because experience shows that the outcomes are wildly unpredictable. People you seem to have saved die weeks later behind the lines for unexplained reasons; others with massive damage recover. In any event it is not possible to follow patients because they are quickly shipped away. Though triage is practiced, it is almost a bad joke. Every head wound is an emergency, and the only certain indicator of a good prognosis is an unperforated dura mater. Every scalp wound must be opened, probed, and cleaned, with careful investigation for concussion, fracture, bone fragments and splinters driven downward through the brain's fragile casing. And finally, with characteristic directness, Kochelin concludes that "pour diminuer le nombre des blessures du crâne, ou tout au moins en atténuer la gravité, le nouveau casque métallique semble avoir rendu de grands services et être un progrès considérable."[11] While in an earlier section he notes that, based on his own calculations, the introduction of the casque two years into the war decreased head injuries by one third.

Is this poetry, this controlled and economical assessment of wounds with its almost mute protest against the conditions, the near futility of the work, the lack of obvious protection for the troops? During a later war, Wallace Stevens considered the aesthetics of sublimity, the aesthetics of pain and evil, in his long poem "Esthetique du Mal." Lots of wounds, lots of gore, he argues there, do not make poetry. As he put in in what may be the central manifesto of the "Esthetique," "Natives of poverty, children of malheur, / The gaiety of language is our seigneur."[12] It is the writing, the play of words, that makes verse, not dumb facts. Yet Kochelin uses perhaps to a kind of poetry in his understatement, in his use of absurdly obvious statements that force the reader to feel the war, and above all in the list of cases that forms the penultimate chapter to his thesis, a list that stands like a small, weathered village monument to the war. Each of his cases is named by fist name and the first letters of the family name; the type of regiment is listed, but not the number. Confidentiality of patients and the need for military secrecy create an accidental universality about these forty-two men. Kochelin's poetry appears in the way he reduces these forty two lives to almost the barest clinical detail, while at the same time recording just enough extra facts of their life and death struggles that these long dead infantrymen live on the pages that describe the drama of their final battles. Listen to two of these accounts, which like modernist verse give us the fragments, the splinters from which we can assemble a picture of that terrible war. Consider the cruciform incision in the first case - a small technical note that raises the surgeon to the level of priest - and the hopeless little battle the surgeon witnesses through thermometer readings, helpless to do anything more.

> Bar... Marcel... battaillon de chasseurs à pied. Entré à l'ambulance le 16 octobre 1915 avec le diagnostic: Plaie pénétrante du crâne par balle avec perte de substance cérébrale. On constante un petit orifice au niveau de la région temporale gauche avec issue de matière cérébrale, probablement orifice d'entrée de projectile et un autre au niveau de la région cervicale droite, probablement l'orifice de sortie. La température est de 39,9 le 17 octobre au matin. Intervention par M. le Dr Mock; aide, M. Kochelin. Incision cruciforme des plans superficiels au niveau de la plaie temporale. Agrandissement de l'orifice osseux à la fraise de Doyen puis à la pince-gouge. Extraction de petites esquilles de la table interne. Le cerveau saigne abondamment. On met une mèche en catgut. Pansement aseptique à plat. Le soir, la température atteint 40,2. Le lendemain, 18 octobre, le blessé est toujours dans le coma. Température le matin 38,8, le soir 38,4. Le 19, la température s'élève le matin à 39,8 et le blessé meurt vers midi sans avoir repris connaissance.[13]

Or here, a record of one of the miracles, a recovery from a type of wound that was fatal in 75% of his cases. In this instance, Kochelin gives us a character almost out of Chaplin's films, a soldier who arrives at the dressing station puzzled and complaining of a minor cut, when in fact he has a major head wound.

> Bar... Ferdinand... bataillon de chasseurs à pied. Entré à ambulence le 20 mars 1915 .... Le blessé arrivé assis dans la voiture d'ambulance, avait marché depuis la voiture jusqu'à la salle de pansement, disant être blessé légèrement et se plaignant seulement d'une légère céphalée et de gêne des mouvements du bras droit. En le pansant on constate une plaie du cuir chevelu de dix centimètres de longeur environ, au niveau de la partie supérieure de la région pariétale gauche, avec perte de substance osseuse et issue de matière cérébrale. ... Le 22 mars au soir on assiste ... une crise épileptoide localisée au côte droit du corps. Le 23 mars les crises deviennent plus nombreuses et le blessé tombe dans le demi-coma. Le 24 mars on intervient. Opération par M. le Dr F. Monod; aide M. Kochelin. Sous anesthésie

> générale au chloroforme, aprés incision des plans superficiels, on élargit et régularise l'orifice osseux. On extrait ses esquilles de lat table interne pénétrant profondément dans le cerveau. Pansement à plat. Après l'intervention, les crises épileptoides se reprouduisent mais de plus en plus rares et finissent par cesset. L'état général s'améliore et le blessé est évacué le 1er avril en bon état. Nous avon reçu le 17 fevrier 1916 des nouvelles de ce blessé qui est réformé depuis le 27 octobre 1915. Ses crises epileptoides n'ont plus reparu, mais il conserve une diminution marquée de la force dans le bras droit et a fréquemment des étourdissements quand il baisse la tête."[14]

Among the memoirs of the Great War, perhaps only the biographies and novels of the battlefield nurses approach the immediacy, empathy, and pathos of Kochelin's thesis. Mary Borden's *The Forbidden Zone*, to cite one powerful example of this writing, approaches the clinical numbness of Kochelin in her amassing of medical details and in the stark and unremitting way in which she presents the unrelieved and paralyzing presence of the war as all-consuming fact, as a reality that submerged and overwhelmed all memory, all dreams of a future, and became the totality of present experience.

Kochelin's doctoral thesis may constitute a contribution to the history of the war or to the history of medicine, though his name does not appear in any of the lists of medical researchers available to this researcher in the United States. He may have died in the war or pursued a practice that did not lead to further publication or prominence. Was most French medical writing at this time as over-written as Anglo-American medical prose? Does Kochelin's brevity constitute a deviation from the norm? Whatever the answer to these questions, what emerges from his writing is a portait of a curiously genteel person, a man who can speak of moments of leisure in an ambulance, who practices his often hopeless craft with the love and commitment of a priest giving unction, and whose deft use of the occasional detail produces a picture of the Great War that is both initmate and moving. Treating his thesis not as historical or medical document, but purely as a literary artifact, it has another value. If the poetry is in the pity, the pity may be embodied in the parsimony of these barely adorned accounts of the long dead.

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Notes

1. Horne, p. 23.
2. Horne, p. 60.
3. Ellman, p. 539.
4. Ellman, p. 540.
5. Ellman, p. 541.
6. Kochelin, p. 6.
7. Kochelin, p. 7. This appears to be a unique copy in the United States.
8. Kochelin, p. 9.
9. Kochelin, p. 42.
10. Kochelin, p. 10.
11. Kochelin, p. 72.
12. Stevens, p. 322.
13. Kochelin, p. 51.
14. Kochelin, p. 55.

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Georg Büchner's Philosophy of Science: Totality in *Lenz* and *Woyzeck*

Curt Wendell Nickisch
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Karl Georg Büchner, a seminal and anachronistic dramatist, wrote only three plays, one of which remains unfinished, and a prose piece. A brilliant scientist, Büchner completed a dissertation on ichthian neurology and joined the University of Zurich faculty as a Reader in Comparative Anatomy. He died in February 1837, at the age of 23.

Georg was born to a family of physicians. Besides his public education, he was also instructed at home in reading, writing and contemporary literature by his mother, Caroline.[1] At the age of eighteen he left for the University of Strasbourg to study medicine, and the new location proved to be a rich experience for Büchner. Strasbourg, even within the school of medicine, was a hotbed of philosophical discussions and political activity. There Büchner's already strong political interests and awareness only intensified.

After two years Büchner was required to continue his studies in Gießen, which after Strasbourg seemed a political backwater. But Büchner became involved in local political circles and helped found a political society. He co-authored a subversive pamphlet, *Der hessische Landbote*, which encouraged peasants and laborers to revolution. Most of the pamphlets were seized by authorities, and Büchner hastened to Darmstadt to escape prosecution.

There Büchner wrote his first play, *Danton's Death*, set during the French Revolution. Upon its completion he returned to Strasbourg, where he wrote the prose piece *Lenz* and the comedy *Leonce and Lena* and completed his dissertation. The University of Zurich granted him a doctorate in 1836, and Büchner joined the university's faculty in November after delivering his much-discussed *Probevorlesung*, entitled "On Cranial Nerves," which drew unsettling philosophical conclusions from scientific observations. There he began *Woyzeck*, which survives as an unfinished play.

Büchner's medical and scientific studies exerted a profound impact on his *Weltanschauung*, and those studies appear as critical components in his literary works. Büchner understood that science cannot alone explain the external (much less one's internal!) world, and he valued science instead in its relation to other interconnected elements - socioeconomic, spiritual, philosophical and physiological. Büchner developed what may be termed a philosophy of *totality*, which classifies science as an integral, but not exclusive, component of human thought; it must be combined with other equally important elements to arrive at valid conclusions or successful results. That, for its time, was fresh thinking indeed.

Büchner's theory formed the background for his singular approach to writing, to which German literature's realism and naturalism owe much. Still, Büchner's work should not be mistaken for unvarnished realism; for him, human existence and the natural world are made up of various and often contradictory interrelated components. The end result is a complex, but intrinsically whole entity. In both *Lenz* and *Woyzeck* Büchner enriches the documented, factual histories of mentally disturbed individuals with artistically conjectured emotions, thoughts and even events. This rare fusion, which would be significantly less effective without Büchner's experience in the natural sciences, arrives at an aesthetic foundation of writing which was wholly different from the romanticism and idealism popular in his day. It is not surprising, then, that Büchner's works were not fully appreciated until a half century or more after his death.

LENZ

Although *Lenz* is Büchner's only prose piece, its events, characteristically, are based on documented material, and its protagonist is an actual person. In the piece, which has been labeled both a novella and a short story, Büchner provides us with insight into a brief but paramount period in the life of the poet Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz.[2] Büchner begins and halts his presentation abruptly and seemingly arbitrarily; this is no *Bildungsroman.* But by no means can *Lenz* be classified as either a fragment or a "slice of life." While it does leave the reader, in the words of one critic, with the "open wound of despair," it portrays a decidedly rich and telling string of events.[3]

Jakob Lenz is of course the poet of the Storm-and-Stress, and while relatively short-lived, the period profoundly influenced German literature. The young Schiller became an instant success with his play *Die Räuber*, and Goethe's *Werther* is a hallmark of the vibrant period, which valued emotional and subjective responses to one's environment, as well as rebellion against the given hierarchies of the time.[4] Büchner himself, a lone figure within the literary context of his time, owes more of his literary models (if any may reasonably be ascribed) to this period than to any other.

While other Storm-and-Stress poets matured, Jakob Lenz remained a holdout. Notoriously passionate and emotional, he fell in love with Goethe's sister, and later even with Friederike Brion. While Goethe did his best to guide the rambunctious poet, Lenz remained turbulent and unpredictable, which eventually earned him the nickname "Goethes Affe."[5] After a suicide attempt, Lenz lived in January and February of 1778 in the Alsatian mountain home of Pastor Johann Friedrich Oberlin (after whom the Ohio institution is named).[6] Büchner's *Lenz* encompasses this brief period of the poet's life. Lenz then returned to his home in Lithuania; he regressed into insanity and was found dead on a Moscow street in 1792.

A major portion of *Lenz* is based on Pastor Oberlin's diaries. Büchner fuses the more objective documentation (straightlaced Oberlin never achieved significant insight into Lenz the person) with his own projections of Lenz's turbulent thoughts and emotional experiences. Far from conventional historical fiction, Büchner's text possesses a rare grasp of the mind of a mentally disturbed individual. Thus the narrative achieves a haunting, landmark portrayal by incorporating both reality and fiction into the total work.

Note that Büchner's protagonist is no traditional tragic figure. Lenz is a poet, to be sure, but one who has outlived his literary fame, and his value to others is so depreciated that he is personally ridiculed. Büchner peers into the secret world of this other human. Just as he examined basic anatomical building blocks of fish, systematically establishing philosophical ramifications as a scientist, here Büchner peers into the nature and structure of the human mind in relation to the outside world - drawing a philosophical extension.

At the outset of the piece, Lenz is traveling in the mountains, an image reminiscent of philosophers or truthseekers. Absent from the opening of the work is all exposition typically required: "On the twentieth of January Lenz went across the mountains. The summits and the high slopes covered with snow, gray stones all the way down to the valleys, green plains, rocks, and pine trees" (37). On first reading the uncomplicated descriptions might hint of later literary movements, but Büchner soon strays from convention. The second sentence contains no verb at all, and subsequent images utilize strikingly abstract language: "mist rose ... so lazy, so awkward," and "All seemed so small to him, so near, so wet" (37).

Then comes a jolt: "He felt no tiredness, only sometimes it struck him as unpleasant that he could not walk on his head" (37). The third-person narration seems based on familiar ground, yet it incorporates an intimate perspective, wherein we can "hear" Lenz's thoughts as the narrator moves deftly between reality and perception. Thus a certain empathy for Lenz germinates, one much stronger than that experienced in reading Oberlin's diaries.

Büchner achieves this dual awareness stylistically as well. While concepts like head-walking may derail one's orientation, statements such as "he could not understand why so much time was needed ... to reach a distant point; he thought that a few paces should be enough to cover any distance" somehow become more accessible distortions of reality (37).

If Büchner challenges his audience to draw a strict line between sanity and insanity, i.e., between the reader and Lenz, alas, a well-defined line is impossible to establish. Consequently, Lenz's condition is not viewed as an isolated and impenetrable outbreak of irrationality, but rather as a fluctuation, an imbalance within Lenz of already-extant facets of human psychology. Büchner examines them within the parameters of the scientific method: he studies documentary materials, and from his data he projects a hypothesis, an explanation for the observed events.

Lenz's confusion subsides when he approaches Oberlin's village, Waldbach. From this point forth, much of the material is lifted from Oberlin's diaries. Yet Büchner retains his established narrative style and maintains the creative tension between fiction and history. At the start of Lenz's stay with Oberlin, he is stabilized by human contact, much as a boat remains righted by its keel. Although shy, Lenz interacts with others reasonably comfortably and enjoys human conversation: "To Oberlin his conversation gave much pleasure, and Lenz's graceful and childish face delighted him" (41). Indeed, the author's reference to childhood is particularly adept, for Lenz grows fearful, "like children left to sleep in the dark," after the daylight dwindles (41). Oberlin, the well-meaning pastor, is convinced that religion is the most appropriate avenue for Lenz's recuperation. Lenz however attempts to arrive at answers in a more arbitrary manner; "like a child he would cast dice whenever he did not know what to do" (42).

Christoph Kaufmann, a visitor to Waldbach, converses with Lenz, who acts as Büchner's mouthpiece, amiably scorning the idealist movement: "Even the poets of whom we say that they reproduce reality have no conception of what reality is, but they're a good deal more bearable than those who wish to transform reality" (43). Another of Lenz's comments is significant: "I take it that God has made the world as it should be ... our only aspiration should be to re-create modestly in His manner" (45). This notion, which Büchner may have encountered in Lenz's *Remarks about Theater*, is certainly in consonance with Büchner's idea of totality.[7] The world does not exist as a teleological, sequential entity, but rather as one which changes, its pieces continually articulating and converging, while it remains externally a constant whole.

Kaufmann suggests to Lenz that he return to Lithuania, and with this reminder of the world outside of Waldbach begins Lenz's adolescent stage. When Kaufmann departs, Oberlin decides to accompany him for a visit to Lavater, the Swiss theologian.[8] Lenz, who calls himself a "sick child," fears the departure of the paternal figure. Lenz does tag along for a distance, and on his return he encounters a cottage with eccentric inhabitants. Frightened and lonely, Lenz senses that his home at Waldbach no longer constitutes a sanctuary. The appearance of elements from outside the village home - the mention of Lithuania and even the mystical people in the cottage - impress on Lenz that the world, and thus his well-being, is in dynamic flux.

Lenz tries to cope with this adolescent awareness, which sparks memories of his love for Friederike Brion. His reflections are subsequently regressive: he muses, "she was wholly a child," and he remembers feeling like one, too (52). In his deteriorating sanity, he yearns for the stability of an earlier, innocent time.

Büchner introduces here a subtle parallel drawn directly from medicine. Lenz, heartsick for Friederike, feels pain diagnostic of a heart attack: "... physical pain, there, in the left side, in my arm with which I used to hold her" (52). Büchner demonstrates again that human existence is manifest in many different interrelated and specialized structures.

Lenz learns of the death of a child, whose name is Friederike, and fixates on the fact. After fasting, he goes to see the child's body, and after a time commands the corpse: "Arise and walk!" (53). As soon as he recognizes failure, he loses his remaining stability and flees into the mountains, his mental equilibrium fluctuating wildly.

Pastor Oberlin returns, and a fascinating incident occurs which metaphorizes Büchner's totality concept. Lenz gives Oberlin a bundle of birch switches and begs to be whipped. After taking them from Lenz, Oberlin kisses him, and says, "These are the only strokes I can give you" (55). Lenz, longing to be purged of his condition, perceives no discrimination between physical or mental health. Stolid Oberlin, who has begun feeding Lenz stock advice like "Honor thy father and thy mother," entertains no such creative solution (54). To him, a mental problem must be solved in the mind - a simple teleological extension. Lenz's thoughts and actions, however, illustrate that an equilibrium is at stake, not a faulty component.

One morning the pastor finds Lenz naked in bed and tries to cover him, but Lenz cries out that "all was so heavy, so very heavy! that he did not think he could walk at all, that never before had he felt the immense weight of the air" (60). Later he asks Oberlin: "Can't you hear the terrible voice that is crying out the whole length of the horizon and that is usually known as silence?" (61).

Lenz makes some reluctant attempts at suicide, not to die, it seems, but to remind himself of his physical presence. He feels a "blank calm that bordered on nonexistence" (60). After a break in Büchner's narrative (the original manuscript is lost) the final scene depicts Lenz in a coach on his way to Strasbourg. Unlike his behavior in the opening scene, where he felt emotions ranging from ecstasy to torment, now Lenz acts remarkably detached and lifeless.

Lenz achieves singular insight into the psychological currents of the human mind by establishing coexisting conventional and unconventional perspectives. Instead of discarding all of the aesthetics of romanticism or idealism, Büchner couples some of them, for instance a developmental theme, with thoroughly unorthodox qualities such as the "straddling" narrator and the absence of customary coherence. Although the story may seem to open with vague circumstances and close with unresolved issues (Lenz still suffers from his disorder), close analysis reveals a familiar progression. Such plot as exists is thus restricted to the top of the dramatic arch, leaving the reader to extrapolate the background and project the conclusion.

So, in its totality, is a human life. This story begins with birth, as the sound of human voices and community calm the bewildered, lonely Lenz. Limited to the small circle he joins, he lives contentedly and without torment. References to childhood pepper the narration. Pastor Oberlin's departure, however, introduces Lenz to elements of the world outside of Waldbach. Lenz's "adolescence" affords him a deeper view into his own condition, and he struggles violently with it. He yearns for the stability of childhood and searches for answers. Oberlin's return does not replenish the calming effect that once existed. Instead, he appears more patronizing than ever, like an affectionless father. Lenz eventually fails at his attempts to regain sanity, and he submits to "cold resignation," a virtual death (61). The top of the dramatic arch encompasses life itself.

Much of Büchner's genius lies in establishing an effective duality. A less gifted writer might disregard all elements of conventional prose, and effect a simple polarization which would likely achieve little. Instead, *Lenz* thrives on its apparent paradox.

WOYZECK

Although *Woyzeck* is a dramatic fragment, it counts as Büchner's most influential work. Boldly attacking the class system and simplistic cause-and-effect explanations, *Woyzeck* searches for "uncolored reality" in portraying the tragic Franz Woyzeck and reaches a conclusion supporting Büchner's notion of totality.[9]

As in *Lenz*, this unfinished play features a mentally disturbed individual as a blatantly anticlassical protagonist. This protagonist is not even a fallen poet; he is a member of the proletariat and a murderer. The character Woyzeck is in fact based on the cases of three soldiers who murdered their mistresses.[10] Büchner's Woyzeck carries the temper of Johann Diess, the perplexity of Daniel Schmolling and the victimization of the historical Johann Christian Woyzeck.

Büchner's strong scientific bent allowed for a successful incorporation of these actual figures into the character Woyzeck. Just as he developed a philosophical concept from his observations of fish nerves, Büchner drew a conclusion from the nature of murder cases. Where a less complex scientist might have concluded that the three very similar murderers were each afflicted with a specific disease or disorder, Büchner, the total scientist, discerns that the murders were sparked by a number of factors, including socioeconomic and psychological ones. He achieves a *scientific* perspective with an unmistakably ***human*** voice.

The first soldier from which Franz Woyzeck was created is one Daniel Schmolling. Well liked and absent of any indication of mental disturbance, he stabbed his girlfriend a single time during a walk in the woods. He planned to stab himself as well, but was frightened by approaching people. He confessed and then asked his dying girlfriend's forgiveness. The second killer was one Johann Diess, who had a history of aggressive behavior and suicide attempts. He stabbed his lover repeatedly on a street after an argument.

The third actual murderer, a certain Johann Christian Woyzeck, occupies the middle ground. Infatuated with a widow who only halfheartedly answered his devotion, Woyzeck grew insanely jealous. After she rejected him for another soldier, Woyzeck stabbed her to death in her doorway, although later it appeared that the murder may have been premeditated. Woyzeck had previously displayed emotional outbursts, but whether he was mentally ill remains a question.

Dr. J.C.A. Clarus, a physician, was summoned by the court to examine the defendant for any mental illnesses but could discover nothing extraordinary. He repeated his investigation at the behest of the court when witnesses testified that Woyzeck was psychologically unsound. Clarus' views failed to change and in his second report he judged Woyzeck as a "man, who in the course of an uncertain, desolate, thoughtless, and indolent life sank from one level of moral degeneration down to the next, who finally in the dark tumult of primitive emotion destroyed a human life, shall now, rejected by society, lose his own on the scaffold by human hand."[11] Johann Christian Woyzeck was beheaded in a Leipzig square on 27 August 1824.

The execution generated a whirlwind of controversy, and Büchner's father was in possession of all three case histories. Not only were they accessible to Georg, but one critic speculates that they were likely discussed in the Büchner home.[12] The timely occurrence of the timeless debate offered the writer a rich opportunity to voice a striking statement about the nature of the murderers and the society which, in Büchner's view, drove them to commit the crimes. Büchner's vision penetrates so deeply because he does not content himself with passing moral judgments or recycling formulaic explanations.

The unfinished text remains problematic (Büchner died in the midst of revisions). While considerable debate has arisen concerning even the proper order of the scenes, one can reasonably surmise that Büchner would have concluded the play with Woyzeck's trial and execution. Dr. Clarus had indicated that Woyzeck's death was to be an example, and one might imagine that Büchner's depiction of the execution would have been an example indeed.

The play opens with Franz Woyzeck, a soldier, in a field with his aloof confidant friend and fellow soldier, Andres. Woyzeck hallucinates, and he remarks how hollow the earth feels (an observation Lenz could have made just as easily). The second scene shows Woyzeck's lover Marie, with whom he has a child, in the town. These two starkly different settings immediately establish a tension between nature and society. Marie sings nursery rhymes and folk songs, and in looking from her window, is physically attracted to the Drum Major. When Marie is criticized by her neighbor Margret, the reader is granted a glimpse of Marie's materialistic inclinations. The reader also learns that Marie knows of Woyzeck's hallucinations.

Marie's desire for money becomes increasingly apparent. When a sergeant pulls out a watch for a demonstration at a fair, she is mesmerized: "This I've got to see" (184). Someone, presumably the Drum Major, gives her a pair of earrings. Her monolog as she peers into the fragment of a mirror demonstrates that she is aware of the association between wealth and class: "The likes of us only have a little corner in the world and a little piece of mirror, but my mouth is just as red as the great ladies with their mirrors from top to toe and their handsome lords who kiss their hands" (184).

She feels guilt for her longings, however, when Woyzeck gives her some of his meager pay. But she quickly rationalizes that: "Everything goes to hell anyhow, man and woman alike" (185). Infidelity is inevitable.

Consecutive scenes of the play introduce a physician and the captain of Woyzeck's company; here contrasts and tensions are created between the middle and working classes. Woyzeck appears in a subservient role, shaving his captain. The officer's speech is pocked with pedestrian humor and lackluster rationale. Woyzeck seems detached until the Captain accuses him of lacking morality. Woyzeck replies, "Us poor people. You see Cap'n - money, money. If you don't have money.... Just try to raise your own kind on morality in this world" (186). The Captain is also unable to bridge the socioeconomic gap between himself, a member of a more privileged class and Woyzeck, a representative of the oppressed, exploited, military proletariat of the time.

The subsequent scene depicts Marie with the Drum Major in her room. She finds him attractive, and while her accessibility to, say, the Captain would be difficult, the Drum Major offers Marie a reasonable improvement in status and income. Woyzeck senses her emotionless resignation (reminiscent of Lenz's "cold resignation") in the next scene, and he foreshadows the murder by saying: "You are as beautiful as sin. Can mortal sin be so beautiful?" (188).

As a despicable character, the physician is critical to the thrust of Büchner's attack on societal conventions. Büchner does not criticize medicine or science in themselves, he criticizes specific *practices* of medicine and scientific experimentation. He feels that strictly scientific pursuit without human consideration neglects other fundamental aspects of collective human nature. Büchner spares no scorn in criticizing this type of scientist.

The Doctor has put Woyzeck on a diet of peas in a study which will, he says, revolutionize science. This physician is utterly unfeeling and one-dimensional. "Who would get excited about a human being, a human being?" he asks (190). Woyzeck reports that he has heard voices and follows with this very Lenzian thought: "The toadstools, Doctor.... Have you seen how they grow in patterns? If only someone could read that" (190). The Doctor immediately (and shallowly) makes a diagnosis: "a marvelous *aberratio mentalis partialis*, second species, beautifully developed" (190). When the physician calls Woyzeck "Subject Woyzeck," he is calling him a scientific subject just as much as he is a class subject.

Woyzeck feels lost because Marie is the only aspect of his existence which he values, and Marie seems lost to him. Their conversations, though oblique, can at least be categorized as communication. The extra money he makes from the Doctor's experiment and from shaving the Captain are invested in Marie. She is the only "good" he possesses; if he loses her, he loses everything.

Psychosomatic effects become apparent in Woyzeck. He complains of how hot he feels, the same adjective he uses to describe Marie when he is jealous. He is restless; things twirl in front of his eyes. After he sees the Drum Major and Marie dancing and hears her gaily shout "on and on!" Woyzeck's rage and frustration surface in an angry speech. In a mechanism we have since come to associate with Brecht, an apprentice outside preaches "all that is earthly is passing, even money must eventually decay."[13] Back in an open field, as at the beginning of the play, and lying on the ground, Woyzeck hears voices which tell him to stab her.

The next day, a grandmother, an unmarried couple and several children are together on the street. The children play games and sing songs and nursery rhymes, symbolic and stylistic reflections of the Doctor's and Captain's attitude toward humans as puppets or toys. The Grandmother tells a story:

> Once upon a time there was a poor little child with no father and no mother, everything was dead, and no one was left in the whole world. Everything was dead and it went and searched day and night. And since nobody was left on the earth, it wanted to go up to the heavens, and the moon was looking at it so friendly, and when it finally got to the moon, the moon was a piece of rotten wood and then it went to the sun and when it got there, the sun was a wilted sunflower and when it got to the stars, they were little golden flies stuck up there like the shrike sticks 'em on the blackthorn and when it wanted to go back down to earth, the earth was an upset pot and was all alone and it sat down and cried and there it sits to this day, all alone. (199)

It is, of course, a tale of false expectations and utter betrayal. The child discovers that goals it strove for were nothing but perversely disappointing illusions. We suspect that Woyzeck will find Marie so, and eventually she would come to find the parading Drum Major equally disappointing.

After the Grandmother's story Woyzeck takes a walk with Marie - outside the town - and stabs her to death. His psychosomatic symptoms continue, notably as body temperature, the hot and cold symbolic of life and death. The end of the (unfinished) play is the Court Clerk's chilling statement: "A good murder, a real murder, a beautiful murder. As good a murder as you'd ever want to see. We haven't had one like this for a long time" (204).

Woyzeck is a logical extension of Büchner's earlier works, inasmuch as it combines the psychological study of *Lenz* with the political passion of *Der hessische Landbote*. The drama's disjointed style and economical, powerful language come across as thoroughly contemporary, even for a late 20th century audience. *Woyzeck* remains consistent with Büchner's literary and scientific writings, because it further explains, in dramatic form, his concept of totality. Büchner would, we may suspect, finally exculpate Woyzeck; he saw in the barber and soldier a victim of society and ill fortune. Forced to sell his health in order to earn a little money, Woyzeck still could not avoid losing the one being he valued and who lent him value, Marie.

But more problematic is the pivotal story of the Grandmother. Does the absence of solace and hope signify only the danger of idealizations and simplified projections, or is it truly representative of the world, implying more of what we have since encountered in naturalism? The latter answer would seem to signify a departure for Büchner from his totality theory.

The answer is housed in Woyzeck's action. Though he would himself die, he killed Marie, thus choosing active suicide over passive disintegration. Significantly, he takes to the woods, away from the city and society, to kill her. Unlike the materialistic Marie, he does not resign to notions of fatalism. Although he felt deeply threatened and was mentally ill, he still discovered a way to express himself; tragically, society offered only one avenue. In final analysis, Woyzeck could not neglect cogent components of his total person.

Georg Büchner is a singular figure, well in advance of his time, and we may be pleased to find that this student of history, philosophy, politics and medicine found the concept of totality integral to his literary productivity. Science plays an important role in offering reason, analysis and the art of observation, with which certain facts and truths can be defined. Science alone, however, is of little value, as evidenced by the physician in *Woyzeck*. It must be accompanied by other human aspects such as compassion, socio-economic awareness and physical and mental health, in order to claim validity and manage beneficial effects. Despite the fact that Büchner did not live to finish the play, the theme of totality is clearly evident in the dramatic fragment.

IN CONCLUSION

Georg Büchner, the political activist, scientist and writer, possessed a piercing insight and astute ability in each field. His understanding of science, combined with his interests in philosophy and politics, provided for a unique approach to the writing of literature. His concept of totality is a vastly intuitive vision: each component of human existence and the natural world is an integral, yet independent piece in a self-contained whole. Faithful to the concept, Büchner arrives at the depiction of ultimately human protagonists in *Lenz* and *Woyzeck*, for each element of their existences is inexorably and complexly interdependent with the rest. Büchner's characters are in themselves whole: complex arrangements of mutually dependent components.

Notes

1. Hilton, p. 6.
2. Schmidt, p. 319, and Hamburger, p. 95.
3. Schmidt, p. 328.
4. Baumann and Oberle, pp. 114-115.
5. Hamburger, p. xi.
6. Schmidt, p. 319.
7. Hilton, p. 41.
8. Lavater is the Swiss theologian to whom Büchner referred in *Die Probevorlesung*. See Knapp, p. 227, and Schmidt, p. 319.
9. Büttner, p. 94.
10. Schmidt, p. 362.
11. Schmidt, p. 368.
12. Hilton, p. 114.
13. The play, as those of Brecht, is intended to make a political statement. See Schmidt, p. 194

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Translating by Factors, by Gutknecht & Rölle - A Review

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It is too bad that there is so little activity in the field of translation theory - and indeed practice - among teachers of language and literature in North America. The Europeans are, in this area, far ahead of us. An example is this volume, *Translating by Factors*, by two German professors of English and Linguistics, Christoph Gutknecht and Lutz J. Rölle (Albany, NY: State University of NY Press, 1996), in the SUNY Series in Linguistics, 346 pp.

The title may be somewhat misleading, for just what "factors" consist of, is not something immediately apparent, either in the academy or from the volume, despite the authors' claim on p. 1 that "Everyone knows what factors are." Happily, the "factors" do soon become clear - they are the numerous variables which affect the translation process. As the reader suspects, there can be a very great number of factors indeed. Gutknecht and Rölle attempt to give structure (and thus clarity) to the situation, as the work treats the modals from the standpoints of syntax and morphology, semantics, pragmatics, spoken and written language, equivalent types, the translation situation, and finally, in terms of translation theory.

What this work offers, if limited in scope, is in fact quite impressive. It is nothing less than an exhaustive treatment of modal verbs (can, may, must, should, etc.) - whose unusual forms and polysemy cause teachers of language considerable unease. Some of their forms are certainly unusual. Consider the past tense of "You must do that," for instance. Modals, after all, represent abstract concepts, such as obligation, inference, possibility, capability, permission, prediction and hypothesis - and their equivalents in the foreign language are at times equally as ephemeral.

Nor, as the authors point out, are meanings immutable in a given language. A case in point is the expansion of the meaning of "can" into the "permission" field - at "may's" expense. The theory and structure of the authors' presentation is excellent, but the data is dated (1950s) and this reviewer suspects that a good deal of shift has occurred since. That may be more apparent in certain registers, in fact, and register is a factor which receives too little attention in *Translating by Factors*.

As the reader may well expect, *Translating by Factors* bases its translations on German, but French and other languages are present as frequent examples, as well. A slight drawback for American readers is that the English used in the volume is largely British English, and occasionally an example seems inauthentic to the American ear. But that is of no overbearing significance, and the volume's many achievements make it a very worthwhile work indeed.

It has an impressive bibliography of references, a useful subject index, and an author index. The volume is exceedingly well documented, in fact, and works of other authors in the field are quoted with great frequency. *Translating by Factors* makes for superb background reading for serious teachers of language, and it certainly belongs on the shelves of every college library.

———SELECTA———

Editor's Note: SELECTA does not solicit volumes for review, but when a work is received which is of interest to our readers, we make an effort to see that it is reviewed in this or another professional journal.

THE GERMAN MEDIA: SETTING THE REUNIFICATION AGENDA

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Primarily concerned with the political, economic, and informational roles of the media, Harold Lasswell, in his landmark essay, "Structure and Function," identified:

- Surveillance of the environment (the collection of information and its dissemination to the public).
- Correlation (press attempts to explain, analyze, and interpret the political, economic, and other news and to provide opportunities for public discussion).
- Transmission of social heritage (the transmission of culture, entertainment, and the socialization process).

These three media functions (hereinafter referred to as watchdog, forum, and teacher) exist to varying degrees and operate in differing ways in democracies and in dictatorships. When taken together for purposes of comparative analysis, they signal the degree of free expression in a society and the relative power of the media to influence events. Under the Nazi and then the Communist regimes, surveillance of the environment, correlation, and transmission of the social heritage were controlled and manipulated by the government. After providing a historical and cultural perspective, this paper will discuss media coverage of the reunification process and the impact of that coverage on public opinion.

Two other controversial media functions have been identified by American media scholars: gatekeeping (determining which items are to be included) and agenda-setting (determining how much emphasis to give, and where the report is placed). Continuing controversy over media power has led to the inclusion of these two functions in most discussions analyzing media influence, and this article will add them to Lasswell's three functions for a more complete consideration of the German media.

Any such examination before, during, and after German reunification must also take into account the distinct political and cultural realities that affected the media's ability - in both positive and negative ways - to perform the above functions. American media critics have tended to overestimate media power to create salient issues while they have also underestimated the significance of particular events to ordinary people. As an example, the Germans in Leipzig, and those elsewhere who heard about the remarkable Pastor Führer, understood the significance of the Monday night prayer meetings at the *Nikolaikirche*. This realization occurred long before October 1989, when television cameras were there to document the power of peaceful protest.

Some of the issues and events affected millions of lives. Issues such as fear of the secret police, unemployment and other economic problems were salient, while subjects being discussed in the GDR (German Democratic Republic) media were not. Even so, the media on both sides of the Wall were deeply involved in influencing those in power , and in affecting public opinion. At times the West German press, as we shall see, was hardly more honest in its coverage of the "socialist experiment" in East Germany than were the Communist government's media.

In examining the media's role in the aftermath of reunification and in the healing process, we will look briefly at the impact of reunification on the German media and at some of the changes that have affected those who work for media organizations, media educators and students who are preparing for media-related careers.

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

There are remarkable similarities between the Nazi and Communist systems under which people in the GDR lived for over fifty-five years. Existence of a secret police (the Gestapo, later the Stasi) is one. A government-controlled media is another. In the GDR, the media-control system was set in place by Moscow-trained German Communists. Therefore, the model they created conformed to that of the Soviet press system. Journalists and all others involved in the media were expected to be ideologically pure, members of the Communist Party, and to abide by the standard of "socialist realism," which meant the dissemination of information consistent with Party interpretations, decisions and goals.

In the GDR, the information gatekeeper was the Communist Party, just as during the Hitler regime it was the Nazi Party. Unlike in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, dissident *samizdat* literature did not exist in Communist East Germany, and East German writers and artists rarely attempted to test the boundaries of state censorship. As a result of their disengagement from society, they now face additional problems in dealing with their personal demons. Robert Verdussen has commented that "East German writers reproach themselves for not having had a Vaclav Havel in their midst."[1] Walter Janka, a dissident writer who spent five years in jail during the 1950s explains:

> The important writers who could have told the truth did not do so because they could not, but also because they did not want to. The pressures on them were intense, and their fear was real - especially the fear of not being published.[2]

Throughout the history of the GDR, the only voice heard regarding the subject of German reunification was the voice of the Party. According to Hans Joachim Meyer, Minister for Science and Art in the Free State of Saxony,[3] there were three stages of political strategy with regard to German reunification: Consistent with Soviet policy, in the first stage a united Germany could only exist as a non-aligned entity. The first stage ended when the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) became a member of NATO. In the second stage, the proposal was to create a German confederation. In 1970, in the third stage, the FRG proposed the establishment of a "special" relationship with East Germany. In response, the GDR leadership rejected the existence of a single German nation and proclaimed that there were two, separate and distinct Germanys, one socialist, the other capitalist.

As a result of the 1974 Helsinki agreement on the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) it became possible for West German correspondents to work in East Germany. This opening of the borders for journalists in both countries was remarkable, despite the many limitations placed on Western journalists operating in the GDR. Other important factors included the "new eastern policy" of the Social Democrat-Liberal governments of Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, the peaceful people's movement in the GDR that was supported by the Protestant Church and, eventually, the economic collapse of the GDR.

Following the Helsinki agreement, West German television continued to transmit elements of a democratic culture and provide information to East Germans, although watching FRG TV was a punishable offense in the GDR. While the GDR's television offerings of feature films was competitive with those offered by West German TV, the contrast in other programs was striking, particularly in the news and political programs of the two countries. West German TV news, while lacking the sensationalist style and negative attitude common to news programs in the US, is characterized, according to Ulrich Wickert[4] as a serious endeavor. Wickert anchors ARD's *Tagesschau* prime time news program, assisted by 70-80 journalists working in 27 bureaus around the world. This program is the main source of information for 7 million people. It and other West German news programs gave GDR viewers something new: information untainted by propaganda and covering areas and subjects not covered on East German television. The West German media were functioning in their teacher role.

The GDR's sterile news programs became more easily recognizable as pure propaganda, and political discussion hardly existed. West German soap operas and life-style programs provided East Germans with a mediated view of life across the border, and it has been said that those in the GDR, who could view West German television, saw only the "chocolate side" of life in the West. While the East German state-run TV could be received in parts ofWest Germany, the two largest West German TV networks, ARD and ZDF, were received and watched intensely everywhere in East Germany, except in the Dresden area, called "the valley of the clueless."[5] As Fritz Stern explains:

> For 40 years, most East Germans had accommodated to life in a world of public lies and private doubts. Totalitarian regimes mobilize people into passive participation in politics. After 12 years of Nazi rule and 40 years of communist rule ... they ... survived psychologically by ... denial, by wishing not to see.[6]

For East Germans to believe the rhetoric of their leaders was to devalue their feelings about what they were seeing on television. To believe what they experienced with their eyes and ears, was to acknowledge the lies with which they had been living for decades. Either way, the result was feelings of cognitive dissonance, of living with a lie.

August 1980 marked the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, but ignoring the Final Act's agreed upon goal of supporting freer access to information, the USSR and its satellites resumed jamming Voice of America, BBC, and the FRG's short-wave Deutsche Welle broadcasts.[7] However, this did not affect the continued ability of people in the GDR to access West Germany television, and the comparison between life in the GDR and life in West Germany and the world beyond, "put the communist leadership at an insurmountable disadvantage."[8] The West German media, in their gatekeeper function undermined the gatekeeper power of the GDR's Socialist Unity Party (SED).

By the mid-1980s, it was increasingly clear that the efforts of East Germany to significantly improve GDR living standards were a failure. The economy of East Germany was the strongest in the Communist world - and it was collapsing. As the economic crisis worsened, there was growing resentment toward SED General Secretary Honecker's obsessive empowerment of the GDR's notorious secret police, the Stasi, "the eyes and ears of the regime." "Honecker's Wall" and his Stasi were two of the most hated elements of life under Communism.

From 1985 on, the Gorbachev reforms in the USSR allowed liberalization in Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Huge numbers of fleeing East Germans would cross into those countries on their way to West Germany. In November 1988, *Neues Deutschland*, the East German Communist Party's official newspaper, attempted to reassure the populace that "every citizen," under socialism, had "a place and all the opportunities for a good job and democratic participation in our system."[9] Several hundred thousand citizens of the GDR were by then applying for exit visas, and Church sources were reporting that approximately "a quarter of a million people have lost interest in the Communist Party's conception of democracy ...."[10]

In December 1988, Chancellor Helmut Kohl welcomed the lifting of some GDR travel restrictions (encouraged and fueled by profits resulting from various transit agreements with the Federal Republic), but denounced the suppression of the reform movement. In response, Honecker said that "the wall protecting us from fascism will stay there until such time as the conditions which led to its erection are changed." He added that it would still be in existence "in 50, 100 years' time."[11] By late October 1989, it was estimated that 10 percent of East Germany's 16 million remaining inhabitants had decided to leave.[12]

Anticipating what Edward Steen of London's *Independent* called a "hemorrhage,"[13] *Der Spiegel*[14] and other sources[15] spoke of the "old men in its Politburo" who have "dug in their heels," believing that they could "wait out their enemies," and reported that the list of applicants to leave was headed by professionals, such as doctors, managers, technicians, and scientists, i.e., the most talented citizens, contributing further to the collapse that was well underway.

West German television coverage of the influx of those seeking political asylum raised the consciousness of East Germans. The FRG's media were effectively fulfilling their watchdog, forum, teacher and gatekeeper functions, but who was setting the political agenda? By 1988, Leipzig's *Nikolaikirche* had become a popular place for open meetings, where people came together to talk about their situation and to pray for peace. What had started in 1983 as a small group of people who had no place else to meet grew to hundreds and then thousands, their numbers spilling out onto the streets. In Dresden, too, a peaceful people's movement began to take shape.

COVERING THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

If East Germans were said to be lacking in civic-courage, the popular demonstrations, particularly in Leipzig, proved that they were capable of putting aside their fears, reconstituting their civic spirit and their moral resources. As Pastor Führer related:

> On May 9, 1989, the police started blockading the streets leading to the church. More and more people came by train and car. Great groups began to stand behind the barricade and face the police. After the Monday night prayer meetings, the police would try to disperse the groups outside the church. They started to take people away. Whoever was grabbed, they shouted out the names. We would write down the names and the next morning, we would call the city officials. The city authorities were afraid this would get out to the Western press if the names were known to the church.[16]

People disobeyed the authorities and virtually ignored their media. It was, the Pastor said, a time of great fear. People never knew what could happen, if one hour later they would be in Stasi interrogation rooms.

The authorities used the newspapers to report on these meetings and to publish warnings that they must be stopped, that detention camps had been prepared, and that empty rooms in the hospital had been readied for those who might be wounded. However, these published threats did not dissuade the people from coming to the church.

Theo Sommer, writing in the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* recognized the significance of the events throughout Eastern Europe, and turning to East Germany, he commented:

> The way is also open for the other German nation, whose aging leadership no longer has the strength to speak to its own people–which is why the country's young people are running away whenever they can find a gap in the wall. ... We are at a turning point in history. Turbulence is to be expected.[17]

On October 9, 1989, regional radio in the Leipzig district played an important role when it appeared that a confrontation between the thousands of protesters and the combined forces of the police and army was imminent. The station aired an appeal from six prominent citizens (including Kurt Masur, the much admired maestro of Leipzig's Gewandhaus Orchestra) to remain peaceful. The appeals were never mentioned in the GDR newspapers, but were heard by hundreds of thousands who were not already on their way to the church. Many of those who listened, however, decided to join the protest. The five centralized national radio stations and the eleven other district stations in the GDR continued to condemn the Monday protest meetings in Leipzig, calling them "provocations of negative enemy forces and the western media."[18]

As the Leipzig Pastor explained, "These people had lived under dictatorships since 1933. The Germans have no tradition of non-violence and for us this peaceful demonstration was a miracle."[19] On October 9th, the people marched from the *Nikolaikirche*, chanting "Keine Gewalt" (no violence). Craig Nickisch writes that this had an effect on the demonstrators and on the police alike.

> The fact that the police (and army units, which were nearby and ready) did nothing, is attributed to the disarray in which the GDR administration found itself ... when the Russians told them they wouldn't be able to step in to help. The lack of force was from a lack of will and coordination within the GDR Politburo. Nobody would do anything without orders, and the orders didn't come.[20]

No longer able to rely on Soviet support, torn by dissidence within its own ranks, the Communist leadership of the GDR government collapsed, and the media were there to document the process. In the end the media proved to be more powerful as an instrument of democratic reforms than was the pervasive and authoritarian secret police mechanism that had been bent on preserving the dictatorial regime.

TOWARD GERMAN REUNIFICATION

The GDR's ruling council realized that even the use of massive force would not save the situation, and opted for the possibility of political survival during a peaceful transition. Hence, on November 9, 1989, those watching GDR television heard a surprising announcement when, pulling out a sheet of paper as if by chance, an official announced a decision to open the Wall and the western borders of the GDR. Who had made the decision to open the borders and to announce it at that moment? Although the name of Günter Schabowski, the SED party secretary in the district of Berlin has been mentioned as having been responsible for the "mistaken announcement," opinions differ.[21]

The incredible news was soon broadcast to the world. While many East Germans ran to their phones to call friends and family to ask if they had heard the announcement, others ran to their cars, or bikes, and headed west. What had been designed to be a "casually" televised message soon drove the political agenda. Here the GDR leadership had reached to the media in an effort to solve its problems but had underestimated the power of the media. Thousands and thousands of East Germans set out to "Test the West."[22]

In Berlin, a television camera focused on a woman who approached one of the guards on duty. The camera picked up his confusion as she asked him if she could cross the border. He told her that she needed a travel pass and a visa. She told him what she had heard on television and everyone around was shouting that it was true, they had also heard the announcement. The guard looked around and the woman pressed him, shouting, "I just want to know if I can go now!" Looking around at the mass of people and at the television camera, having received no direct orders, not knowing what to do, he shrugged his shoulders, and simply said, "all right." As amazing as it seems, Uwe Schwabe's documentary film, "Nikolaikirche," captured the moment.

Television cameras from the East and the West were there with live reports, transmitting the emotional frenzy at this historic moment. The print media, of course, was also well represented, and their reports and historic photos splashed the news across Germany's front pages and around the world. But, it was primarily the television cameras, which stayed for many days and weeks, that provided a reality check. Their presence and the behavior of the media, in general, since the onset of the *Wende* (East Germans used "change" to describe the demise of the GDR) raised a number of questions: Was the revolution in East Germany peaceful because of the presence of TV cameras? Did their presence add to the emotional escalation, while preventing violence? Can this event legitimately be called the "first media revolution" in history?

As the East German political system collapsed, the GDR broadcasting system disintegrated and its print media underwent vast changes, as did its university programs in journalism and communication studies. Leaving the former media areas to be discussed shortly, we will look first at the university programs.

Teams of West German educators were sent in to review the educational system on all levels. Those who examined the journalism and communications courses recommended the complete dismantling and revamping of the existing programs. It was a question of introducing democratic concepts of freedom of the press and the separation of government from the media. East German students would have to learn that in the FRG, press laws of the states govern press rights. These state laws are consistent on the basic issues of the right of journalists to refuse to reveal their sources of information[23] and on the right of those who demand a right to reply after having been the subject of a negative report.[24] While university students were given the opportunity to decide whether they wished to stay and study in the new programs, East German professors were interviewed by committees consisting of West German educators and East Germans who had not had any affiliation with the SED. A West German colleague told me that at first he was taken aback at how rigid his East German counterparts had appeared when advocating the removal of certain individuals who were known to have collaborated with the Stasi. Only after understanding the depth of hatred felt toward all collaborators, were the West Germans able to gain a better perspective as to what life had been like under the Communists.

As for those involved with media organizations, transition teams were formed, consisting of West Germans and East Germans known not to have collaborated with the Stasi. Journalists and other media professionals organized round-table discussions (both formally, on television, and informally, in cafés, taverns, and elsewhere), discussing their professional ethos and possible directions. It was soon clear that, while many East Germans wanted to create a more open system, some also wanted to retain a socialist system with a more humanistic grounding. Hard-line Communists were thrown out immediately, but the majority of the journalists were able to retain their positions, after going through reeducation and retraining. Among the first dismissed was the propagandist, Karl Eduard von Schnitzler, known for his weekly television program called *Der schwarze Kanal* (The Black Channel).[25]

THE STASI, FEAR, THE MEDIA & PUBLIC VENTING

A leftist East German colleague, former Communist Party member and former university professor, spoke to me of his personal experience. He had taught German literature; his wife had taught Russian. Living in Dresden, they had witnessed the people's demonstrations and had feared for their personal safety. When the GDR government collapsed and the Stasi offices were occupied, they experienced new waves of fear, not knowing what would be found in the Stasi files.

> We thought they would kill us because we had been members of the Communist Party and had held privileged positions. It was a miracle that no physical harm came to us. But, we both lost our jobs and life became very difficult for us and for our children.[26]

Similar to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, round-table discussions were heard on German radio and television, giving the victims and the culprits an opportunity to tell their stories. The Stasi, identified as "the prime instrument of oppression,"[27] was the first target, and TV cameras were there videotaping the protesters outside Stasi buildings. These protesters were determined to occupy them, having heard that massive numbers of documents were being shredded. The Stasi regional centers were occupied in early December 1989, and the main office in Berlin was occupied on January 15, 1990.[28]

Civil committees guarded the Stasi documents, organized the files, published pamphlets on Stasi activities, and informed the press when they discovered that someone who had been an informer, or otherwise collaborated with the Stasi, was seeking an appointment of responsibility. The reorganized print and electronic media soon played an important role in exposing Stasi crimes. Joachim Gauck, Chairman of the special committee to supervise the Stasi breakup, and, later the Federal Commissioner for Documents of the State Security Service of the former GDR, explains:

> Following the first free elections in the post-communist GDR (in March 1990), the parliament, the *Volkskammer*, decided ... all members should be vetted to see whether they figured in Stasi records [as undercover collaborators] .... The committee also influenced legislation ... that fixed the methods for dealing with the Stasi legacy ..... The Stasi files were to be used for 'judicial reckoning with the past' in order to facilitate prosecution where crimes had been committed, but also to vindicate those who had been wrongly accused.[29]

Besides their work to facilitate the prosecution of criminal acts and vindicating the wrongly accused, the Commission works with the press to assure regulated access to files while protecting the victims.[30]

Problems have arisen with the German tabloid style press, which has published sensationalized stories about various political, cultural, religious, and sports personalities who were said to be collaborators. Commissioner Gauck points out that unfortunately, tabloid-originated witch hunts have resulted in reports that made it impossible to make distinctions in the public mind. A number of people identified as collaborators and dismissed from their positions in universities or in public service, have protested to West German politicians, journalists and scholars. Commissioner Gauck is critical of the West German-based media that has picked up some of these cases and has attempted to rally support for those individuals with whom they sympathize.

The Commissioner is echoing the essence of remarks made by Robert Verdussen and Walter Janka. In the spring of 1990, Verdussen wrote about the evolution of the East German intellectual's specific identity. He argues that it is a unique identity because it "moved directly from fascism to communism without experiencing democracy."[31] Walter Janka states that "Our experience in East Germany is not a parenthesis. It deserves to be integrated into a more general German context." Similar concern was expressed by Sebastian Pflugbeil, cofounder of New Forum, an East German opposition group: "Our fear is that the small amount of East German national identity that has developed ... will be drowned in West German chocolate."[32]

A number of intellectuals, including Günter Grass (author of *The Tin Drum*), were interviewed by the press regarding their views toward reunification. Grass and others expressed their concerns and fears about the recreation of a "greater" Germany with a concurrent resurgence of German arrogance. Arno Widmann, cultural editor of the *Tageszeitung* (a leftist West Berlin daily that established a 16-page East German edition in 1990), said that an "important role by the left is at stake," and that reunification was already a fact. He advocated that people "participate in it as best as possible" and predicted difficult times, saying:

> The road will be littered with corpses. A lot of people will be without work, and a lot of areas in the East will depopulate completely. Then it will be important to ... reinforce the unions so as to defend the workers from the great capitalist assault that is gearing up."[33]

Happily, his worst predictions did not fully materialize, but it was, after more than half century under Nazi and Communist dictatorships, an enormous challenge to recreate a unified Germany not just from a political and economic perspective, but from a cultural perspective as well.

In the first few months of 1990, the German media clearly provided an outlet for people's concerns and fears. On January 15, 1990, 150,000 people in Leipzig again took to the streets; now chanting "Germany - united Fatherland." In the meantime, poll takers were assessing West German public opinion. Josef Joffe, foreign editor of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (an independent paper based in Munich), cited a January poll indicating 87 percent favored reunification. However, he noted that "the mood in Germany does not match the numbers churned out by the computers of the professional pulse-takers." He added: "You do not see crowds thronging the streets of Bonn, Munich, or Frankfurt chanting, 'Reunification now!'"[34] In May 1990, Jens König of East Berlin's *Junge Welt* (The GDR's Free German Youth paper), commented on the results of the election held on March 18th, the first free elections in East Germany in over 40 years. He said the vote showed the decisive defeat of socialism in the GDR, but explained that:

> our flight toward "Germany, the united Fatherland" also brings a dependence that we thought we had shaken. Once it was on the Communist leadership; today it is on the West German government.[35]

On August 23, 1990, the freely elected East German Parliament agreed to formal unification with West Germany; the Unification Treaty was signed on August 31, 1990, and unification took place officially on October 3rd.

Despite overwhelming public approval of Germany's reunification, Chancellor Kohl's critics have used the watchdog, forum, and teacher functions of the media to attack his government's policies. According to Nickisch, Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher realized that:

> the opportunity for unification was there, and did what

> they had to, to accomplish it. The "Kohl optimism" is a recent fabrication by journalists and academics who had spent 40 years praising the wonders of the [East] German experiment in "socialism" and wanted to deflect inspection of their dishonest reporting and evaluations by accusing Kohl of "hiding" the truth about the true state of the GDR. Journalists and academics had in fact been hiding it themselves, and knew it.[36]

According to Nickisch, if you were a high-profile person and were perceived as a threat to the East German government, "bad things could happen to you and to your family," and there were other practical advantages to not telling the truth about what you knew of GDR woes:

> If you published something unflattering about East Germany, you'd never receive a visa from them to visit again. And without access, you were cut off from such information as there was. The Marxists played that hand very well, and the journalists fell into line. More than that, you were *expected* to say nice things - you had better be proactive. A number of West German organizations of academics and intellectuals were actually funded by East Germany (and their histories are coming to light now, much to their chagrin). In those organizations, the boards of directors were carefully selected to include only those who toed the party line.[37]

It was not Chancellor Kohl and his government who were hiding the true state of affairs in the GDR, but rather those who had a political interest in perpetuating the myth that their brand of socialism would succeed.

CONCLUSION

While the German *Wende* (change) has been called a "velvet revolution," both the "Ossis" (as the East Germans are called) and the "Wessis" (as the East Germans have dubbed their West German counterparts) continue to struggle with the many difficulties of dismantling "the walls in their hearts and heads."[38] Since German culture is based on consensus-seeking, the media's "teacher" function, which includes social responsibility of the media, is taken most seriously. Because of this cultural value system and media environment, the press exhibits an arguably high degree of self-censorship. The socialization role (part of the teacher function), in response to the changing multicultural nature of Germany, has been broadened to include an ever greater degree of sensibility to the complex problems that have arisen in the aftermath of unification.

In this analysis of the ways in which the media have adapted to the *Wende*, a number of examples llustrate how the print and electronic media functioned:

- as a watchdog (Lasswell's surveillance), for example, through coverage of developments relating to the Stasi).
- as forum (Lasswell's correlation), for example, through the broadcast of live roundtable discussions, which permitted victims to tell of their sufferings and repentant Communists to explain themselves and to apologize. Subsequent print coverage provided additional analysis and opportunity for discussion.
- as teacher (Lasswell's transmission of social heritage), for example, through integration of multicultural and the numerous information programs that were aired, particularly in the early 1990s, when East Germans were filled with questions relating to their future.[39]

The most troubling area is gatekeeping. This is of some concern because the German media is so reflective of the overall German culture that many of its reporters avoided revealing certain truths of the situation in the GDR. The information "gate" too often stays closed because of the level of self-censorship that I believe occurs. *The Economist*, in fact, dubbed the German press "a polite press."[40]

The agenda-setting role of the German media is less troublesome, since with the advent of modern technologies (from satellites to fax machines to computers and beyond), we have to a great extent become our own agenda-setters.

Certainly, the move toward German unification was to a large extent media-driven. Had East

German TV not reported the opening of the border as a *fait accompli*, thousands of East Germans would not have rushed to see for themselves. With that act, the genie was out of the bottle. However, given the role the media played, it still remains that that the inner rot of the Communist system was well on its way to resulting in the same outcome. The peaceful people's protests and the inability of the Communist government and its Stasi to gain Soviet support hastened the inevitable collapse. But the presence of the media, and the fact that the world was watching, spelled the difference between a peaceful and a violent revolution.

Notes

1. Robert Verdussen, "Doubts Among Eastern Europe's Intellectuals," *World Press Review*, June 1990, p. 34. The article originally appeared in the Roman Catholic *La Libre Belgique* of Brussels.

2. Quoted by Verdussen, ibid.

3. Hans Joachim Meyer's speech, "Germany between Division and Unity," at the opening of the second annual meeting of Bundeskanzler Scholars in Washington on April 28, 1995, appears in *AvH. Magazin* 66/1995, pp. 33-46.

4. Ulrich Wickert's remarks were made at a meeting with a Fulbright group on June 20, 1997. His comment, "Don't call people between 8:00 and 8:15 p.m.," was meant to stress the importance of this news program to those who habitually view it.

5. Rüdiger Steinmetz, *The History and Current Situation of Broadcasting in Germany*, an unpublished lecture at the University of Leipzig. Dr. Steinmetz helped coordinate the program and accompanied the Fulbright group on its trip through Germany (June-July 1997).

6. Fritz Stern, "Freedom and Its Discontents," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1993, pp. 108-125.

7. John Fry, *The Helsinki Process: Negotiating Security and Cooperation in Europe* (National Defense University Press, 1993), pp. 4-5.

8 . Meyer, p. 37.

9. From *Der Spiegel* of Hamburg, as cited in *World Press Review*, November 1988, p. 17.

10. Ibid.

11. *Facts About Germany* (Germany: Societäts-Verlag, 1996), pp. 50-51.

12. Patricia Clough, "The Welcome Can Wear Thin," *The Independent* (London), cited in *World Press Review*, November 1989, p.12.

13. As cited in *World Press Review*, November 1989, p. 11.

14 . Ibid.

15. Meyer, p. 38. However, according to Craig Nickisch, a specialist in Western European Affairs, the West German media did not reveal as much as they knew about the failing "socialist experiment" in the GDR.

16. Pastor Führer related these events in a talk given to the Fulbright group on June 26, 1997, at the church in Leipzig.

17. Theo Sommer, "Retreat From Communism," cited in *World Press Review*, October 1989, p. 15.

18. Steinmetz, lecture at the University of Leipzig, June 11, 1997.

19 . Pastor Führer, June 26, 1997.

20. From discussions and personal correspondence (June -August, 1997). For a discussion of the events from Leipzig's perspective see Craig W. Nickisch, "Heldenstadt der DDR: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig," *Schatzkammer*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1991, pp. 46-56.

21. See, for example, the German Government's Web site, http://www.government.de/ containing the contents of *Facts About Germany* (Societäts-Verlag, 1996), p.52.

22. Ibid.

23. Although in the U.S., something over 30 states have shield laws that provide some protection to journalists who refuse to reveal their sources, our judicial branch has never recognized an unqualified right to confidentiality in a journalist-source relationship.

24. In Miami Herald v. Tornillo (1974), the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled against a right of reply, which is seen as infringing on the First Amendment right of freedom of the press.

25. Steinmetz, *The History and Current Situation of Broadcasting in Germany* (unpublished essay), p.23.

26. Both were out of work for a long time. Finally he found part-time work and recently was able to find a full-time position in a small school in the northwest, some 600

kilometers away from his family in Dresden. His wife, in the meantime, put aside her Russian and brushed up on her English. She, too, finally found a position as an English teacher, symbolizing the vast change not only in her personal life, but in the life of her country.

27. Joachim Gauck, "Dealing with [illegible] Stasi Past," *Daedalus*, 123:1, Winter 1994, pp. 277-284.

28. From a discussion with Johannes Legner, at the Stasi archives in East Berlin on June 24, 1997.

29 Gauck, pp. 278-279.

30 . Legner discussion.

31. Verdussen, p. 35.

32. Richard Gwyn, "Reunification May Already Be Here," *Toronto Star*, as cited in *World Press Review*, January 1990, pp. 15-16.

33. Sandra Petrignani, "Agonizing Over Reunification," *Panorama* (Milan), as reprinted in *World Press Review*, June 1990, pp. 35-37.

34. Josef Joffe, "One Germany - Hopes and fears rise from the revolution of '89," *World Press Review*, January 1990, pp. 13-15.

35. Jens König, cited in "Viewpoints," *World Press Review*, May 1990, p. 8.

36. Craig W. Nickisch, personal correspondence (August, 1997).

37. Ibid.

38 . Steinmetz, lecture.

39. The West German government also utilized "information buses," which were sent into eastern German towns and cities. These buses or vans carried civil servants who answered the people's questions and distributed printed matter that explained changes taking place. The effort was meant to supplement the media as sources of information and was seen as a positive action by East Germans.

40. "Germany, A polite press," *The Economist*, June 15, 1996, p. 47.

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Equivalency and Redundancy in German-American Literary Translation with Examples from *Zum Ausbessern Zerissener Tage - Mending Tattered Days* (bi-lingual edition)

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Schools of thought abound in controversial theories regarding the art of literary translation. What does translating mean? In simple terms translating is the transformation of one language into another, from the source language into the target language. And it is this act of transformation or realization which causes so many problems for the person undertaking a literary translation. Because language is the expression of a culture, many of the words in a language are an integral part of the culture, and therefore very hard, perhaps impossible, to transfer in their entirety to a foreign language. Translators must always remember that their first task is to make the original accessible to the audience for whom they are translating, i.e. to mediate between the audience and the text.[1]

I would like to start by looking at ideas some classical novelists, poets, and philologists directed at the aesthetic phenomenon of translation.[2] The German novelist and humorist Jean Paul said something to the effect that it is a "bad sign" when an author can be completely translated since a work of art capable of being translated is, in his opinion, not worth translating. Or the Prussian statesman and philologist Wilhelm von Humboldt thought that the act of translating is nothing but an attempt to cope with an impossible task since the translator either adheres too closely to the language of the original or too closely to the peculiarities of the language of the other nation. And in Humboldt's view a "middle course" is not only difficult but "outright impossible" to find. Friedrich Schiller expresses similar thoughts on the difficulties of translation. Schiller refers to a translation as expression of the "creative genius" of the language in which it is written, not that of the original language. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe requires that translators identify themselves completely with "das Fremde" (the foreign element).

Here are the voices of two great 20th century poets.[3] Rainer Maria Rilke: "Poems cannot be translated without losses. I always think one should stick with the original." That was easy for someone who was equally versed in French, English, and Russian. Robert Frost: "The thing that's lost in translating poetry is the poetry." Many translators of poetry would not disagree with the widely held assumption that a poet's identity can never be re-created, because the poet speaks but once. In the case of Rilke's translation of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* by Elizabeth Barrett Browning, literary critics accept that he re-created the original rather than translating it, giving the reader a more or less faithful version of the original. And the philosopher Walter Benjamin argued that "a poem brought into a new language had to transform that language: a good translation would enrich its adoptive tongue as it had changed the linguistic world of its original."[4] In other words a poem, brought into a new language, must transform that language. But doesn't one almost have to be a poet oneself in order to be able to accomplish that?

When I was asked to present a paper on the difficulties of literary translations, especially of poetry, not only did I have to restrict myself to a few examples, but I had hoped to do this in the form of a workshop with participants sharing their translating experiences. Since I do not claim to be an expert on translating poetry, I would welcome some input as to what constitutes a "good" translation. I never translate my own German poetry into English, for I would feel like re-writing my poems in a foreign language, a language which is not my mother tongue. Therefore I am extremely grateful to colleagues and poets for having done the translations. At this point I would like to touch on just a few of the many aspects of the relationship between redundancy and equivalency as a main criterion for interlingual literary translations. Since German and English are related languages, there is quite a bit of apparent equivalency, especially on the semantic and even the stylistic levels, but there is also significant non-equivalency, especially on the cultural level. Contemporary writers on translation such as André Lefevere or Mary Snell-Hornby claim that the concept of equivalency has become so vague that it hardly denotes anything anymore, or conversely, that it denotes all things to all people. According to these two translation theorists, equivalency should not be defined in absolute terms, but rather as an 'adequate' translation for every given original.[5]

Whatever the approach, redundancy then becomes an indispensable factor. Redundancy, as I will illustrate later, is often regarded by translation theorists as a necessary tool to compensate for deficiency. Without redundancy, the linguistic and aesthetic process of a given translation of a literary work cannot be realized. There are so many German constructions which do not exist in the English language, for example the adjectival noun which, in English, can generally only be rendered by means of redundancy. In Rilke's poetry adjectival nouns abound. Here are a few: "eines Dienenden" ("of one who serves"), "ein Ernstes" ("something serious"), "das Außen" ("the outside world"), "das Alte" ("what is old") or "Du Göttlicher" ("you divine one"). Rilke's ubiquitous present and past participles as verb forms or nouns lose their aesthetic value when rendered as either "you judges" for "ihr Richtenden" or "gold in the indulgent bank" for "Gold in der verwöhnenden Bank" or "of the weeping source" for "des geweinten Quells." In the last two examples, redundancy actually distorts the poetic meaning. Equally clumsy and overly-redundant is the rendering of "the sweetness of danger that ripens" for "das Süße reifender Gefahr."

The 20th century poet, Paul Celan, was born in a German-speaking part of Romania, and his parents perished in a Nazi concentration camp. Even after he became a French citizen, Celan continued to write his poetry in German. We admire his wonderful poem *Todesfuge / Death Fugue*, composed in a fractured and not easily accessible play of syntax and neologism, which is exceedingly difficult to translate into a contemporary fluent English. Yet it has been done rather successfully by John Felstiner, who encompasses Celan's indirect world through metaphor: "Black milk of daybreak we drink it at evening." Repetition and suggestion of meaning through juxtaposition in the original successfully find their equivalency in English for "Schwarze Milch der Frühe wir trinken sie abends." Yet "derTod ist ein Meister" translated as "Death is a master" is not what Celan had in mind. "Meister" in German is not a synonym for Lord ("Herr" means both Lord and Master). Goethe's novel *Wilhelm Meister* comes to mind as does his ballad *Der Zauberlehrling / The Sorcerer's Apprentice* where the juxtaposition of "Lehrling" (apprentice) and "Hexenmeister" (master sorcerer) symbolizes mastery of a craft or, as in Wagner's opera *Die Meistersinger von*

Nürnberg, the acceptance into a guild. In John Felstiner's translation of *Todesfuge* the German "Meister" is Celan's metaphor for death and remains the way it is, thus preserving the untranslatable terror regardless of linguistic background. Holocaust survivor Celan silently demands that some elements of the Nazi trauma remain untouched.

At this point I would like to discuss selections from my own bi-lingual book of poetry *Zum Ausbessern Zerrissener Tage / Mending Tattered Days.*[6] I have reflected long on how to translate the title of one of my poems: *Die Aussenseiterin* (14-15) as “The Outsider” is almost too good an equivalency, but the translation is lacking in gender-specificity. “The woman outsider” or even “She who is an outsider” would be too much redundancy. So my translator and I decided to let it be “*The Outsider”* since both versions, the orignal German and the translated version, clearly build up to the desired climax by revealing her identity in the last stanza: “Nur die Urgrossmutter / die uralte" translated as *“Only the great-grandmother, / old as the hills.”* A semantic problem of a different nature presented itself in my poem *Datenlos / Undated* (38-39). How was “Kissen” to be translated? (“Ein Kissen nennt man das,/ worunter du nun ruhst”). “Pillow”? No; there is just no simple English word for that, and here we have another case of cultural non-equivalency. Americans do not have “Kissen” on their graves. Interestingly, no satisfactory entries could be found in even the best German-English English-German dictionaries. My translator finally resorted to redundancy: “They said it's called a ledger, / the stone you lie beneath.”

The 19th century German dramatist Friedrich Hebbel once asked himself why translating was so hard to do. Today we suspect, with some certainty, that it is the context which determines the meaning of a common word, phrase, or expression, since words of different languages only agree completely in the rarest of cases. Concepts such as *Alter, Erziehung, Bildung, Schule,* or verbs such as *besuchen* or *machen,* to name but a few, can take on such a variety of meanings that it is not only a question of words semantically fitting together correctly according to grammatical rules.

In my poem *Schwanseebad* (156-157), “Schwansee” and “ein Grosser” are both literary allusions: “Als ich das unbeheizte Schwanseebad da betrat, / wo damals ein Grosser Schlittschuh lief” ("As I stepped into the unheated Schwansee-pool / where once the great man ice-skated”). Writers and poets often allude to other works of literature in order to make their readers aware of similarities and differences between what they are reading and what is alluded to: “ein Grosser” of course meaning Goethe, and “Schwansee” is the pond in Weimar on which he used to ice-skate. This is a known fact for people who have studied or researched Goethe. Today, a huge outdoor pool is found near the former pond, long since dried up. Another literary allusion is found at the end of my poem *Ballade von der Klingelnden Strassenbahn / Ballad of the Ringing Streetcar* (16-19). The allusion to Tennessee Williams' play *A Streetcar Named Desire* sets the tone throughout, culminating at the end of the poem. In this case my translator disregarded the allusion, thus the flavor of the all-encompassing line “An der Endstation Sehnsucht mußte ich raus” (“At the final stop Desire I had to get out”) is lost in translation. At this point I would like to return to my poem *Schwanseebad* (156-157). Feeling transported back into my early childhood, since time for me in former East Germany often seemed to have stood still, I saw myself as I learned how to swim, as "machte gehorsamst Schwimmübungen / zappelte an angsteinflössender Angel / an mir vorbei" ("seeing myself / most obediently executing swimming exercises / wriggling on the frightening coach's rod"). The original "An mir vorbei" as "seeing myself," the frightened little girl, does not quite capture the reflection of my childhood - a most intimate experience watered-down by translation.

Seldom is there an equivalency in idiomatic expressions or proverbs, yet within given limits it is not impossible for the translator to find satisfactory equivalencies. My poem *Die Aussenseiterin / The Outsider* illustrates this point well: "Nur die Urgrossmutter / die uralte / die lachte sich eins ins Fäustchen" translated as "Only the great-grandmother / old as the hills / laughing up her sleeves at them" required that the short, yet revealing German adjective "uralte" be translated with the help of redundancy, but this time a very picturesque one: "old as the hills." And Germans "laugh themselves into their little fist," whereas native speakers of English know how to laugh up their sleeves. No distortion of meaning occurs here, thanks to a very picturesque translation.

Another stumbling-block for translators are neologisms, or new words, often invented in order to strengthen what I would like to call a "double-layered" realm of expressiveness. In my poem *Film / Film* (58-59) inseparable prefixes such as "durch" are used to make a point; "durch-bebte" and "durch-starb" are translated rather adequately as "thrilled through" and "died through." Translators, of course, have to decide how best to render those neologisms and whether they can build analogous ones in their own language. The effect of "thrilled through" and "died through" comes close to the desired effect produced in the original.

At times departures from the original are forced on the translators in their efforts to preserve meter, rhyme, and word order. Fundamental differences between English and German word order affect one's understanding of both prose and poetry. In German, for example, one can start a sentence with whatever grammatical element one may choose, for emphasis, as long as the grammatical rules (such as case, verb position) are observed. This cannot be done in English, a language which lacks the inflectional endings yet extant in German. (Recall the famous model sentence used to teach students word order: 'The dog bites the man.' Here English is unlike German; that sentence cannot start with the direct object). The first line of my poem *Die Aussenseiterin / The Outsider* (14-15) opens intentionally with "Die einzige war sie in der Familie" and not with the pronoun "sie." Yet the English translation must begin with "she" ("She was the only one in the family ") because "The only one was she in the family" would sound awkward or at best archaic.

The handling of meter generally does not present insurmountable difficulties, but rhyming-values in the source as well as target language rarely correspond; the translator must always do some violence to the original. This also applies in the case of alliteration which, mainly in poetry, gives emphasis to particular words and a certain rhythm to a sentence. Translators confronted with the problem of alliteration may be successful in matching the sound in other languages, but rarely the meaning, or, alternatively, the meaning, but not the sound. The end of my poem *Ballade von der Klingelnden Strassenbahn / Ballad of the*

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Ringing Streetcar (16-19) relies on the repetition of [k] for emphasis and for achieving a certain rhythm. That applies for my poem *Ferngespräch / Long Distance Call*. (56-57) in which the repetition of identical vowel sounds is lost in translation: "Da lacht der Apparat laut auf / und schallend hallt's in deinen Nerven wider." ("Thereupon / It [the telephone] laughs out loud, / and its shrill guffaw rattles in your nerves.") Other problems of translation are proper names and titles which poets choose for a purpose. They should, if possible, stay untranslated, possibly followed by a short translation in brackets or a brief explanation later in the body of the text.

There is no easy solution in the case of the frequent use in German of inseparable prefixes as for example in *Ein Zerrissener Tag / A Tattered* Day (200-201). For the German "Es [das Messer] wird ge-schärft. / Was macht man mit einem scharfen Messer? Es wird ent-schärft." The English translation "sharpen it" and "blunt it" "lacks the play on the basic verb "schärfen." The juxtaposition of the inseparable prefixes "ge" and "ent" constitute a semantic play important to the entire poem. Even more revealing is the play on the key word "zer-rissen" which, by virtue of the many repetitions, sets the tone for the entire poem - see title - and in translation lacks the urgency of "zer-," so essential to the sound and the flow of the sentences. "Zer-" is one of the most evocative inseparable prefixes in the German language. In my poem *Deine Stimme / Your Voice* (40-41) the very last line which consists of the only word "Zer-brach" referring to a beloved person's voice whose death is imminent, foreshadows the experience of death - which the English translation "shattered" does not.

Let me turn now to my longest, so-called epic poem, *In meiner Heimat bin ich nicht Tourist / In my Homeland I am not a Tourist* (83-97). The idea for this poem was conceived during a year-long sabbatical leave (1985-86) spent in my native Germany. The repetition of the harsh plosive "t" in "nicht Tourist" and in "List" which occurs at the end of every stanza - sets the tone for the entire poem, and is easily lost in translation. In addition there is the problem of rhyme which, like a canon ("Kanon") concludes every stanza: "... voller List, denn / in meiner Heimat bin ich nicht Tourist." "List" in English would be "ruse," "cunning" or "trick" - none of which rhymes with "Tourist."

Further difficulties are presented by German's colorful words, those "flavoring particles," which do add flavor and shades of meaning to a given text. How can they be translated without resorting to redundancy? These short "doch," "denn" and "ja" words are indispensable to the flow of a sentence. Let us take a look at the unspectacular, yet expressive little word "doch" in the last line of the last stanza. This "doch" is so very crucial to the understanding of the entire poem, and this unobtrusive word is the sole carrier of the unrelenting truth; the truth being that one is *indeed* a tourist in one's homeland. But there is just no equivalency in English. "Doch" as "indeed" or "really" is a poor substitute for the real thing, and meter suffers as well: "doch" should not have more syllables than "nicht" to which it stands in contrast. The surprise change from "nicht" to "doch" in the last line of the poem is not just there for the sake of expression. It is an artistic choice, for the line "in meiner Heimat bin ich nicht Tourist" ("in my homeland I am not a tourist") comes closer to a climax each time it is repeated until finally the sad irony is developed to its fullest by switching from "ich" to "du" and from "nicht" to "doch:" "In deiner Heimat bist du *doch* Tourist." To save some of the effect of the German rhyme, my translator resorted to the only device possible: the near rhyme or off-rhyme at the very end of the poem (*"full of ruse / for in my homeland I am not a tourist."*) It is not a completely satisfactory solution, for "ruse" and "tourist" (even when leaving out "stress") do not rhyme in the strict sense of the word. Yet the rather ironic effect produced through the repeated rhyming in German is achieved to a certain degree by this off-rhyme, perhaps partly because the sound sequences in English are so very dissimilar.

One of the many grammatical constructions different in English is the formation of the genitive case. Generally, the genitive case in German requires fewer words. Yet as in this so-called "Kohlenpott-Deutsch" version, the rather unsophisticated working-class vernacular dialect of the Ruhr area: "Mein Cousin wissense, der Älteste von / meine Mutter ihre Schwester, der ..." (89) just the opposite is achieved through translation: *"My cousin, ya know, / the oldest of my mother's sister, he ...* ". The colorful redundancy in German lacks an equivalency in English. But the translator cannot simply replace one expression in the source language by something that seems to be an equivalency in the target language. The fifth stanza of the poem (85) refers to a city train station which, as is the case everywhere in large German cities, is eternally "under construction" ("construction everywhere"). Yet in German one cannot say "Konstruktion überall" - it has to be "Umbau überall."

Hardest to translate are the many cases of cultural non-equivalency. Does an American have any idea what "Ladenschlußgesetze" (85) means for a German, a compound noun which implies a frantic last-minute rush from the work place to the grocery store before it closes at 6:30 p.m. sharp? The concept, translated as "laws regulating the 6:30PM [store] closing time" presupposes knowledge of the customs and traditions of a people whose native tongue is the source language. Compound nouns understandably pose additional problems for translators from German into English as, for example, not just the translation of "Geschwindigkeitsbegrenzung" (83), but the entire concept of "Geschwindigkeitsbegrenzung auf I 69" as "Speed limit on I-69" (Interstate being the equivalent of Germany's Autobahn). Yet the German Autobahn has no speed limit, it only requires reduced speed in certain places and that reduced speed is still high compared to American interstates. Another cultural non-equivalency is found in the concept of "Kaffee Haag" (85) which, for older Germans, evokes a realm of experiences from war and early post-war years when real coffee ("Bohnenkaffee") could only be obtained on the black market - and where some adults would offer their last silver heirloom in exchange for real coffee. The younger German post-war generation knows "Kaffee Haag" only as an inferior brand of coffee. Translating it as "decaf" is correct, but the true flavor for the older native German is lost.

Redundancy could not be avoided in the first and third lines: "Als ich die Türklinke niederdrückte ... / keinen Türknopf umzudrehen brauchte ..." (83) which sets the tone for what follows throughout the poem. In the English translation "*When I pressed down the door-handle at my sister's home... / not needing to turn a door-knob...,*" "my sister's home" had to be added in order to explain and underscore the fact that typical German apartments have

"Türklinken" ("door-handles") instead of doorknobs. And how is the mysterious "ein gewisser Ort" (85) to be translated? The much less romantic "John" or the euphemistically elegant "powder room" do not quite convey the sense of slight embarrassment and secrecy for the woman in search of a toilet. For women in America this search does not mean much since every public place abounds in clearly advertised "rest rooms" for both sexes. Other cultural non-equivalencies which can only be rendered by redundancy are the "Bild-Zeitung" (85) and "Emaillekaffee-kannen" (87). The closest newspaper to "Bild-Zeitung" is the "National Inquirer" or "supermarket tabloid" which both display cheap graphics and equally poor text, appealing to the lowest denominator. Yet they lack the association Germans have with crowds of people consuming the Bild-Zeitung in public places, on trains, subways, buses, or streetcars.

For several reasons, then, it is advisable to leave foreign words the way they are. This holds true for my intentional choice of the word "Emaillekaffeekannen" translated correctly as "*enamel coffee pots.*" But whereas in North America enamel dishes are proudly exhibited as artifacts from a pioneer era, snobbish Germans often associate them with members of an underprivileged working class who speak a so-called "falsches Deutsch" (uneducated inaccurate German) and do nothing but low-level cleaning work.

A cultural gap of a different nature is encountered in the stanza starting with "Als ich bei langjährigen Bekannten eingeladen war ... " (89-91). The English translation has to convey the political climate in Germany in the 1980s (before the collapse of Communism) when Germans were afraid of what might happen to them, given Germany's central location between East and West. It also has to convey the nerve-racking (for the listener from abroad), and unending lamentations about the high cost of living - groundless complaints by thoroughly average, very materialistic Germans who never had it so good. Equally annoying were their arrogant claims to being "completely informed" on events and developments abroad without ever having set foot on North American soil. During my visit many pretended to know everything better than those who live there. And finally a cultural non-equivalency between Germany and America which for someone who left Germany long ago and now lives in America may come as a shock (as it did for me) is the fact that saunas in Germany are mixed. The conveyance through translation of my feelings of shame and shock did pose a problem, and I am not sure if those feelings were conveyed in the target language as unfiltered as they were presented in the source language (93-95).

Through my writing, and the research which stems from it, I am convinced that a thick veil separates the written word of the source language from the one of the target language, a veil that may never be totally lifted. Still, to attempt this in the best possible way is the task of the translator, who ideally should be a poet, and has to be at home in two languages, in two cultures, in two literatures. Translators are restricted by the times in which they live, by the literary traditions they try to accommodate, and by the special characteristics of an ever-changing language. Often a chosen word just does not sound or flow as it should. How is a foreign language capable of expressing the same as the native tongue? This is an issue, in my opinion, where all those scholarly theories of equivalency and redundancy can only marginally solve the dilemma.

Notes

1. See Norbert Hofmann, *Redundanz und Äquivalenz*

in der Literarischen Übersetzung, Vol. 20, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1980)

2. Friedrich Wolf, *Technik des Übersetzens Englisch und Deutsch: Eine systematische Anleitung für das Übersetzen ins Englische und ins Deutsche für Unterricht und Selbststudium* (München: Hueber, 1986-1996), pp. 13-36

3. M. D. Herter Norton, *Translations from the Poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke* (New York, London: W.W. Norton, 1993), pp.9-15.

4. Carolyn Forché, ed. and intro., *Against Forgetting: Twentieth Century Poetry of Witness* (New York . London: W.W. Norton, 1993), p. 33.

5. André Lefevere, *Translating Literature. Practice and Theory in a Comparative Literature Context* (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1992), pp. 6-14.

6. Page numbers in parentheses refer to Christiane Seiler, *Zum Ausbessern Zerrissener Tage - Mending Tattered Days* (Ft. Wayne: Indiana University at Fort Wayne Press, 1995).

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Kinderlose Ehen: Fluch der Geldgier und Lieblosigkeit sowie Zeichen der 'ewigen Reinheit'

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Der auf den ersten Blick so persönlich und eigentlich unbedeutend erscheinende Zustand der kinderlosen Ehe nimmt in den Werken *Immensee* (1849), *Im Nachbarhaus links* (1875) und *Aquis submersus* (1876), durch die Gestaltung der kinderlosen Paare und ihrer Lebensumstände, vielschichtige Kritikkraft an. Wie Theodor Storm die Kritik an der Geldgier, Lieblosigkeit der Ehepartner zueinander sowie den Wunsch der männlichen Protagonisten nach ewig dauernder Reinheit der begehrten Frau künstlerisch gestaltet, soll im Folgenden dargestellt werden.

Die Novelle *Immensee*, die nur wenige Jahre nach Storms Eheschließung mit seiner Cousine Constanze Esmarch entstandene Liebeserzählung, spiegelt Storms Gefühle über die eigene Ehe wider. Seiner jungen Ehe fehlte die Leidenschaft, wie er in dem Bekenntnisbrief Jahre später seinen Freunden Hartmut und Laura Brinkmann beichtete (Stahl 145-146). Leidenschaft fand Storm jedoch in dem Verhältnis zu Dorothea Jensen, Tochter des Husumer Senators und Freundin seiner jüngsten Schwester Caecilie. Nur ein Jahr nach Storms Eheschließung hatten sich die beiden näher kennen- und liebengelernt. Die Stärke und Tiefe dieser Beziehung läßt sich erahnen, wenn man die in jener Zeit entstandenen Liebesgedichte, wie zum Beispiel "Ich hab auf deine Stirn gegossen", "Frauenhand"[1] und "Rote Rosen" betrachtet. Die Dreieckskonstellation von Theodor Storm, Dorothea und Constanze ließ sich im Husum des 19. Jahrhunderts jedoch nicht aufrecht erhalten und endet damit, daß Dorothea 1848 Husum verließ (Vinçon 32-34).

Eine ähnliche Dreieckskonstellation, wie Storm sie erfahren hatte, entfaltet er vor dem Leser von *Immensee*. Allerdings werben hier zwei Männer um eine Frau und nicht zwei Frauen um den gleichen Mann. Reinhardt, die Jugendliebe von Elisabeth, kommt nach Jahren in der Fremde nach Immensee zu Besuch, wo er sie mit dem Freund Erich verheiratet vorfindet. Der Ehe fehlt offensichtlich Leidenschaft und es herrscht stattdessen Dankbarkeit, Freundlichkeit und Aufmerksamkeit zwischen den Ehepaartnern (Laage &c I 318). Reinhardt, der in diese anscheinend harmonische Welt einbricht, kann mit seinen Gefühlen für Elisabeth die Ehe jedoch nicht zerstören, sondern muß sich am Ende mit Einsamkeit und Zurückgezogenheit abgeben.[2]

Die Ehe zwischen Elisabeth und Erich, die auf Drängen von Elisabeths Mutter geschlossen wurde, bleibt in der Novelle kinderlos. Dies ist allerdings kein Zufall, denn für den Schriftsteller Storm konnte eine Verbindung, die das nur auf Gewinn ausgerichtete aufsteigende Bürgertum darstellt, keine Zukunft und Transzendenz, die in der Gestalt von Kindern offensichtlich wäre, zulassen. In der Kinderlosigkeit der Ehe Elisabeths mit Erich wie im Einzelgängertum Reinhardts symbolisiert sich die 'Unfruchtbarkeit' der bürgerlichen Klasse (Vinçon 52). Verdeutlicht und verstärkt wird dies außerdem durch das Motiv des Storches, der nicht auf dem Wohnhaus sein Nest baut, sondern die Schnappsfabrik als Nestplatz wählt. Die Unfruchtbarkeit der bürgerlichen Klasse ist jedoch nicht die einzige Ursache für die Kinderlosigkeit. Storm geht in seiner feinfühlig gestalteten Darstellung von Elisabeth noch weiter und bietet tieferen Einblick in die

Ursachen. Elisabeth ist in ihrer Beschreibung beim Wiedersehen nach Jahren immer noch mädchenhaft in ihrer ganzen Erscheinung: "Auf einer Terasse vor der Gartentür saß eine weiße, mädchenhafte Frauengestalt (Laage &c I 317)," und ihr Gang ist "so schön, als wenn sie von ihren Kleidern getragen würde" (Laage &c I 324). Diese Beschreibungen, die auf ihre mädchen- und engelhaften Qualitäten hinweisen, haben eine logische Konsequenz: sie *muß* als kinderlose Frau dargestellt werden, denn Engel sind weder sexuelle Gestalten noch haben sie Kinder, ebensowenig wie Mädchen. Auch kann Reinhardt nur indem er Elisabeth so - als Engel und Mädchen - sieht seinen Glauben an eine vollzogene Ehe vielleicht unterdrücken, denn Kinder wären eine Bestätigung für Sexualität und würden beweisen, daß Elisabeth ihre Unschuld und Reinheit verloren hat. Doch mit der Kreation dieses Engelbildes kann Reinhardt sie ihrem Leben überlassen und sein einsames Leben führen ohne der Realität, nämlich daß Elisabeth nicht auf ihn gewartet hat, ins Auge zu sehen.[3]

Die Beziehung zwischen Elisabeth und Erich wird weiterhin entschärft, indem Storm Elisbeth ihren Mann mit "schwesterlichen Augen" (Laage &c I 318) ansehen läßt. Körperliche Liebe zwischen Geschwistern konnte es natürlich nicht geben, denn inzestuöse Liebe hat nach Storms Auffassung tragische Folgen, wie er Jahre später in dem Gedicht "Geschwisterblut" (1853) zeigt (Laage &c I 26). So bedingt auch dieser Hinweis, daß sich die Beziehung für den Leser mehr und mehr asexuell gestaltet und für Reinhardt Raum schafft, sich der Realität nicht stellen zu müssen.

In dieser kurzen Novelle hat Storm kein Element dem Zufall überlassen. Jede Geste, jedes Wort ist bedeutungsträchtig. In der Kreation seiner Charaktere griff Storm deshalb das effektive Element der Namensgebung auf und vertieft so bewußt die ihnen innewohnenden Eigenschaften und ihre Zukunftsaussichten. Der Name Elisabeth kommt aus dem hebräischen und bedeutet: "Gott hat es geschworen" (Bahlow 118). Der Name Erich ist ein alter schwedischer und dänischer Herrschername (Bahlow 123) und bedeutet soviel wie der Ehrenreiche (Linnartz 51). Reinhardt hingegen bedeutet soviel wie "im Rate kühn" (Bahlow 417) oder mit anderen Worten der kluge Berater. So unterstreichen die Namensbedeutungen die Rollen, die diese drei Personen hier spielen. Die in Verbindung zum göttlichen stehende Elisabeth bricht ihr Versprechen der Liebe nach außen hin nicht, indem sie auch nach der Eheschließung noch rein erscheint. Erich herrscht über seine Fabrik und seine Angestellten, während der intellektuelle Reinhardt zwar andere berät, doch im eigenen Privatbereich glücklos bleibt.

Storm spricht sich in dieser Novelle gegen die leidenschaftslose Ehe aus, denn er glaubt, daß eine glückliche Ehe unbedingt der Leidenschaft bedarf. Diese Überzeugung mag dem Leser von heute nicht neu vorkommen, doch in einer Zeit in der viele Ehen arrangiert und meistens materielle mehr als persönliche Gründe bei der Partnerwahl im Vordergrund standen, ist dies eine nicht alltägliche Forderung. Storm kritisiert ebenfalls das aufsteigende Bürgertum, das in seiner Gewinnsucht das höchste Ziel sieht. Die Kritik, die in dieser frühen Novelle noch eher verdeckt und hauptsächlich in Andeutungen, wie dem Storch auf dem Fabrik und nicht auf dem Wohngebäude, auftritt, und sich nur in der Kinderlosigkeit des Ehepares äußert, verschärft sich in den folgenden Jahren und findet in der Novelle *Im Nachbarhaus links* ihren Höhepunkt.

Doch soll sich unsere Aufmerksamkeit erst der Novelle *Aquis submersus* zuwenden. Sie weist Parallelen zu *Immensee* auf, die nicht unbedingt auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen sind. Offensichtlich heiratet auch hier eine junge Frau, Katharina, einen Mann, den sie nicht wirklich liebt. Er ist ein Pastor, der sie in ihrem schwangeren Zustand nahm, um sich mit der Heirat eine eigene Pastorenstelle zu sichern (Laage &c II 435). Katharina hat jedoch im Gegensatz zu Elisabeth ein Kind. Der Knabe Johannes ist allerdings von ihrem Liebhaber Johannes, und aus der Ehe mit dem Pastor gehen keine weiteren Kinder hervor. So lebt Katharina, wie auch Elisabeth, in einer Ehe, aus der keine gemeinsamen Nachkommen hervorgehen. Wieder sind die Gründe dafür in der Gewinnsucht des Ehemannes, der Abwesenheit von gegenseitiger Liebe und dem Wunsch nach Reinheit zu suchen und zu finden. Hätte Katharina Kinder mit dem Pastor, so wüßte Johannes, daß sie nicht mehr nur seine Geliebte ist und Sexulität ließe sich dann auch hier nicht mehr verleugnen.

Neben der Geldgier, die hier besonders abstoßend erscheint, da sie von einem Pastor kommt, wird aber auch das Standesdenken von Storm angeklagt.[4] Hätte Katharinas Bruder nicht auf einen standesgemäßen Ehepartner bestanden, so wäre es wahrscheinlich nicht zu dem tragischen Tod von Katharinas Kind gekommen.

Das Problem der unfreiwilligen Partnerwahl, das hier wesentlich krasser dargestellt wird als in *Immensee*, steht hier ebenfalls in Zusammenhang mit dem Problem der Liebesehe. Storm glaubte an die Liebesehe und mißtraute und war skeptisch gegenüber der Form der bürgerlichen Ehe (Vinçon 52). Die Kritik an der nur aus materiellen Gründen eingegangenen Ehe wird hier besonders scharf, da der gewählte Ehepartner ein emotional verhärteter Pastor ist. Dieser Mann, der Liebe, Vergebung und Verständnis vermitteln sollte, ist zu diesen Emotionen nur bedingt selbst fähig. So konkretisiert Storm in dieser Gestalt seine Kritik an der Kirche als auch an der Lieblosigkeit der Ehe. Doch so gespalten wie die Darstellung des Pastors, der einerseits hart gegen seine Gemeinde ist, andererseits den Knaben Johannes liebt und zärtlich zu ihm ist (Laage &c II 436-437), so gespalten war auch Storms Verhältnis zur Kirche. Verstandesgemäß hat er das Christentum abgelehnt, aber damit war das Christentum für ihn keineswegs abgetan (Coupe 58).

In dieser Novelle, wie in *Immensee*, setzt Storm auf die unterschwellige Aussagekraft der Namen, die er den Charakteren gibt. Der Name Johannes ist die griechisch-lateinische Form des hebräischen ‘Jochanan’, was bedeutet: Gott ist gnädig, Katharina ist griechisch-lateinisch und bedeutet: die Reine (Kinnartz 98). Wieder sehen wir hier Storms Verweis auf die tiefere Bedeutung. Katharina ist trotz aller Vorfälle und ihres ‘vaterlosen’ Kindes noch rein nach Storms Liebesauffassung, denn sie hat ein Kind von dem Mann den sie liebt, und keine Anzeichen sexueller Aktivität oder gar Zuneingung zwischen ihr und ihrem Mann werden erwähnt. Nicht ganz eindeutig ist allerdings in wie fern Gott Johannes gnädig ist und welchem Johannes, dem Vater oder dem Sohn. Gnädig indem er das Kind und den biologischen Vater endlich zusammenführt? Gnädig indem er ihm einen neuen Vater gibt? Oder gnädig indem er das Kind von den irdischen Leiden und Wirren der Zeit befreit? Oder ist es gar eine ironische Anspielung auf einen nicht so gnädigen Gott, der hier in Form des Pastors weltlich geldgierige und in der Darstellung der Hexenverbrennung eindeutig ungnädige Züge zeigt? Der Stormkenner wird die Verurteilung der göttlichen Gnade in dieser

Darstellung sehen, doch der Leser zu Storms Zeit wird diese Kritik wahrscheinlich anders aufgefasst haben. Dies war eine beabsichtigte Vielschichtigkeit, die den Erfolg von *Aquis submersus* und noch stärker von *Immensee* mitbegründete. Die Kritiker der Zeit schienen die Tiefe dieser Werke nicht ganz zu erfassen, doch traf Storm mit den hier bearbeiteten Themen auf großes Interesse, was vor allem die Verkaufszahlen belegen.

Abschließend soll die Novelle *Im Nachbarhaus links* betrachtet werden. In dieser Novelle steht die kinderlose Witwe Botilla Jansen im Mittelpunkt. Botilla Jansen ist sehr alt und lebt einsam, umgeben nur von ihren Katzen und gesammeltem Reichtum, in einem großen, verfallenen Haus. Botillas Mann war nach Angaben des Bürgermeisters ein Lebemann und er berichtet auch, daß sich das Ehepaar nichts vorzuwerfen hatte (Laage &c II 357). Dies darf verstanden werden als Bericht über ein "flottes Leben" mit Affairen, was natürlich auf eine fehlende Ehegemeinschaft und Treue hinweist. Botilla hatte ihren Mann geheiratet, obwohl sie eigentlich einen anderen Mann lieber hatte - den Großvater des Erzählers - doch dieser stellte zu jener Zeit noch nicht viel dar und war auch nicht adelig. In Botillas Berichten über ihre Jugend zeigt sich Stolz auf ihr arrogantes Verhalten, auf ihre Geltungsgier und ihre Geldliebe. Sie behauptet sogar stolz darauf zu sein, alle fortgestoßen zu haben (Laage &c II 372), obwohl es ihr am Ende ein einsames Leben bescherte. Das einzige was ihr bleibt ist ihr Geld, was ihr mehr wert ist als alles andere auf der Welt und am Ende das Einzige ist, was sie überlebt. Botillas eigener Bericht über ihr Leben zeigt schon, warum ihre Ehe kinderlos bleiben mußte. Eine lieblose Ehe, die nur auf das hier und jetzt, auf Geld und Schein ausgerichtet ist, konnte für Storm keine Geschöpfe der Liebe hervorbringen und durfte keine biologische Transzendenz erwarten.

Botillas Nichte, der Botilla schließlich doch etwas von ihrem Geld vermachen wollte, nur damit sie einen Mann heiraten kann, der standesgemäß über ihr steht, heiratet am Ende den Mann, den sie liebt, auch ohne das Erbe ihrer Tante. So zeigt Storm, wie sich die Zeiten ändern und das Standesdenken nicht mehr unbedingt in das persönliche Leben eingreift und es zerstören muß und wie sinnlos Botillas lebenslanges Ringen um immer mehr Geld und Reichtum war. Sie hat damit für sich selber nichts erreichen und erzwingen können und die nachfolgenden Generationen brauchen es nicht mehr, um ihr Glück zu finden. Ein Ende das Storms Wunschdenken und Hoffnung auf Änderung der überholten gesellschaftlichen Zustände ausdrückt.

Die Geldgier von Botilla und ihrem Mann, sowie die fehlende Liebe zu dem Mann führen zu Einsamkeit, Kinderlosigkeit und schließlich totaler Isolation von der Gesellschaft was den Verlust jeglicher Transzendenz bedeutet. In den Novellen *Immensee* und *Aquis submersus* ist es noch möglich Mitleid mit den Charakteren und ihrer Situation zu haben, doch hat Storm Botilla Jansen derart gestaltet, daß dieses Gefühl erst garnicht aufkommt, denn sie hat ihr Leben bewußt so gestaltet, bereut anscheinend nichts und ist bis zum Ende so geldgierig, daß ihre Gier sie schier erdrückt - man findet Botilla unter ihrem alten Soldatenmantel und einem halbgefüllten Geldsack tot auf (Laage &c II 376). Botilla ist neben Elisabeth und Katharina keine unschuldige, reine Frau. In ihr spiegelt sich Storms verhärtete Einstellung gegenüber der nur auf finanziellen Gewinn ausgerichteten Gesellschaft des späten 19. Jahrhunderts.

Die Diskussion der Kinderlosigkeit in diesen drei Novellen zeigt, daß Storm feste

Vorstellungen über die Ehe hatte, die sich auf seine Ideen über Transzendenz in Form von Nachkommen auswirkte. Weil ihm Ehe und Familie kulturelle Erfindungen sind, dem natürlichen Untergang des Individuums ebenso wie der Anonymität bloßer kreatürlicher Fortpflanzung entgegengesetzt, müssen sie der Natur abgerungen werden, sie sind komplizierte, labile, gefährdete Gebilde (Kaiser 419).

In *Immensee*, *Im Nachbarhaus links* und in *Aquis submersus* haben die Charaktere nicht die Fähigkeit und den Willen, der Natur und dem Leben die Familieneinheit abzuringen. Sie haben nicht verstanden, daß ein aktives Zutun nötig ist, um dieses zu erreichen, und müssen die Konsequenzen - Einsamkeit und Verlust der biologischen Transzendenz - ertragen. Storm sah die Ehe und Familie seiner Zeit bedroht von Geldgier und Lieblosigkeit und zeigt somit die sozialen Beschleunigungen seiner Zeit auf, ohne sie jedoch zu analysieren (Bollenbeck 22). Daß diese Themen Storm immer wieder beschäftigten zeigt seine Bearbeitung des Stoffes in verschiedenen Variationen über seine gesamte Schaffenszeit hindurch. Die Zahl der Novellen in denen es intakte Ehen mit Kindern gibt ist dabei allerdings verschwindend klein im Gegensatz zu den problematischen Familien (Strehl 17-56). Dieser Befund allein weist schon auf sein Urteil des Mißstandes hin.

Anmerkungen

1. Das Motiv für dieses 1848 entstandene Gedicht hat Storm in *Immensee* verarbeitet.

2. Liest man diese Novelle mit Wissen darüber, wie Storms Leben verlief, so gewinnt das Ende fast beängstigende Dimensionen, denn bedenkt man, wie viele Jahre Dorothea Jensen auf Storm gewartet hat und einsam lebte, bis sie nach Constanzes Tod endlich seine Frau wurde, so scheint Storm fast die Zukunft vorhergesehen zu haben, nur daß diesmal das Leben ein Happy-End fand.

3. Da Storm so starke Kritik an Erich, dem Bürger, übt, sollte man meinen, er gestaltet Reinhardt, den Künstler, als positives Gegenbild. Doch dies ist nicht der Fall. Reinhardt bleibt ebenfalls unverheiratet und kinderlos. Dies ist übrigens eine Änderung die Storm vorsah, nachdem sein Freund Tycho Mommsen die Novelle auf sein Bitten hin kritisiert hatte. In der ersten Fassung heiratet Reinhardt und hat einen Sohn. Eine interessante Diskussion Reinhardts bietet Raimund Belgardt. Brent Peterson zeigtin seinem Artikel, daß auch der Künstler keine Zukunft und Transzendenz hat, wenn auch aus anderen Gründen als der Bürger.

4. Storm war Agnostiker und lehnte die Kirche in ihrer Form ab. Er sah in Religion und Adel "die zwei Hemmnisse einer durchgreifendenm sittlichen Entwicklung unserer wie anderer Völker" (Storm 172).

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Julio Llamazares' Unstoppable Journey to the Past: A Comparative Study of *La lluvia amarilla* and *Escenas de cine mudo*

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> Photographs are relics of the past, traces of what has happened. If the living take the past upon themselves, if the past becomes an integral part of the process of people making their own history, then all photographs would reacquire a living context, they would continue to exist in time, instead of being arrested moments.
>
> \- John Berger

Julio Llamazares' latest novel, *Escenas de cine mudo* (1994), marks both a continuation of and a departure from the now famous *La lluvia amarilla* (1988). Thematically, Llamazares sheds the semantics of silence and loneliness that constitute the preferred centerpiece of *La lluvia* and replaces them with a sustained reflection on the nature and function of memory, photography, and the plight of the rural folk. Technically, memory no longer exercises a monopoly over the flow of events because the narrator relies on a photo album to tell his story. Stylistically, the consistent use of tropological language in *La lluvia* yields to a rhetoric of simile and metaphorical snapshots in *Escenas*. What remains unchanged is the quest for history - personal, communal, and national - the role memory plays in this quest, the realization that time will never be stopped from flowing, and the nagging presence of death in life. In addition, the affective current that sustains the remembrances of the past in *La lluvia* resurfaces in *Escenas* with similar energy. This essay compares the two novels with a view to understanding how Llamazares succeeds in constructing a stylistics of compassion that has become the trademark of his narratives. By stylistics of compassion I mean a style of discourse that seeks an affective alliance between the reader, the characters, and all others who have a knowledge and understanding of the harsh, menacing, and exploitative living conditions to which the narratives of Llamazares speak.

Remembrances of Things Past

The story of *La lluvia amarilla* revolves around the lone survivor of a village that is abandoned in the wake of the Spanish Civil War. After losing his oldest son to the war, Andrés and his family witness the painful exodus of their neighbors and friends from the village. Soon their daughter also dies, followed by the departure to Germany of the only remaining son. Husband and wife are left alone to cope with the harsh winters, the silence and solitude of the mountains, the excruciating memories of the immediate past, and an uncompromising future beckoning them to the grave where they would forever be forgotten. The wife commits suicide after her son's departure, and for ten years the husband lives by himself in the abandoned village. *Escenas* recounts the story of an adult Julio Llamazares leafing through a photo album that he inherited from his mother. The album contains thirty photographs spanning the first twelve years of his life. As he leafs through the album, each image evokes a variety of events and emotions. The process of anamnesis, however, goes beyond the first twelve years of his life to encompass the intervening years of adolescence and adulthood. The one reality that retains the narrator's attention the most is the living conditions of the coal miners in the twin cities of Olleros and Sabero in the province of León.

In both *La lluvia* and *Escenas* the center of consciousness is the first person "I" who filters the narrative through his partial perspective. Both narrators engage in an act of self-reflection in which time and space feature prominently. While *La lluvia* exploits temporality's triple movement, that is, past, present, and future, *Escenas* emphasizes the past and the present. Past and present are contrasted in each narrative, with *La lluvia* juxtaposing the post-civil war experience of acute loneliness, deafening silence, hallucinatory madness, and excruciating hunger with the evidence of community, affection, sanity, and abundance that marked the protagonist's past. The past is preferred over the present because the narrator has to fight single-handedly against overwhelming natural and man-made forces that threaten his daily existence. *Escenas* compares, among other things, the obsolete mining technology of the past with that of the modern world, the peaceful and Edenic village that the first mining explorers from England found with "el sucio y turbulento hacinamiento de más de cuatro mil almas," and the narrator's current standing in life (a law school graduate, a journalist, and a writer) with that of his schoolmates who had to work in the coal mines after completing high school because their parents could not afford to send them to college. *Escenas* does not immediately project any clear preference for the past; technological backwardness and its negative effects on people and the environment in no way qualify for nostalgic preference. Narrative evidence, however, points to a pre-technology era when life was Arcadian. In the end, both narratives thematize a movement from a peaceful and pleasurable simplicity of life to a stormy and painful complexity of human existence generated in part by the misuse of technology.

A second theme which runs through both narratives is the passage of time. Beginning with the title, which is a reference to the change in seasons, *La lluvia* underscores time's endless advance and man's futile attempt to escape from it. The narrator complains about "el paso inexorable de los días" and trembles at the idea that "el tiempo fluye siempre igual que el río: melancólico y equívoco al principio, precipitándose a sí mismo a medida que los años van pasando" (104, 106). The passage of time evokes mortality while emphasizing the narrator's helplessness as he awaits death alone in his hut. It leaves in its path ruins, decay, and death. In *Escenas* the passage of time supervises the slow but unstoppable decomposition of the first ironworks in Olleros. "Abandonada y a merced de los ladrones y del óxido," we are told, "la maquinaria desapareció y el enorme edificio empezó a arruinarse hasta acabar convertido con el paso del tiempo en el depauperado y triste espectro arquitectónico cuyas bóvedas servían de cobijo a las parejas de Sabero..." (14). It also oversees the loss of contact with, the separation from, and the deaths of Julio's friends and acquaintances. Daniel dies in the mines, Lolo ends up in the asylum, Manolo is sent to the reformatory, El Judás dies in the pig house, El Tango perishes in a motorcycle accident, the indefatigable acrobat, Barbachey, commits suicide, Luis and Germán die from silicosis, a number of the musicians from the *Orquesta Compostelana* die in an automobile accident, and countless others are completely forgotten, "huérfanos de la memoria, que, como el sueño de la razón, a veces produce monstruos" (202).

Llamazares' stylistics of compassion demand that the deaths of his characters be portrayed as tragically as possible. The acrobat, Barbachey, could endure the weight of the world on his beard but he could not bear the passage of time so he commits suicide. He was unaware that "soportar el paso del tiempo a veces es más dificil que sostener el mundo con la barbilla ..." (E 92). A day before Germán left for college he was trapped underground and never made it to the surface. After the exceptional performance by the *Orquesta Compostelana* at Olleros it is heartbreaking to learn of the deaths of the musicians in an automobile accident. Of equal emotional declension is the fact that not only were some of the coal miners under age nine, but also that most of them already looked old at age forty, or that at age thirty or thirty-five most of them had already retired. The narrator tells us that:

> cuando les enviaban al exterior para desempeñar en la bocamina labores secundarias, tenían ya los pulmones llenos de polvo y la muerte grabada en la mirada. A partir de ese día, su único trabajo consistía en esperarla. (E 99)

The sentence of death written in their faces is perhaps less telling than the rate at which they attain senectitude because it is out of the extraordinary experiences of life that Llamazares configures his stylistics of compassion.

The nature and function of memory is thematized in both narratives. The memory, which Llamazares calls "la máquina del tiempo", works on its own, as is the case with *La lluvia*, or in conjuction with other aids, such as photography, posters, movies, radio, television, books, and eye witness accounts, to reach into the deep pockets of yesterday. The latter applies to *Escenas* where the narrator attempts to recover the past while looking at pictures in an album. In *La lluvia*, memory is portrayed as the only remaining place of refuge for the solitary narrator. The complete absence of human fellowship leaves memory as "la única razón y el único paisaje" of his existence (*Lluvia* 40). He delves into his memory to recapture the experiences of communal intersubjectivity and *Nahnis* that once shaped his existence and made life more meaningful. By so doing, he hopes to surround himself with relatives and acquaintances who are no longer there in physical form and thus overcome the sentence of loneliness and silence he is serving in his hut. As Nicolás Miñambres suggests, memory is *created* to help endure the present predicament of loneliness and silence (26-27). But this utopian attitude serves fundamentally to underscore the narrator's helplessness and desperation in attempting to find that basic human reality which Rom Harré calls "persons in conversation," the warmth of companionship, the pulsating breath of neighborliness (58).

In addition to portraying memory as a place of refuge, *La lluvia* reflects on the difficulty involved in erasing "las huellas del pasado" from our memories "cuando la duda alimenta el deseo y acumula esperanzas sobre la negación" (54). Doubts arising out of present circumstances create a desire to go back to the past just as the pessimism or denial of the present brings back the hopes of yesterday. The narrator attempts to erase traces of the past by burying the rope with which his wife committed suicide, disposing of her clothes and pictures, or by shredding the only picture his son sent home from Germany. These attempts are fruitless because memory can retrieve bits and pieces of everyday history without any conscious effort. "Los recuerdos simplemente se suceden," repeats the narrator of *Escenas*, thus underlining the fortuitous nature of the mechanisms of memory. But he offers more insight into the nature and function of memory than *La lluvia*. For example, memory is portrayed as "un reloj sin dueño," a free agent who can take off at will (E 46); it is a developing tray where remembrances are developed; it is a deep mine "oculta en nuestro cerebro" and "llena de sombras y galerías" (E 107), and it is a camera that sends out colors and shows us "la película que un día vivimos y que creíamos borrada para siempre" (E 179). A developing tray, a mine, and a camera speak of receptacles, while a watch without an owner points to the spontaneous ontology of memory. For Llamazares, the fortuitous nature of memory makes writing necessary so that the past is not forgotten. "Es por eso," says the narrator, "para no volver a perder [los recuerdos], por lo que hoy me he puesto a escribir " (E 40). Writing captures those fleeting moments of *Andenken* (recollection) and immortalizes them in signs.

Both narratives establish links between recollection and invention, and the primary question posed is whether our recollections necessarily reflect events that actually happened. The narrator of *La lluvia* debates with himself on this issue:

> Si mi memoria no mentía. 1961, si mi memoria no mentía. ¿Y qué es, acaso, la memoria sino una gran mentira? ¿Cómo podría yo estar seguro de que aquella era, en efecto, la última noche de 1961? O de que la vieja maleta de madera y hojalata de mi padre está realmente pudriéndose en el huerto bajo un montón de ortigas. O - ¿por qué no?--- de que no fuera Sabina la que, al irse, arrancó de su sitio y se llevó consigo todas las cartas y las fotografías. ¿No lo habré quizá soñado o imaginado todo para llenar con sueños y recuerdos inventados un tiempo abandonado y ya vacío? ¿No habré estado, en realidad, durante todo este tiempo, mintiéndome a mí mismo? (39)

The thematic centerpiece of this self-debate is not just the idea of mental lapses. Instead, the antithetical marriage between "recuerdos" and "inventados" points to the postmodern concern with the nature of historiography and the borderline that separates fiction from actuality. To what extent is the past transmittable without adulteration, and where does one draw the line between history and fiction in the so-called autobiographical novels to which *La lluvia* and *Escenas* belong? Can you really have one without the other? *Escenas* raises these same postmodern concerns when the narrator makes the observation that inventing "es una forma de recordar lo que nunca se ha vivido ni soñado" (78). It is the same unhappy marriage of opposites that blurs the frontiers between history and fiction, and it is precisely in this context that the narratoris uncertainty about the photographer's identity (was he Galician? Portuguese?) ought to be understood (27), the same as when he tries to recall the "modista de Cistierna" who made his shoes, "una mujer contrahecha, o tullida, o paralítica (yo no lo recuerdo bien, pero sé que algo tenía" (61). Certainty and uncertainty are yoked together: the name of the article of clothing, the hometown of the dressmaker, and the person's gender are perfectly recalled. It is only when the narrator starts to describe her physical traits that uncertainty comes in. On a different occasion, the narrator describes how the photographer takes a picture of him, his friends, and a dog, but when he tries to recall a particular incident in the context of that evening uncertainty creeps in:

> Luego, tal vez fuimos todos con el anochecer dejando solos al fotógrafo y al perro. Pero ¿nos fuimos realmente? ¿Nos fuimos todos con el anochecer o alguno se quedó ...? (E 41)

These moments of uncertainty tell us what the past *could have been* in a million other ways and not what it necessarily was.

Another point of thematic intersection is the "polymorphous perversity" of space. Llamazares sets his narratives in harsh and menacing surroundings. In *La lluvia*, the narrative site is tyrannized by ruins, oxidation, rottenness, rats, and poisonous snakes, after the

Spanish Civil War leaves the villages a ghostly simulacrum of what they once were. In addition, natural forces, such as the cruel autumn north wind that carries everything in its way and blankets the land with a film of yellow leaves and fallen trees, and the endless, harsh, and snowy winter months which sometimes imprison the narrator for weeks without food, compete with supernatural forces to exercise mastery over the story's setting. Thus, the ghosts of all the dead return to the villages, and the narrator has to flee because he does not know what their intentions are. Though the supernatural is absent from *Escenas*, its natural and man-made forces are equally perverse, although the natural forces of snow and wind recede to the background in comparison with *La lluvia*.

In *Escenas*, the primary topological features are rubbish heaps, soot, ruins, and sinkholes. The first ironworks in Olleros now stands as a fortress of ruins and sadness. Because drilling was done directly under the village, several houses collapsed and were buried; gardens that the miners cultivated to supplement their income were swallowed, and gases would explode and leave huge sinkholes in the village. Such sinkholes, according to the narrator:

> se tapaban rápido con basura o desperdicios, como si alguien quisiera olvidarlos. Luego, la empresa se encargaba de que desaparecieran definitivamente del mapa usándolos de escombreras para el carbón desechado. (E 35)

Most of the hundreds of rubbish heaps in Olleros started this way, and waste coal would be added to them until they became "auténticas montañas" where children would play. The rubbish heaps and sinkholes stand as permanent testimonies to the callous and reckless harnessing of resources and the lack of oversight by the appropriate authorities.

Of greater thematic importance, however, is the fact that the rubbish heaps serve as burial places for the memories of those miners and families who either died or lost everything in the all too frequent explosions that occurred in the mines. As the narrator observes, underneath "aquellas escombreras que se alzaban junto a Olleros ... se escondía la memoria de todos los mineros sepultados" (E 33). *Escenas* is written in order to salvage those memories and to resurrect the tragic destinies of the miners.

The other spatial constant, soot, intensifies the unfriendliness of the narrative setting. It is wafted into the air and penetrates every household. "Olleros era un sitio," we are told, "en el que la vida transcurría solamente en blanco y negro" (E 121). Even the rivers "bajaban negros por el carbón, sólo la nieve y la ropa blanca rompían con su presencia la tristeza de un paisaje cuyo único signo de vida ... era el fuego interminable de la mina" (E 122). The miners are literally infected with soot because as they inhale silica dust both inside and outside the mines, their lungs suffer continual impairment, and most of them contract lung diseases such as silicosis. Witness how the narrator describes Luis' breathing: "La respiración de Luis era la de un buey cansado. Monocorde y profundo ... era como una gotera: estaba siempre presente y era imposible olvidarla" (E 94). He would spend all day sitting by the window:

> para toser largamente o para escupir en la palangana que tenía siempre al lado unos esputos tan negros, y tan desesperanzados, que parecían salirle, más que del pecho, del alma. Y, así, todo el día hasta que se iba a la cama. (E 98)

To make his point more compelling, the narrator generalizes Luis' condition: "Como Luis, había muchos hombres en Olleros aquellos primeros años" (E 99). Thus, Luis' situation was the rule and not the exception. The analogy with a tired bullock serves to highlight at least two points. First, the extent to which Luis and the other miners have been used and abused and, second,

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the extraordinary effort they have to make in order to do what comes naturally to most people: breathing. This is what the narrator means when he characterizes Luis' effort at spitting out not as coming from his chest but instead from his soul.

The narrator reacts to these painful experiences by identifying himself with the characters in the novel. For instance, he pictures himself sitting by a window "mirando a la eternidad, con la silla apoyada en la pared y la palangana al lado" (E 99), just like Luis would do. On a separate occasion, while returning from a trip to the beach, he is covered with the same blankets that were used to wrap up those miners who were hurt in mining accidents. Also, when no one will go near el Judás because he is an alcoholic -- "olía tanto a vino que nadie podía aguantar a su lado" -- (E 164) and is suspected of having sabotaged a planned strike by the miners, the narrator visits him only to discover that:

> lo único que ocultaba era una gran soledad y una vida construida en torno al vino y al recuerdo de una mujer que se había muerto muy joven y de un hijo, el que tuvieron, que se había matado en la mina con tan sólo quince años. (E 164)

He also discovers that el Judás had not betrayed anyone, that in fact "era él el traicionado. Por la vida y por los hombres, pese a lo cual no sentía odio por nadie" (E 167). Society has judged him from afar, and no one dared to enter into conversation with him to discover his pain. When Luis dies it is the narrator who goes to feed his dog and as he tells us:

> Desde entonces, y hasta que me fui de Ollero, nunca volví a tirarle piedra al Judás, pese a que todos los chicos seguían haciéndolo, como yo en esta fotografia, cada Domingo de Pascua. (E 169)

After getting to know el Judás, he discovers that he is no Judas at all, that the real Judas is life and society. Consequently, he stops throwing stones at el Judás' effigy that was erected every Easter in remembrance of Judas Iscariot. By implication, the narrator is not simply rehabilitating el Judás, but instead he seeks an affective alliance with this individual that society has marginalized for questionable reasons, and by so doing builds his own internal stylistics of compassion that he hopes his readers will grasp. Such is his response to the polymorphously perverse setting in which his characters are situated.

Another space-related theme that deserves critical attention is the internationalization of the narrative setting. From the point of view of spatiality, *La lluvia* is a regional narrative although themes such as the passage of time, death, loneliness, solitude, abandonment, and hopelessness confer a universal character on it. In *Escenas*, Llamazares goes far beyond the confines of Léon to incorporate the larger international community. The narrator tells us how he became aware that:

> el mundo era más grande que Olleros, que no era circunscrito únicamente a los pabellones del pueblo, la mina, las escombreras, el funicular de las vagonetas y el horizonte de las montañas. (71)

Llamazares purges the narrator's regional sensibilities and baptizes him with a broader cosmopolitan perspective which shields *Escenas* from being branded a rural or regional novel. But perhaps what is most outstanding about this new spatial twist is that the novel maintains its focus irrespective of where the plot unfolds.

When the action moves to Berlin, the emphasis is on the mountains of ruins and rubbish heaps that the Second World War left behind for the citizens of Berlin. Hundreds of women, the narrator tells us, "se vieron obligadas a desescombrar Berlín de los montones de escombros para poder reconstruir sus casas" (E 33). The memories of those women and the pain of all the citizens of Berlin were buried under the ruins and rubbish heaps, just as the memories of the miners who perished in the mines were buried under the ruins and rubbish heaps in Olleros. In Baghdad, it is the sad, monotonous, and endless music from the minaret of the mosque which reminds the narrator of the first Arabs who worked in the Olleros mines and how some of them were trapped or killed underground. In Lisbon, the clock in the British bar whose hands and numbers are turned upside down denote a backward movement similar to photography which always refers to the past. Also, just as a clock that is turned upside down indicates a lack of care or control, so is it with memory since it does not necessarily need conscious activation before it can recall the past. In the United States, the narrator's visits to Chicago and New York only serve to take his mind back twenty one years when as a child he would read American novels and watch American movies starring John Ford and Hathaway, among others. The process of internationalization thus centers around the main themes that are played out in the narrative: the past, ruins, and remembrances.

Photography

As noted earlier, the memory is the primary conduit for the past in *La lluvia*. Loneliness forces the protagonist to reach into his memory to find consolation in the past. In *Escenas*, memory is aided by photography. The pictures in the album ignite the memory which then reactivates the images of the past submerged in the deepest recesses of the mind. Each photograph represents a piece of time that is frozen and relatively immune from time's unforgiving and unrelenting progression. For example, the couple dancing in one of the pictures "seguirán haciéndole siempre mientras exista esta fotografía que detuvo el reloj del tiempo bajo sus pies" (49); young Julio and the miners will forever be united "mientras la fotografía exista, ya siempre [estarán] juntos, ellos mirando al vacío y [Julio] alejándose" (99). The adult Julio may not be able to recognize each person in the album, he may not even know whether they are alive or dead, but what is important is that:

> mientras la fotografía exista, ellos seguirán viviendo. Porque las fotografías son como estrellas: siguen brillando durante años aunque haga siglos que ya se han muerto. (202)

The sense of continuity captured in the progressive tense, "seguirán haciéndolo", "seguirán viviendo", and in the future tense, "estarán juntos", underlines photography's ontological status: the fact that its referent *has been*, and that it provides occasion to building bridges to the past through the memory. Contrary to Roland Barthes' assertion that photography is counter-memory, *Escenas* perceives photography as an ally to memory:

> No importa que la película [del pasado] esté ya rota ni que los cortes en negros las arrastren hacia el olvido," we are told. "Basta una fotografía, un fotograma perdido, para que la memoria se ponga en marcha y ... llene el corazón ... de imágenes congeladas y de recuerdos que son como perros perdidos. (63)

Photography feeds the memory with currents that reach deep into its shadows and galleries to awaken the events, scenes, and emotions that make up the theater of the past. "Es extraña la forma en que la memoria se ilumina y manifiesta," the narrator tells us:

> [p]ero a medida que contemplo [las fotos] — y sobre todo, a medida que busco detrás de ellas --los ojos se me iluminan y las fotografías se mueven y cobran vida como

> aquellas carteleras que veía en la vitrina del Minero. Sólo que éstas son las de mi vida y, por eso, yo soy el único que les puedo dar sonido y movimiento. (39)

The conscious effort to awaken the memory through keen contemplation generates positive results because:

> las figuras se mueven y cobran vida y el paisaje va adquiriendo poco a poco dimensiones y relieve. Es la máquina del tiempo, que se enciende, el foco de la memoria que ilumina la película de aquella tarde de invierno y que la proyecta luego en la pantalla borrosa de los recuerdos y de los sueños. (40)

Looking intently at the pictures and studying them sets in motion a process of activation that calls forth light from the darkness of forgetfulness. To the extent that contemplation yields answers photography is not counter-memory. In Barthes' terminology, *the Spectator* armed with the necessary historical context, like our narrator, is able to inject life into the motionless images on paper. Although Barthes believes that the anesthetized images of photography "cannot say what [they] let us see," that it takes the *Spectator* to make the images *emerge* or come to life, he does not accord the historical context the force or determinative influence that Llamazares gives to Photography (Barthes, 100). *Escenas* demonstrates that the twin elements of *studium* and *punctum* that Barthes associates with photography, where *studium* refers to the kind of general interest people have in photography, and *punctum* the type of "wound" or "accident that pricks [us]," that "bruises" us when we look at a photograph, become all the more compelling when the photograph can be placed in a time-space context. The element of *punctum* that "shoots out...like an arrow and pierces" us from the image of Julio and a friend standing on a rubbish heap next to their house would take on an added affective *stigmatum* if we knew that this rubbish heap was but one out of the hundreds that littered the village. The historical context therefore becomes an essential ally to photography. What a photograph *shows* is of as much importance as what it does not *say*, and the memory is the place where *showing* and *telling* come together in a demonstration of semantic unity.

Barthes has said that:

> language is, by nature, fictional; the attempt to render language unfictional requires an enormous apparatus of measurements: we convoke logic, or, lacking that, sworn oath; but photography is indifferent to all intermediaries; it does not invent; it is authentication itself. (85)

Susan Sontag offers the following corrective in her book *On Photography*:

> A photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened. The picture may distort; but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what's in the picture. (5)

In essence, Barthes' other assertion that "Every photograph is a certificate of presence" captures accurately the *noeme* of Photography (87). In *Photography*, he continues:

> I can never deny that *the thing has been there*. There is a superimposition here: of reality and of the past. And since this constraint exists only for photography, we must consider it, by reduction, as the very essence, the noeme of Photography. What I intentionalize in a photograph . . . is neither Art nor Communication, it is Reference, which is the founding order of Photography ("that-has-been", the intractable, the interfuit, the intersum: it has been here, and yet immediately separated; it has been absolutely, irrefutably present, and yet already

> deferred).

This kind of certainty may not be found in writing, concludes Barthes. Does the narrator of *Escenas* aspire to achieving this type of certainty by using Photography as a narrative tool? He flips through photographic images that the reader cannot see. As readers, all we see are signs on paper although by describing those images, sometimes in great detail, he wishes to make the reader "see" what he "sees" and describes. He uses words to help us "see"; representation is used as a means to attaining figuration. By using Photography as the basis for the story he indirectly lends his story a sense of irrefutable presence; he is implying that the story he tells *has been*, that it is a certificate of presence, that his narrative is a relic of the past, "traces of what has happened." In this sense, the story that is intentionalized in *Escenas* would become Reference, it would evoke an intractable starting point, an intersum, to which the narrator returns in retrospection; it would pass for authentication. Notice this paratextual statement by Llamazares:

> Esta novela, que no otra cosa es por más que a alguno le pueda parecer una autobiografía (toda novela es autobiografía y toda autobiografía es ficción), se sitúa en una época y en unos escenarios que existieron realmente. Aunque los nombres no son los mismos, salvo excepciones, ni las historias que allí ocurrieron son exactamente éstas, unos y otras se les parecen bastante, al menos en mi recuerdo. Cualquier parecido con la realidad *no* es, por tanto, mera coincidencia. (n.p.)

Instead of affirming the novel's fictionality, Llamazares foregrounds its historical actuality. This is a fitting prologue to a novel that uses Photography as a means to legitimizing its being and existence. However, notwithstanding the effort at acquiring presence, authentication, or certainty, *Escenas* still remains a product of language, and therefore fictional, especially because not a single photograph is reproduced in the novel. The attempt to make language acquire the same authenticating presence as Photography may be utopian, but at least Llamazares is momentarily able to put faces on the names of the coal miners and villagers whose life stories he attempts to rescue from oblivion. Photography lends a certain measure of historical certainty to the plot and therefore helps the narrator to build a compelling case for his stylistics of compassion.

The use of Photography as a tool for acquiring presence involves a process of hypostatization. This process would be found in *La lluvia* although in a much different way. Here it is the use of tropological language that allows the reader to "see" and "touch" the forces working against the protagonist in hopes that he or she may feel the narrator's solitude, experience the feeling of abandonment and forgetfulness, undergo the madness that results from solitude and forgetfulness, suffer the anguish of time's ceaseless flow, and behold the terrifying approach of death. Language in *La lluvia* is tensional because of the "deliberate yoking of unlikes" (Barfield 81); it possesses "illuminating power" because it opens up the protagonist's wounds for the reader to see and feel; its "iconic solidity" allows it to paint pictures of the events and emotions that are being projected in the narrative (Wimsatt 231). For instance, the narrator speaks of:

> el aullido del silencio [que] era tan fuerte, tan profundo, que, incapaz de soportarlo por más tiempo, [él] abandonaba la cocina buscando en la penumbra del portal el calor y la mirada, más humana, de la perra. (24)

The genitive metaphor, "el aullido del silencio," is antithetical in nature, but it is used to underscore the intensity of the silence of the narrator's *Lebenswelt*, his "immediate flow of unreflective life", which is so intensely and menacingly silent that it approaches the howling of animals (Madison 44). A similar process of ad hoc incompatibility is found in the narrator's observation that "la oscuridad ... del silencio volvía a adueñarse de la casa", in which case silence is attributed the quality of darkness that is foreign to its nature, thus endowing the metaphoric frame with a rather symbolic meaning (25). Silence is also described as possessing "láminas heladas e infinitas," and the narrator worries that he may not be able to break "la malla espesa de silencio que amenazaba ya de adueñarse por entero de la casa y de [él] mismo" (24). Again, silence is said to introduce "su larga lengua sucia hurgando en la penumbra de las casas la herrumbre del olvido y el polvo amontonado por los años" (26). In all three instances, silence is incarnated.

This process of hypostatization extends to the description of time which becomes "una lluvia paciente y amarilla que apaga poco a poco los fuegos más violentos", where an abstract notion is liquefied and attributed a color (51). Also, memories rot in "las ciénagas del tiempo" as time is incarnated in a not so flattering image: mudhole. Forgetfulness has "pesadas paredes" and "láminas de hielo", and madness is said to have deposited "sus larvas amarillas" in the narrator's soul (40, 51, 47). Death, which is described as "un pobre y solitario cazador de perros viejos," sends out a "murmullo verde," and the stone emits a "lamento verde" when it is invaded by Death (129). Clearly, these examples confirm the process of linguistic incarnation that is at the heart of Llamazares' tropological undertaking in *La lluvia amarilla*, an undertaking that is aimed at reifying the major themes played out in the narrative. Those themes, including silence, forgetfulness, madness, time, and death, that come together to define the narrator's life in the rural environment, are each granted physical intensity through the use of metaphoric language so that the reader may empathize with the protagonist. Rhetorical discourse in this novel does not just say something, instead it *does* something; it is not merely constatative, it is also perlocutionary. Its meaning includes what it does and not just what it says, unless, as Madison suggests, "it be the case that meaning is a purely theoretical, linguistic, semiotic affair and that our lived experience and the realm of praxis is itself meaningless" (150). But such a view of meaning is unacceptable to the phenomenologist who believes that the meaning of metaphors "is their power to effect a change of attitudes, direction, and, ultimately, understanding on the part of the listener or reader." "Metaphor," Madison continues, "is more than just an odd way of saying things with words, it is a superbly effective way of doing things with words, of altering our way of being-in-the-world" (150). Gaston Bachelard intensifies this phenomenological-pragmatic theory of metaphor when he says that the poetic image:

> becomes a new being in our language, expressing us by making us what it expresses; in other words, it is at once a becoming of expression and a becoming of our being. Here metaphor creates being. (xxiii)

This *being* is what effects changes in the reader or listener, and in the specific case of *La lluvia amarilla*, the poetic image elicits sympathy for the narrator-protagonist and all those he represents. The narrative *product* of multiple loss combines with a linguistic *process* of concretization to enlist the reader's affective participation in the theater of human desperation that Llamazares stages in *La lluvia amarilla*.

What Llamazares does through language in *La lluvia*, he achieves through photography in *Escenas*.

Simile and Metaphoric Snapshots

Metaphors are not absent from *Escenas* although they are less frequent than in *La lluvia*. Llamazares reduces them to snapshots while simultaneously cultivating an abundance of simile. Similar to what he achieves in *La lluvia*, the objects of the simile intertwine with the main themes that characterize *Escenas*: memory, remembrances, photography, the passage of time, and the past. Remembrances are like movie posters that portray selected scenes from a movie (E 39); they are like photographs because they are also developed, only in the developing tray of the memory, and just as some photographs appear shifted or partially developed, so are the remembrances:

> que preceden al olvido. Vemos su imagen, queremos reproducir el tiempo al que pertenecen, o su lugar concreto, o lo que para nosotros supusiera en su día, pero, por alguna razón, por más que intentamos, no podemos conseguirlo. (E 59)

Remembrances, like photographs, can lose their color with time because memory is a color disseminating camera (121). Also, photographs are like remembrances because they both tell reality "no como era, sino como fue una vez, y, por lo tanto, como podía haber sido de muchas otras maneras" (E 129).

Photographs are like movie posters because they summarize:

> en sus imágenes la película de un tiempo que ... se fue quedando en lo más hondo de [la] memoria, como los rollos inservibles o quemados en el desván de la cabina del Minero. (E 40)

Like bridges that facilitate the contemplation of streams underneath, photographs allow us to lean on the railings of the past and submerge ourselves in the depths of the river of past life flowing underneath (54). The past is a void that photography, in its linguistic likeness to bridges, allows us to navigate. But the photograph itself is like a void; it is like a postcard without any identifiable sound or music, an isolated poster "en la vitrina del álbum, incapaz de entrelazarse con las otras, pero, también, de generar por sí sola un recuerdo" (E 180). It takes the *Spectator* to give life to the photograph, to assign it content and identity. It is only then that it ceases to be a void. Also, the photograph is analogous to dry leaves because it dries up with time and ends up falling into the void of oblivion. Then it becomes "un cuadro sin sonido ni argumento" (E 182). In addition, photographs are like stars because they continue to shine for years even though they may have died centuries ago (204).

Most of the analogies with the memory are couched in metaphors. As indicated earlier, memory becomes a developing tray where remembrances are developed; it is a deep mine "oculta en nuestro cerebro. Una mina profunda, insondable y oscura, llena de sombras y galerías" (E 107). Coming out of this deep mine is comparable to awakening from a nightmare that continues on even after we have awakened. Furthermore, memory is a camera that sends out colors and shows us "la película que un día vivimos y que creíamos borrada para siempre" (E 179). On a different trail, time becomes a blank screen where nothing can be seen, a poignant reference to the lifeless existence of the coal miners who, like Luis, spend all day contemplating the emptiness of life from his window while spitting mouthfuls of black saliva in a basin.

Whether they are couched in similes or metaphors, these analogies unite in a common matrix: hypostatizing the past in all its ugliness with a view to enlisting the reader's sympathy for the characters whose lives fritter away in an environment of abuse, exploitation, and poverty. Remembrances are linked to movie posters and photographs in order to make them more vivid. Photographs are made to share a common destiny with the stars, dry leaves, and bridges as a means to recapture, respectively, their relative longevity, the possibility of their demise and therefore the need to intentionalize their content and form in writing, and the contemplative regaining of time lost through the stirring of the memory. Memory assumes a vividness of its own as it is likened to a developing tray, a deep mine, and a nightmare. Time is an intangible reality but it takes on a visual ontology so that we can "see" the emptiness that characterizes the existence of the coal miners. Consequently, the narrative ploy that consists of using the photo album as a triggering device and a style of writing which enlists the energies of similes and metaphors combine to create a graphic heterocosmos in which the past constitutes the thematic focal point. Tropological language serves a similar purpose in *La lluvia*.

John Berger's words in our epigraph provide a fitting finale to this essay. In all his novels, Llamazares makes the past an integral part of the process of making his own history, as well as that of his community and country, and in so doing makes all photographs "reacquire a living context" so that they would "continue to exist in time instead of being arrested moments." Llamazares' narrative is a miniature Proustian trip to regain time lost in the obscure galleries of memory. What the photograph does for Llamazares the madeleine does for Proust because photography helps bring to the surface

> recuerdos de cocinas muy humildes, de padres que ya no existen, de provincias y de pueblos muy lejanos. Recuerdos de escuelas pobres, de adolescencias fugaces, de maletas, de caminos, de muchachas, de autobuses y de trenes renqueantes en los que llegaron a Olleros cuando todavía eran jóvenes y recuerdos, sobre todo, de esa mina que, junto con su juventud, quemó también sus pulmones y los convirtió en ancianos. (E 100)

Through *Escenas*, Llamazares resurrects and immortalizes the past while granting recognizability to those he calls "ese montón de colmenas llenas de hombres anónimos" with whom he shared his early years in rural León. These are his fellows in suffering, and by resurrecting the memories of abuse, exploitation, and poverty that characterized their past, he invites his readers to *compassion* with them as well.

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Something Miraculous in the Voyage to the Indies

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Spanish-American literature had its beginning on October 13, 1492, when the Italian, Christopher Columbus, recorded in Castilian the events that transpired during his voyage (Arciniegas 64). The record that Columbus kept while on board ship has proved to be one of the most dramatic in history and his journal has given us "the texture and substance of the event, [it] permits it truly to *become* an event, something that takes on color and life and historical heft" (Sale 19). The original journal has been lost so we are indebted to Fray Bartolomé de las Casas for the record that we have regarding the voyage, an abstract of it in which Las Casas often quoted Columbus liberally (Arciniegas 64). Although there has been some concern expressed regarding the authenticity and authorship of the journal, an acute historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, believes that what we have are basically the explorer's own words (Arciniegas 65).

The story of Christopher Columbus sailing west to find a new route to the Indies and his discovery of a New World is well known to most. "Columbus, a seaman of humble and obscure origins, pursued a dream that became his obsession" (Wilford ix). He discovered a few islands and some gentle people who had learned to live in harmony with their environment:

> This new land, as the Admiral could see from the *Santa Maria* longboat, was enclosed in a sea of luminescent emerald, ringed with bright coral sands, and covered with a dark conifer forest of "very green trees, many streams, and fruits of different kinds ... the whole of it so green it is a pleasure to gaze upon." And there, standing at its edge, was a small crowd of "naked people," their quiet dignity and beauty impressive even from that distance, "with very handsome bodies and very good faces ... of good-sized stature and of good faces well made" (Sale 73).

Columbus recorded fascinating accounts of what he was discovering, of the people, the flora and the fauna. He also recognized the hand of God on many occasions and felt that he was participating in one of God's miracles.

On Sunday, September 23rd, 1492, the sailors murmured because the sea was so calm and smooth that they feared there would be no wind to blow them back to Spain. Although there was no wind the sea rose greatly which amazed the sailors. Columbus saw the hand of providence in the incident and wrote: "So that high sea was very necessary for me, because such a thing had not been seen save in the time of the Jews, when [those] of Egypt came out against Moses who was leading them out of captivity" (Jane 14).

The weather Columbus encountered as he traveled to the New World on the first voyage seemed to have been miraculous:

> Columbus, who believed he had been chosen by God ... must have had the hand of providence on his shoulder. He sailed in the hurricane season, right into the track of the killer cyclones but he experienced only ... the most temperate breezes ... [and] great was the pleasure of the mornings, lacking only the singing of the nightingales" (Fuson xvi).

The weather was not so favorable on the return trip. On Tuesday, February 12th, 1493, as Columbus was returning home with word of all that he had discovered, he expressed concern for the safety of the ship and the crew as they were beginning to experience heavy seas and stormy weather. Great difficulty in navigating continued on Wednesday, February 13th because the sea was very high and the sky flashed with lightning, and Columbus said that they were in a great storm. On the 14th "the waves were terrible, one meeting another, so that they crossed and held back the ship, which could not go forward or come out from the midst of them, and they broke over her" (Jane 164). Columbus sensed that the danger was great and the waves threatened to sink the ship. Columbus demonstrated his adherence to Christian traditions as he ordered that at least three pilgrimages should be made upon their safe arrival (Jane 166). Individual vows were also made "because no one expected to escape, all regarding themselves as lost, owing to the terrible storm which they were experiencing" (Jane 166).

On Monday, February 18th, they reached Santa Maria, an island in the Azores, and found a harbor for the caravel. "The people of the island said that they had never seen such a storm as that which there had been for the last fifteen days, and they marvelled how they had escaped" (Jane 171). It seemed a miracle that they were able to survive the storm (Castlereach 97).

On Monday, March 4th, Columbus recorded that they experienced such a terrible storm that they felt certain that they were lost. The seas "came upon them from two sides, and the winds, which seemed to lift the caravel into the air, and the water from the sky and the lightning from many sides" (Jane 180-181). But the Lord preserved and sustained them "with infinite labour and terror" (Jane 181).

In spite of the destructive storms encountered on the return voyage, the ships seemed to be guided by an unseen hand:

> The most important voyage in history had the calmest seas of Columbus' eight transatlantic crossings.... The ships glided lightly on waters as calm "as the river at Seville." Then, on the very last day, "there were heavy seas, heavier than they had seen on the whole voyage." The waves covered the sterns, strengthening the push toward the goal. History borders on fable: the ships seem guided by a fairy's hand (Taviani 96).

On March 4th, 1493, Columbus composed the letter to Ferdinand and Isabella reporting the First Voyage that would be the first word that the world would have of the newly discovered lands and peoples. Columbus repeated several themes that he had expressed throughout the journal: the Lord deserved credit for the great victory, efforts needed to be made to convert the Indians, the Indians believed that "power and good are in the heavens" and that Columbus and his ships had come from heaven (Jane 191-197). He closed his letter by crediting the Redeemer with the success of the voyage:

> This is enough. And thus the eternal God, Our Lord, gives to all those who walk in His way triumph over things which appear to be impossible, and this was notably one. For, although men have talked or have written of these lands, all was conjectural, without ocular evidence, but amounted only to this, that those who heard for the most part listened and judged rather by hearsay than from even a small something tangible. So that, since Our Redeemer has given the victory to our most illustrious King and Queen, and to their renowned kingdoms, in so great a matter, for this all Christendom ought to feel delight and make feasts and give solemn prayers for the great exaltation which they shall have in the turning of so many peoples to our holy faith and afterwards for the temporal benefits, because not only Spain but all Christendom will have hence refreshment and gain (Jane 201).

Then Las Casas added a closing paragraph in which he recognized Columbus as speaking "almost as a prophet." He revealed that God had given Spain great goods, "both, spiritual and temporal," which had not been appreciated by worldly men. Spain was too ambitious and greedy to enjoy the spiritual blessings God had granted her but "some servants of God" had been able to enjoy them (Jane 187).

On Friday, March 15th, 1493, Columbus concluded his writing in his journal of the First Voyage. He recognized that the Lord had allowed him to make the voyage and had inspired him to do so. He felt that the Divine Majesty influenced all of their doings and that through many miracles he had been able to accomplish the voyage. He stated that all good things came to pass because of the influence of God:

> And that nothing can be imagined or thought save with His consent, of this voyage ... I know that this has been miraculously shown to be so, as can be understood from this writing, by the many notable miracles which He has shown forth on the voyage and for me, who for so long a time was in the court of your Highnesses, with the opposition of so many chief persons of our household and against their opinion, for they were all against me regarding this undertaking as a jest, and I hope in Our Lord that it will be the greatest honour for Christendom to have been brought forth so easily (Jane 187).

Columbus feared that the Lord wanted him to perish there in the Ocean Sea. But he gave reasons for his hope and expressed his belief that God would deliver him as he had done throughout the voyage. He credited God with the victory in discovering "what he had discovered" (Jane 168) and felt that God had delivered him when on the outward journey he had encountered difficulties with the sailors and other people who were with him when they rose against him and protested. He commented on the adversities that he had encountered in Spain while trying to gain approval for the voyage but recognized that it was "the everlasting God (who) had given him strength and courage against them all, and there were other things of great wonder which God had shown forth in him and for him on that voyage (Jane 168).

When Columbus returned to the Old World in 1493 with word of his discovery the news spread swiftly throughout six different countries and could be read in four languages (Wilford 21).

For his daring adventure Columbus was accorded the title, "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," by Ferdinand and Isabella. But there is another image that Columbus held dear, "one that has been less frequently acknowledged in the vast literature regarding his actions and motivations. This second self-image reflects Columbus' spiritual side" (Bedini, 650). Kirkpatrick Sale wrote of his spiritual side in this manner: "Of his dedication to God and his belief that he was God's chosen instrument of redemption ... there is little doubt" (17-18). John Noble Wilford says: "It may be, on closer examination, that spirituality, which fed his apocalyptic view of history, lay at the heart of the man and was the dominant force in his life and actions" (216). Delno C. West observed:

> One of the most striking aspects of the life of Christopher Columbus was his self-awareness as a man of destiny. He viewed himself as the chosen and appointed messenger of God, predestined to open the way for evangelization and colonization of lands newly discovered by himself on behalf of the household of God ... Columbus' self-awareness as a man of destiny appears everywhere in his writings (8).

Ferdinand Columbus, who wrote a biography of his father, viewed him as one called to a divine mission, "The Admiral was chosen for his great work by our Lord [and I believe that] his affairs were directed by a secret Providence" (3-4).

Salvador de Madariaga expressed that Columbus "was growingly possessed of his sense of mission, of his conviction that he was elected [by the Lord]" (88). Las Casas wrote of Columbus that, "From all sides and in many ways did God give Colón motives and causes that he should not doubt to undertake so great a deed" (Madariaga 88). Las Casas viewed Columbus "as one predestined by God for a very important mission, to find a New World where the Gospel could be preached" (Varela x). Columbus himself demonstrated his belief that he was foreordained to his mission in his *Book of Prophecies*. In it he included a prophetic passage from St. Augustine: "Before you formed me in the belly, you knew me, and before I left the womb, whatever pleased you was preordained for me. And those things that concerned me were written in your book in the secret of your counsel" (Watts 94). Columbus was convinced that he was fulfilling prophecy in the voyage to the Indies: "The voyage to the Indies ... came to pass as Jesus Christ our Saviour had predicted and as he had previously announced through the mouths of His holy prophets" (Watts 96).

Morison wrote that Columbus was:

> a Man with a Mission.... He was Man alone with God against human stupidity and depravity, against greedy conquistadors, cowardly seamen, even against nature and the sea ... Always with God ... for God is with men who for a good cause put their trust in Him. Men may doubt this, but there can be no doubt that the faith of Columbus was genuine and sincere and that his frequent communion with forces unseen was a vital element in his achievement (Morison, 46-47).

Columbus "felt predestined, chosen for a mission. He had an uncanny prophetic sense of the things that lay in store for him.... Faith is the poetry of life, the past that maps out the future" (Granzotto 55-56). As Columbus attempted to convince the learned men of Spain of the feasibility of the voyage, "He spoke like a man of destiny, someone whom divine providence had chosen for such an undertaking. He too had an unshakable faith in himself" (Granzotto 80).

In a letter addressed to Ferdinand and-Isabella and written in Jamaica sometime between September 13, 1501 and March 23, 1502, Columbus revealed that he had the idea to sail west and had been so persistent in pursuing the enterprise because of the Lord's influence. "With a hand that could be felt, the Lord opened my mind to the fact that it would be possible to sail from there to the Indies, and he opened my will to desire to accomplish the project. This was the fire that burned within me when I came to visit Your Majesties" (West and Kling 105). Columbus truly believed that the Lord caused that there be "something clearly miraculous in this matter of the voyage to the Indies" (West and Kling 107).

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El licenciado Vidriera: una biografía espiritual de un estudiante de la vida

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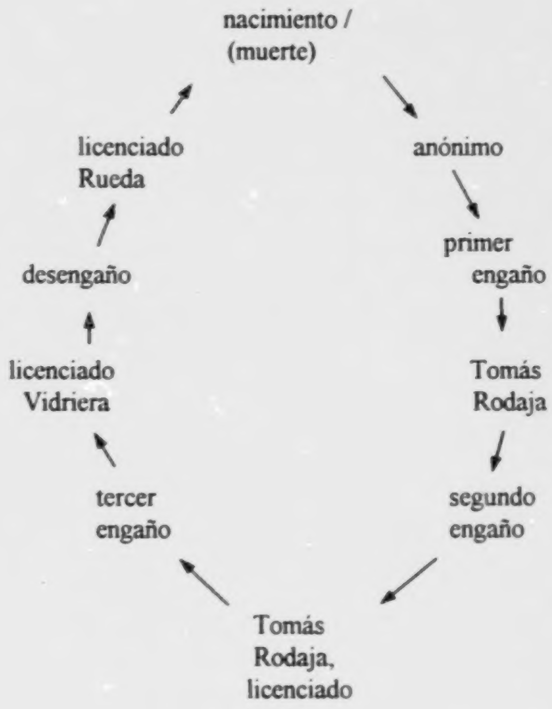
Al terminar con un estudio temático de la novela ejemplar de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *El licenciado Vidriera*, me quedo más consciente que nunca de la dificultad de interpretar la obra en una manera comprensiva o completamente consistente. Lo único que me parece claro es el hecho de que siempre se ha considerado esta novelita algo compleja y enigmática, hecho que se refleja en la crítica. Por ejemplo, algunos críticos adoptan una perspectiva sicológica, ofreciendo una variedad de teorías para explicar la locura del protagonista.[1] Otros mantienen que la historia es autobiográfica, señalando ciertas semejanzas entre la vida del autor y la de su personaje novelizado. También, hay mucha discusión en la crítica acerca de la tensión entre las armas y las letras que aparece en la novela, las supuestas alusiones a las mitologías y filosofías antiguas que se hacen en el texto,[2] la serie de apotegmas que pronuncia Vidriera vista como un comentario sobre su sociedad, las etapas por las cuales pasa el protagonista a través de su búsqueda del sentido de la vida, la relación entre el conocimiento humano y la locura, y el conflicto entre el individuo y la sociedad. Al haber leído una gran parte de dicha crítica, estoy de acuerdo con Gwyne Edwards de que nadie, "in spite of frequent insights, achieves a really coherent and unified interpretation of the story" (560).

Limitándome a la novela en sí,[3] quisiera destacar algunas ideas tomadas de la crítica, con las cuales combino mi propia visión interpretiva. Así pienso plantear la idea de que la novela es, en pocas palabras, la narración de una vida alegórica que nos presenta las cuestiones más preocupantes de la vida humana, además de la esperanza de una solución general. Esta vida alegórica está marcada por cinco momentos cruciales, como ilustra la siguiente figura, y sugiere la idea de que la vida se mueve circularmente, llevándonos al momento fundamental de desengaño[4] por vía de varios momentos críticos de engaño.



La vida alegórica de *El licenciado Vidriera*

Como se puede ver en la figura, todo el desarrollo de esta vida se basa en los distintos nombres que adopta el protagonista a través de la novela. Esta idea es el consenso de muchos críticos, entre ellos Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce (19). Nuevo aquí, hasta donde yo sepa, es el concepto de cinco períodos; Avalle-Arce esquematiza cuatro, por ejemplo, y muchos otros ven tres. Tampoco he visto antes en ningún sitio una representación circular de la vida del licenciado, aunque Walter Glannon (94) y Edward H. Friedman (57) mencionan las ideas de una rueda y la moción circular o cíclica con intenciones muy distintas que la mía. Por supuesto, no es nada nueva la afirmación de que la historia describe una búsqueda de la identidad. Francisco García Lorca, por ejemplo, dice que la obra "propone . . . el problema de la identidad de la persona, de la esencia del ser" (163). Ni siquiera es original la idea del "desengaño por el engaño", que es una frase de Eleodoro J. Febres, y según él "uno de los temas favoritos del período barroco" (553). Lo que hace este ensayo es integrar varios elementos diversos de la crítica en una unidad nueva para construir una base sobre la cual puedo exponer una interpretación que es, para mí, más coherente, unificada y convincente que se pueda encontrar en ningún artículo aislado.

La novela empieza cuando el protagonista ya tiene once años (Cervantes 133), sin mencionar su nacimiento. Aunque el nacimiento es un momento crucial del ciclo de la vida, uno no se da cuenta de las implicaciones del hecho hasta más tarde. Como dice Avalle-Arce, el título anuncia a un individuo (16), o sea una conciencia, y por eso el nacimiento inconsciente tiene muy poca importancia en comparación con la formación más tarde de una auténtica identidad. Lo que busca el muchacho es la inmortalidad (por medio de la fama por sus estudios) pero al principio de la novela ni siquiera tiene nombre (Cervantes 133). Este anónimo experimenta, como todos, una vida no examinada que es la niñez. El primer momento crítico en que él se da cuenta del hecho de que la vida implica una búsqueda de la identidad llega cuando el muchacho toma el nombre de Tomás Rodaja, que ocurre en la primera conversación de la novela (133). En realidad, se puede decir que la novela comienza con este momento crucial, y que toda la breve sección anterior no es más que el establecimiento del relato. En todo caso, lo que tiene importancia es la experiencia consciente y examinada; la niñez no figura mucho en la novela excepto para acordarnos del hecho de que todos empezamos inconscientes.

La segunda etapa de la vida, entonces, empieza con la comprensión del hecho de que nuestra situación requiere la formación de una perspectiva individual y bien pensada del mundo. Esto es el primer engaño, y pasando por él descubrimos que la vida no es simplemente un juego. El nombre de Rodaja, siendo el diminutivo de rueda, sugiere una potencialidad no lograda, e indica que el muchacho, ahora entrando en la adolescencia, pone mucha fe en el conocimiento humano y la educación formal. Es idealista, sincero e inocente. Más que cualquier otra cosa, se hace intelectual. Reflexiona. Estudia las leyes, pero también se mete en la literatura y otras humanidades (Cervantes 133), haciéndose humanista, como observa Friedman (54). Como la experiencia de otras culturas es una parte importante de una educación, va con el capitán a Italia y Flandes y ve mucho del mundo mediterráneo. Es interesante notar que mientras Tomás "tenía feliz memoria y buen entendimiento" (Cervantes 133), también se desarrollaba como una conciencia "más de religioso que de soldado" (134), realidad que también se revela en la elección de libros que hizo Tomás al salir con el capitán: "una *Horas de Nuestra Señora* y un *Garcilaso* sin comento" (134). Era un alma esencialmente religiosa, entrando en su propio renacimiento intelectual en tierras del Renacimiento original.

Interesantemente, como nota Avalle-Arce, Cervantes mismo también fue un

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intelectual que se dedicó a la vida de acción como soldado (16). Pero la primera vez que Tomás viaja así, no lo hace como soldado. Como indica Walter Glannon, el texto hace hincapié en notar que lo que hace Tomás es observar, ver, mirar y apuntar (Glannon 88, Cervantes 136), y aquí entra la tensión entre armas y letras y la cuestión de una intertextualidad con la vida del autor. Según Ruth El Saffar, se puede ver en el protagonista "the most extended representation in Cervantes' work both of his need for literature and of his sense of its futility", y Alban K. Forcione dice que *El licenciado Vidriera* es "Cervantes' most direct examination of the problems of knowledge" (Schleiner 370). Ahora en esta fase activa de su formación intelectual Tomás Rodaja conscientemente intenta construir una identidad propia, pero todavía vive exclusivamente en un mundo teórico, un mundo de libros. Como se ve en las condiciones que Rodaja impone en los arreglos del viaje con el capitán, se queda neutral; no se compromete a ninguna vocación o causa. A él le faltan convicciones personales. No obstante, se puede discernir más de un poco del aventurero en Tomás en las varias observaciones cervantinas de esta índole: "Llegaron más presto de lo que quisieran a Cartagena, porque la vida de los alojamientos es ancha y varia, y cada día se topan cosas nuevas y gustosas" (134-135).

Decir hasta qué punto el personaje novelizado refleja la experiencia de Cervantes no es fácil, ni a mí me parece importante, aunque tampoco me parecería extraño si escribiera el autor de su experiencia. Para mí, lo más importante es el progreso de la vida alegórica. Glannon hace distinción entre las armas y las letras, ésta representando la estética y aquélla la ética (91). Sea lo que fuere, todos los intelectuales experimentan un periodo idealista, durante el cual no tenemos la sabiduría que nos traen los años, aunque sepamos mucho intelectualmente. Tal vez la supuesta tensión entre la educación formal y la real sea falsa; en verdad, para formar una identidad auténtica se necesitan las dos.

Por consiguiente, en la tercera etapa de la vida de Tomás el enfoque teórico se convierte en un enfoque empírico, para adoptar los términos de Friedman (53), con los inevitables acontecimientos inesperados de la vida. Tarde o temprano, todo el mundo tiene que dejar las aventuras y aceptar las responsabilidades de la madurez. Tomás, al determinar "volverse a España ... a acabar sus estudios" (Cervantes 136), "se graduó licenciado de leyes" (137), llegando a ser el licenciado Tomás Rodaja[5] y entrando en la vida adulta y profesional. Ahora tiene que probarse y ganarse la vida, que no es nada abstracto. En este momento de la vida frecuentemente descubrimos que la realidad no siempre cabe en nuestras concepciones mentales al experimentar el vacío existencial que encontramos en la vida profesional. Esto es el segundo engaño.

Tomás descubre que aunque es licenciado, todavía es Rodaja, y todavía le queda realizarse a nivel interior. La lucha existencial del intelectual en conflicto con su sociedad es, para mí, el tema principal de esta etapa de la vida. El que piensa, el que critica, el que busca la verdad siempre tiene dificultades integrándose en la sociedad. Como suele decirse, es muy tenue la línea entre la cordura y la locura. García Lorca observa, "se noveliza el esfuerzo de ser, pero prevalece la fragilidad de la condición humana" (167).

La causa específica del fracaso de Rodaja en la vida adulta no se define claramente, y hasta ahora no he leído ninguna explicación satisfactoria. Por lo menos, es obvio que el licenciado no tiene éxito en la dimensión social. Había algo en desequilibrio. Sabemos que una dama se enamoró de Tomás, pero que "él atendía más a sus libros que a otros pasatiempos" (Cervantes 137). Todo el mundo tiene su talón de aquiles, una debilidad que nos puede destruir. Así es la condición humana. El enfrentamiento con nuestra fragilidad es el tercer engaño. Es posible que la apariencia de la dama nos indique que Rodaja tiene problemas con su identidad sexual. En cualquier caso, al ingerir el membrillo que le preparó la mujer, Tomás se encontró "como atontado", sano de cuerpo pero loco de entendimiento (137). Joaquín Casalduero ve en el episodio de la mujer un símbolo de Eva y la tentación del conocimiento humano...el pecado original: "a sin not of the flesh but of the intellect; Tomás rejects the woman, but eats of her fruit and suffers tragic consequences" (Friedman 54).

Este posible descubrimiento de un defecto moral en la naturaleza humana me parece interesante, y va muy bien con el espíritu del Barroco. Es decir, después de pasar por una época idealista y optimista (sea a nivel del Renacimiento y el Imperio Glorioso Español o a nivel personal), un encuentro con la desilusión y el escepticismo sería insoportable. Seguramente, una revelación de la naturaleza engañosa de la vida real, en plena madurez, sería deprimente. Como la novela nos cuenta la historia de un intelectual, trata también la vanidad del saber. Lo que le pasa a Tomás recuerda de las palabras bíblicas:

> He reflexionado sobre la sabiduría y el saber, la estupidez y la locura, y comprendo que estudiar eso es también correr tras el viento. Mucha sabiduría acarrea muchos problemas; mientras más se sabe, más se sufre. (Ec. 1, 17-18)

Muchas veces el intelectual vive rechazado por la sociedad en una manera u otra, y los que no pueden adaptarse frecuentemente se vuelven locos.

Ahora bien, aquí comienza la fase de la locura, de la cual toma la obra su título. En esta cuarta etapa, como en todas las anteriores de su vida, Tomás toma un nombre nuevo, llamándose ahora el licenciado Vidriera (Cervantes 138). Su extraña locura es lo que a Cervantes le interesa más, como también afirma Avalle-Arce: "La locura, como solidaria del intelecto, es lo que ilustra cumplidamente la vida del licenciado" (17). Como nota Alfred E. Engstrom, Cervantes no inventó la imagen de un hombre de vidrio (391), y Gill Speak observa que había un debate en la época entre los siquíatras, teólogos y médicos sobre quién tenía el mejor entendimiento de este tipo de enfermedad (863). Entre las cosas que se destacan en el texto hay varias que sugieren la imagen de Cristo y el mundo religioso: 1) Vidriera era un maestro ambulante, 2) predicaba las palabras de Cristo, como "Filiae Hieruslem, plorate super vos, et super filios vestros" (Cervantes 138), etcétera, 3) renunciaba el ejército de Satanás (139) y 4) se le llevó a la Corte (139). En realidad, Vidriera funciona aun mejor en la novela como símbolo del hombre en busca de Cristo, aunque sea inconscientemente.

De todos modos, aquí se debe notar un cambio básico en la situación de Tomás. Ahora, aunque todavía es una curiosidad, no se sitúa afuera de la sociedad, sino que está encerrado y rodeado por la sociedad. Ahora, además de moverse en una dirección circular, también es el centro mismo de un círculo. Cervantes pinta la imagen así: "En la rueda de la mucha gente que como se ha dicho siempre lo estaba oyendo ... " y "... le acabaron de circundar cuando con él estaban. Él viéndose con tanta turba a la redonda, alzó la voz ... " (143, 147). Vidriera se pone a criticar la sociedad, como él mismo dijo:

"Aunque de vidrio, no soy tan frágil que me deje ir con la corriente del vulgo ...." (145).

De esta cuarta etapa de la vida se puede decir mucho. Algunos críticos destacan los comentarios de Vidriera como un propósito mayor de Cervantes, y seguramente aparecen con algún propósito. Nos da una vista muy interesante de la Corte y de la sociedad española. Como dice Avalle-Arce, "Vidriera se marginaliza de la vida, y la observa, y con el bisturí de su cultura adquirida puede desenmascarar la realidad circunstante e identificarla por su propio nombre" (19-20). Por supuesto, dado su estado enajenado y el tema del engaño barroco, el tono de los comentarios de Vidriera es cínico. Solamente los actores, escribanos y hombres de religión se escapan de su crítica, según Edwards (575). Seguramente, Vidriera ve una sociedad sumamente corrupta e injusta.

Para mí, es muy interesante el dilema del loco. La sociedad escucha al loco, pero rechaza al cuerdo. Opino que para Cervantes lo más importante era la paradoja que se revela en el tema central del cuerdo-loco, pero también aparecen otras paradojas, como la persecución del saber versus la lucha para sobrevivir, los hechos versus los pensamientos, la capacidad de ver versus la de percibir, y el hecho de que, como nota Friedman, los que intentan mejorar la sociedad, en este caso criticándola, frecuentemente se encuentran rechazados (57-58).

Si la locura de esta etapa es el producto de una profunda desilusión que resulta del fracaso personal, hay que admitir que existen muchas clases de locura, no todas de las cuales son siempre permanentes. Para mí, lo más curioso del caso del loco Vidriera es el hecho de que sigue empleando palabras que vienen de textos literarios, como señala Glannon (91). Esto significa que todavía no se ha enfrentado con la realidad, sino que vive en un mundo mental de su propia construcción que no corresponde a la vida real, que es la esencia de su locura. No ha logrado resolver la cuestión de su identidad existencial, o por lo menos esa identidad no puede integrarse en la sociedad de su tiempo. Ha logrado ser famoso, pero no es lo que se imaginó.

En fin, ¿qué es lo que le pasa a Vidriera? Es curado por un religioso de la orden de San Jerónimo, y se nombra a sí mismo el licenciado Rueda (Cervantes 147). Rueda quiere decir que Rodaja ha podido alcanzar su potencialidad; ha logrado realizarse y sabe quien es. La cura del cura es el desengaño, y marca la entrada en la etapa final de la vida alegórica. Después de una serie de engaños, la vida lo ha llevado a Vidriera al momento supremo del desengaño, de curación, de salvación. El hecho de que viene por las manos de un religioso no es ninguna casualidad. Si aceptamos la teoría de que el hombre es víctima de un defecto espiritual, es de esperarse que la solución también sea espiritual. Así la vio también Vidriera, diciendo "Sucesos y desgracias que acontecen en el mundo por permisión del cielo me quitaron el juicio, y las misericordias de Dios me lo han vuelto" (147).

No obstante, esta cura religiosa no le trae a Rueda ningún éxito o aceptación en su campo elegido. Al contrario, como observa García Lorca, "tiene que dejar de ser lo que quiso ser para poder escapar de una rueda de vacío que no podrá llenar, de un cerco que no podrá romper" (162), pero está en paz dentro de sí mismo. Después del desengaño, se acaba la historia de Rueda pronto, porque realmente no importa nada ahora; pase lo que pase, Rueda está preparado. Ahora que sabe quien es, se dedica a ser soldado y muere en seguida, aunque tenemos la idea de que tuvo una carrera heroica como soldado. No acepto que hiciera esto para justificar las armas en vez de las letras, sino que no pudiendo valerse de las fuerzas de su ingenio, como dice Cervantes (148), "pensaba valerse de las fuerzas de su brazo" (148). Su vocación era irrelevante porque su identidad tenía más que ver con quién se ligaba, siendo ahora un hombre de Dios, y mucho menos que ver cómo se ganaba la vida.

Conforme a la concepción de una vida circular, quisiera sugerir la posibilidad de que la muerte, el quinto momento crucial en la vida alegórica, no sea necesariamente ningún final, sino otro nacimiento de acuerdo con la enseñanza bíblica de una vida eterna. En esta concepción de la vida lo que importa no es lo que hagamos, sino cómo lo hacemos, y por qué lo hacemos. Tampoco importa mucho lo que la sociedad piense de nosotros, sino en qué estado mental vivimos. La cordura se basa en el corazón, que no excluye la importancia y la utilidad del conocimiento humano. De hecho, una educación humanista nos conduce a la esfera espiritual, preparándonos para la revelación divina.

Hay por lo menos un crítico que me apoya en una interpretación religiosa. Roberto Ruiz, en el contexto de un estudio que trata la influencia de Erasmo en la novela, escribe:

> la locura del licenciado Vidriera evoluciona hacia la reflexión ... acaba en triunfo, no en derrota; en sacrificio consciente, no en inmolación suicida. Sacrificio consciente, pero no racional: todo sacrificio de índole religiosa, desde el primero y paradigmático, reviste aspectos de excepcionalidad, de locura, y bien lo dice San Pablo [1 Co. 1, 18-20; 21-23] ... "comenzar a eternizar" [Cervantes 148] quiere decir iniciar el viaje hacia lo eterno; "acabar de eternizar" [148] quiere decir concluirlo, llegar a la meta, realizar la potencia de eternidad que reside en todos nosotros.... La libertad paradisiaca se transforma en libertad moral, mediante una continua crisis de la razón que conduce, esperamos, a la fe. (842-846)

En resumen, lo que veo en *El licenciado Vidriera* es la relación de una vida de un intelectual del período barroco que pudiera haber pasado, aunque sirve mejor como una alegoría de la vida del ser reflexivo. Así la obra ilumina tanto el Barroco como la lucha existencial del pensador en cualquier época. Después del nacimiento y un período inconsciente de inocencia juvenil, uno tiene que experimentar el primer engaño de la vida, que es el descubrimiento de que la vida no es un mero pasatiempo. Uno tiene que contemplar y empezar a buscar el sentido de la vida. Aquí se vislumbra una identidad potencial, pero la adolescencia no da lugar a la madurez antes de que llegue el segundo engaño. Eventualmente, uno tiene que admitir los límites del conocimiento humano y aceptar las limitaciones que el tiempo nos impone, y dejar de ser simplemente un estudiante u otro tipo de aventurero. Esto es el segundo engaño. Llega el momento en que entramos en la vida adulta de responsabilidades y trabajo. Esta etapa de la vida suele resultarnos un período barroco, especialmente en comparación con el período renacentista anterior. El conflicto y aparente desacuerdo entre el saber abstracto y la experiencia práctica resulta difícil, y casi siempre la vida adulta trae una serie de pruebas. Eventualmente, uno llega a estar enajenado de su sociedad y tiene que enfrentarse con un profundo aislamiento existencial, que es el tercer engaño. En algunos casos el resultado es una especie de locura, aunque no sea tan exagerada como la de Vidriera.

Finalmente, nos ofrece la novela una esperanza. Siempre existe la posibilidad de experimentar el desengaño. Todo lo que experimentamos nos prepara y nos lleva al momento apropiado, incluyendo la juventud, la búsqueda de la verdad a través del estudio de las humanidades, y los desafíos y las pruebas de la vida. La naturaleza del desengaño es claramente religiosa. No produce, en la mayoría de los casos, ninguna aceptación social, sino una autorrealización, una profunda paz interna de índole espiritual. Así el último e inevitable momento crucial de la vida, la muerte, se convierte en un regreso natural al punto de partida del viaje. A su manera, es otro nacimiento de acuerdo con la creencia en una vida eterna, y así se completa el ciclo de la vida. Aunque es la conclusión del acto de vivir en este mundo, hablando cristianamente "eternizar" (Cervantes 148) es pasar a la vida sobrenatural. El círculo es una vida, una biografía, que se escribe con cada ser humano.

Notas

1. Véase, por ejemplo, Cruz Camara, María A. "Cervantes como analista de la conducta humana: la inseguridad ontológica del protagonista de *El licenciado Vidriera*". *Explicación de textos literarios* 20.1 (1991-92), pp. 13-23.

2. Véase, por ejemplo, Oliver, Antonio. "La filosofía en *El licenciado Vidriera*". *Anales Cervantinos* IV (1954), pp. 227-238.

3. Aunque *La nave de los locos* de Sebastian Brandt (1494) y *Elogio de la locura* de Erasmo (1511) son obras imprescindibles para un buen entendimiento de la novela aquí considerada, me limito al texto de Cervantes, excluyendo también el tema de la locura en el *Quijote*.

4. Respecto a mi uso del término *desengaño*, debo clarificar mi intención. Los eruditos suelen emplear los términos de *engaño* y *desengaño* de manera en que tienen más o menos el mismo sentido. Con la palabra *desengaño* quiero decir no otro engaño más, sino lo que denota la palabra inglesa *enlightenment* en el contexto religioso, que es otra definición válida de la palabra castellana, aunque menos conocida. Es decir, quiero denotar el DESengaño, o la aceptación de la iluminación o revelación redentora en el sentido cristiano.

5. Tenemos que intuir este nombre del *licenciado Rodaja*. Claramente, hubo un cambio en su identidad cuando se graduó. No es meramente Tomás Rodaja, ni todavía el licenciado Vidriera.

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——SELECTA——

"When the Coin is Madness"
The Ambiguous Numismatic Metaphor in *Don Quijote*

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The use of money in Cervantes' masterpiece *Don Quijote* runs the gamut from the purely metaphorical to that of actual transactions of specific denominations of then current coinage. From Chapter 1 of the first volume, in which we learn that Rocinante had "más cuartos que un real" (I 101)[1] to the final monetary transaction actually concluded, near the end of the second volume, when Sancho purchases a cage of crickets from some boys for "cuatro cuartos" (II 568) as he and his master enter their village for the last time, money is as often the signifier of moral content - or lack of it - as it is a motory device in the development of plot and characterization.

Money, and human desire or disregard for it, also provide a frame surrounding the overall plot structure. Don Quijote must return from his first sorry sally to provide himself with "dineros y camisas" (I 112) and the Squire who will bear them, in order to attempt to become a knight errant at all. Until the final mention of money - involving Sancho's joy at being included in his master's will (II 576) - there are few episodes of import in which money fails to play some role. The specific uses of monetary terms are as varied as human discourse itself. The blatantly banal, as when Sancho is `blanketed' upon refusing to pay "un solo cornado" at the Inn (I 224), will gradually give way to the mockingly sublime. Upon receiving only 4 of the 6 *reales* she had requested of don Quijote for her `lady', in the dreamily erotic scene of the Cave of Montesinos, Dulcinea's rustic companion turns her back on our hero. Springing aloft this time without the hindquarters of her mount as the goal, she shows him her own (II 206).

Indeed, these two scenes, beyond their initial comic thrust, serve to present two of the main monetary themes of the work: the self-interest of Sancho, however misguided, and genuine necessity, even when masked as the wish projections of a don Quijote who is himself a self-made construct, upon the figment of his imagination who is Dulcinea. While Sancho's earthy self-interest has become proverbial, and he can unabashedly weep at don Quijote's death while rejoicing in the inheritance it brings him, the theme of necessity was very real in the Spain of the early seventeenth century. From the depths of the Knight's dream sequence springs truth, as his question: "¿Es posible, señor Montesinos, que los encantados principales padecen necesidad?" (II 205) is replied to in all honesty:

> Créame vuestra merced, señor don Quijote de la Mancha, que esta que llaman necesidad adondequiera se usa, y por todo se estiende, y a todos alcanza, y aun hasta los encantados no perdona ...." (II 205-206)

The most acute financial exigency, of course, was to be found among those whose every move had to be directed towards their own immediate survival, such as the lad don Quijote and Sancho encounter in Chapter 24 of Volume II, who had proclaimed:

> A la guerra me lleva / mi necesidad;
> si tuviera dineros, / no fuera, en verdad. (II 211)

But perhaps no one found himself in a greater state of financial necessity than King Phillip III, whose extravagant ways, coupled with the even greater excesses of the Duke of Lerma, the power behind the throne, had only exacerbated the indebtedness of the Spanish treasury, weakened by nearly a century of maintaining an expanding world-wide empire with little corresponding growth in the peninsular economy. In 1602 he had resorted to the expedient of debasing the copper currency. Not only had the last vestiges of intrinsic value, in the form of silver alloy, been removed from the *cuarto* of four *maravedís*, the most commonly used denomination among the Spanish masses. Its nominal value had been doubled as well, by simply recalling the coinage and stamping the figure `VIII' upon each coin (Dasi II LXXIII).

While theoretically doubling his own spending power and cutting his domestic debts in half, this measure spelled the beginning of the end for the already hard-pressed Spanish populace, wracked by plague and famine since the end of the reign of Phillip II (Ortiz 266). The common people rarely saw a gold or silver coin, in an era when the inflow of precious metals from the Indies was at its height (Hamilton 42). It is hardly a coincidence that shortly thereafter, Cervantes has his narrator remark that Rocinante had more "cuartos" than a silver *real*. As Martín de Riquer explains in a footnote in his edition of *Don Quijote*, "cuartos" are also a disease afflicting the hooves of horses (I 39). This pun is an only thinly veiled jab at the disease affecting the Spanish economy.

Ostensibly, a silver *real*, as of 1602, was worth only slightly over four of the previous *cuartos*, revalued at eight *maravedís*, since the *real* had remained at 34 *maravedís*. Instead of improving the situation, this measure greatly worsened it. The old pieces of two *maravedís*, or *ochavos*, now became *cuartos* themselves, stamped with the figure `IV.' There was no net gain, and public confidence at home and abroad in the Spanish currency, long the pride of the Hapsburg rulers and a mainstay of the world's currencies, began to dwindle as well. Soon a premium had to be paid for silver coin, in terms of copper *cuartos* (Mariana 587). Thus it can truly be said that Rocinante's health, and value both as a warhorse and as transportation for don Quijote, were in the midst of a precipitous slide which directly paralleled Spanish monetary conditions.

By 1608, in fact, the Spanish *cortes* had already forbidden the royal treasury from issuing any more copper *cuartos* (Dasi II LXXVII), just as don Quijote was forbidden from making any further sallies by Sansón Carrasco, posing as the Knight of the White Moon. It will be remembered that Rocinante's relative lack of quickness was one of the principal reasons for his defeat on the beaches of Barcelona (II 518), while his earlier, exceptional friskiness had played a key role in the joust which saw don Quijote victorious in their first encounter, at the beginning of Volume II (II 128).

At the end of Chapter 66 of the second volume, the Duke's lackey Tosilos suggests that the Don "debe de ser un loco" (II 530). Sancho insists that his master "No debe nada a nadie; que todo lo paga, y más, cuando la moneda es locura" (II 530). There are several ambiguities at work in this pun. First of all, in the realm of madness, don Quijote was clearly the master, having become, by 1615, famous in both the metafictional and extratextual venues. Considering madness as the `coin' of this realm, the Knight clearly had paid his debts, with interest, and in `like coin.' Unlike the situation in Volume I, and quite unlike the extraliterary, historical Spanish Crown, both Sancho and don Quijote had become quite scrupulous in paying their debts for the havoc the Knight wreaked, for example at maese Pedro's puppet show (II 231-232), or when don Quijote sinks a `borrowed' boat (II 251).

The Spanish `ship of state' had begun to founder by 1614, the date noted in Sancho Panza's letter to his wife Teresa (II 304). Don Quijote is by this point in Chapter 66 of the second volume, although likewise vanquished, on the verge of sanity, repentance and an honourable exit from his own `theater of war.' How much stronger a chord the imagery encompassed in the phrase "cuando la moneda es locura" must have struck upon the Spanish reader of the day we can only imagine. This was an age when few Spaniards were truly solvent, except for those forced, or lucky enough, to leave the Peninsula, such as the *morisco* Ricote or the *Oidor*, brother of the Captive. These two had departed for Germany and the Indies, respectively, sources of "libertad de conciencia" (II 435) and the precious metals which continued to feed

Spanish imperial ambitions.

We must remember that Spanish debt was contracted in, and had to be paid in precious metals, while most peasants and workers were paid in *vellón*, originally low fineness `billon' coins which no longer contained any silver, and thus fulfilled, in an age of hard money, the very definition of `coins which were madness.' A few bold souls such as Father Juan de Mariana dared to speak out:

> La verdad es que el vellon cuando es mucho destierra la plata y la hunde; la causa porque al rey pagan sus rentas en plata, y su majestad paga juros, criados y ministros en vellon, con que se apodera de la plata, y de alli pasa a los extranjeros, y aun la poca que queda a los vasallos no parece, porque todos quieren mas gastar el vellon que la plata. (585)

Even the `enchanted', such as Dulcinea, were in need, and the wealthy Duke of Volume II was in debt to his own subjects (II 387), even as he showered those borrowed gold *escudos* upon Sancho for his services. Sancho's honest efforts at governorship, based on don Quijote's excellent advice in Chapters 42 and 43, had been in themselves a burlesque, ultimately contrived rule over the `ínsula Barataria', which can be variously translated as `an island on the cheap' or `won on a lucky shuffling of the cards.' This had been foreshadowed in the phrase employed by Durandarte in the Cave of Montesinos: "Paciencia y barajar" (II 201).

To be able to say of someone that "No debe nada a nadie" was indeed the highest praise one could accord at the time. It would have constituted an impressive feat, matched perhaps only by Sancho, who could claim - for a time at least - that he had been a governor and departed from office as penniless as he had entered:

> desnudo nací, desnudo me hallo; ni pierdo ni gano; quiero decir, que sin blanca entré en este gobierno y sin ella salgo, bien al revés de como suelen salir los gobernadores de otras ínsulas. (II 429)

Eventually the Duke was to remunerate Sancho well for his role in the entire charade, giving him "un bolsico con doscientos *escudos* de oro" (II 452). In general, however, the cost of doing business was calculated in terms of physical discomfort for the Squire, as he would endure "gotas de sangre, mamonas, pellizcos, alfilerazos, y azotes" throughout the entire masquerade at the Court of the Duke (II 554). Sancho would, however, extract a heavy price from don Quijote for the supposed `disenchantment' of Dulcinea, even doubling his initial asking price to half a *real* per lash, which would however be applied to the bark of trees rather than to his own hide (II 556). We should recall that Sancho's impressive earnings in Volume I - over one hundred gold *escudos* - were also the result of madness, that of the lovestruck Cardenio, who had scattered his worldly possessions in the wilds of Sierra Morena (I 286).

The idea that a self-appointed knight errant could create his own reality, and, not owing anything to anyone, could proceed to pursue an empire of his dreams rooted in fantastic literature, within an economy of the mind based on deficit spending, as it were, while coining his own `currency of madness' as he went along, did not originate altogether with Cervantes. The political economists of the day, the *arbitristas* or `projectors' as they have been termed by Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson (135), were ridiculed by the most creative literary minds of the Spanish Golden Age, and especially by Cervantes and Quevedo. However, their most down-to-earth representatives, such as Martín González de Cellorigo, or Father Juan de Mariana, saw the dangerous economic path Spain was following and stated as much in no uncertain terms.

In his now rare treatise written for King Phillip III, published in 1600 in Valladolid under the title *Memorial de la política necesaria y útil restauración a la república de España y estados de ella, y del desempeño de estos reinos*, Cellorigo, a lawyer in the employ of the Inquisition, expresses many of the values implicit in *Don Quijote* and other Cervantine writings. These include the importance of industry over speculation, of modesty over ostentation, and a frank admission that Spain, no longer self-sufficient and dependent on foreign imports, had become the 'Indies' of the rest of the world, as the *morisco* Ricote had so aptly stated (II 435). In a quote rightly famous among students of historical economics but nearly unknown to Cervantine scholars, Cellorigo, from a vantage point coinciding in time and place with that of Cervantes during the early genesis of the *Quijote*, states that "Parece que se ha querido reducir nuestros reynos a una república de hombres encantados, que vivan fuera del orden natural" (26).

This claim is carried to its logical literary consequences in the trajectory of *Don Quijote*, perhaps best expressed at the beginning of the second volume when the Knight's housekeeper admonishes Sancho Panza: "Id a gobernar vuestra casa y a labrar...y dejaos de pretender ínsulas ni ínsulos" (II 40). At the very end of Volume II, she will tell, in the manner of an implicit narrator reiterating one of the novel's key points, the entire circle around don Quijote to forget their pastoral enterprise as well, with the words: "estése en su casa, atienda a su hacienda, confiese a menudo, favorezca a los pobres, y sobre mi ánima si mal le fuere" (II 571).

There was certainly no clear-cut distinction made between moral philosophers and political economists during the Golden Age, and nowhere is this more evident than in the case of Father Juan de Mariana, who discussed issues as apparently disparate as the legitimacy of the monarchy as an institution rooted in divine authority, and the obligation of the monarch to issue sound money. In both instances, however, authority itself is dependent upon the exercise of responsibility towards the populace. In true Scholastic fashion, Mariana proceeds from this premise, in 1609, to cite the many advantages - all of them short term - that debasing the currency could have, and then weigh against them the necessity of consistent value, faith in authority, and the duty of the monarch to act in an exemplary fashion towards his subjects. In reality, Mariana is simply applying Gresham's Law - that bad money drives out good - to the alterations made to the Spanish currency (Mateu &c 91).

Thus the monarch's claim that silver was removed from the base metal coinage, and its value doubled, as a boon to the *people*, lest they have too much weight to bear in transport and everyday transactions (Fontecha &c 51) is thoroughly refuted. Mariana would pay dearly for his candor, with a prison sentence, since the specific economic criticism was judged to be even more harmful to the monarchy than his more speculative, theoretical writings on the right of the populace to commit tyrannicide against an unjust prince.

Indeed, Mariana's most telling criticism - as well as the riskiest - against King Phillip's monetary policies was that the Spanish populace could see its traditional love for the monarch converted into hatred:

> Quiero concluir con representar el mayor inconveniente de todos, que es el odio común en que forzosamente incurrirá el príncipe por esta causa. Dice un sabio que en las prosperidades todos quieren tener parte, y lo adverso atribuyen a las cabezas.... (588)

If the shifting semantics in the use of such denominations as the cuarto were as insufficient to prop up the failing finances of Phillip III as they had been to transform Rocinante from a spindly, sickly nag into the majestic steed called for in the romances of chivalry, they certainly served the purpose of perpetuating for a time the cynical attitude of a Sancho Panza toward the role money played in the Spanish society of the later, 'lesser' Hapsburg rulers. As landless, village day laborers, Sancho's family was most susceptible to the measures of 1602, and all the more prone to the temptations of the promise of wealth. Although his wife Teresa Panza was quite proud of the fact that their daughter Sanchica was able to add "cada día ocho maravedís" (II 423) to her dowry by doing embroidery work for the wealthy, Sanchica too was a victim, since she now received only one *cuarto*, albeit stamped with the value of two, or eight *maravedís*.

This is yet another indication of the inverse relationship between work and money in that age, one of the main themes of Cellorigo's *Memorial*, and a recurring theme in both volumes of the *Quijote*. The Duke, himself as idle as had been Alonso Quijano until he set out to become don Quijote, has Sancho starved when he is at his most productive, as Governor, and rewards him - as will don Quijote - when he participates in his chivalrous flights of fancy.

As for Sanchica herself, she shares with her father the ability to live in the here-and-now, despite having had her yearnings for better times awakened, perhaps cruelly, by the communications between the Duchess and Teresa Panza. While Teresa begins to entertain dreams of entering the Royal Court in Madrid in a horse-drawn carriage, Sanchica takes it all in with a healthy peasant's scepticism: "Andeme yo caliente y ríase la gente" (II 406).

In the famous episode of the `bodas de Camacho', Sancho is in his element, and can be heard pontificating throughout Chapters 19 to 21 of the second volume. While admitting that love is capable of a certain alchemy, that of a subjective transformation of making "parecer oro al cobre, a la pobreza riqueza" (II 168), his basic attitude is that not knowledge, but money, is power:

> A la barba de las habilidades de Basilio, que tanto vales cuanto tienes, y tanto tienes cuanto vales. Dos linajes solos hay en el mundo, como decía una agüela mía, que son el tener y el no tener, aunque ella al del tener se atenía; y el día de hoy, mi señor don Quijote, antes se toma el pulso al haber que al saber: un asno cubierto de oro parece mejor que un caballo enalbardado. Así que vuelvo a decir que a Camacho me atengo.... (II 180)

And yet, when the last word has been spoken, it is the clever Basilio who makes off with Camacho's bride, by obtaining her promise of betrothal through the ruse of feigning suicide. When he springs back to life to reclaim her, he refutes the cries from the crowd, of: "¡Milagro, milagro!" with the words "industria, industria" (II 186). Thus the mind, through hard work, ingenuity, and the clever employment of words, proves to be more powerful than wealth, performing a type of `alchemy', a transformation all its own.

It is a chastened and wiser Sancho who can in turn chastise the *morisco* Ricote near the end of Volume II. He has renounced his governorship and finds himself not at all tempted by the exiled *morisco*'s promise of 200 gold *escudos* in return for helping him to retrieve his buried treasure, telling him:

> no quiero; conténtate que por mí no serás descubierto, y prosigue en buena hora tu camino, y déjame seguir el mío; que yo sé que lo bien ganado se pierde, y lo malo, ello y su dueño. (II 437)

Through his words we catch a brief glimpse of Cervantes' attitude towards wealth; while certainly to be preferred over the proverbial `santa pobreza', its temptations are such that few can resist its lure for long. Not even King Phillip III of Spain was able to do so, controlling as he did a majority of the world's silver reserves. As Father Mariana put it, need can drive even the powerful to resort to legalistic chicanery against their subjects:

> Comunmente decimos que la necesidad carece de ley, otros que el estómago no tiene orejas, que es forzoso comer. A la verdad las necesidades son tales y tan apretadas, que no es maravilla se desvelen aquellos a cuyo cargo están en buscar para remediarlas, y que como desvelados den arbitrios extravagantes. (591)

Among a wealth of similar assertions, from Montesinos' claim to don Quijote that even the enchanted cannot cover their basic needs, to Cellorigo's complaint that Spain had become the realm of the enchanted, we find in an analysis of economic and monetary policy yet another key to unlocking the nearly limitless treasure trove which is *Don Quijote de la Mancha*.

Note

1. This and all subsequent quotations from the text of *Don Quijote*, unless otherwise specified, refer to the edition of John Jay Allen.

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Elena Garro's New Synthesis: Epic and History in *Los recuerdos del porvenir*

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This study of Elena Garro's novel, *Los recuerdos del porvenir*, will discuss the epic-dynamic of stasis and circular time in relation to a modernist/postmodernist aesthetic, which involves a different understanding of time from the selective, pattern-biased and sense-creating linear model, and the aesthetic of modernity is one which well accommodates the notion of plurality of time in modern literature. According to Scholes and Kellogg in *The Nature of Narrative*, one of the "great developmental processes" we can trace in written narratives has been a movement away from the *mythos*, or the "mythic impulse to tell a story with a traditional plot" (12). They further note that the separate narrative branches of the fictional and the empirical emerged [from the breakdown of the epic synthesis] as a result of this movement away from traditional, or epic narratives, and do not coalesce again until such writers as Cervantes and Boccaccio attempt to reconcile powerful empirical and fictional impulses which resulted in a new literary form, the novel, which by definition, was a creative and not re-creative form, and required a causality answerable to ordinary events as opposed to supernatural ones (Scholes & Kellogg 12, 15). Elena Garro's *Los recuerdos del porvenir* also reflects a new synthesis of myth and history while it plays upon both the conventions of an emerging surrealism in Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* and medieval drama or morality plays, in which representatives of all human types appear, a continuation of the mythic impulse to create the traditional, this time through the characters who are dominated by mythic or archetypal elements.

At the turn of the 20th century, the movement of the avant-garde in literature was changing the nexus of literary values and breaking with traditional narrative structures, so that art became a means of communicating with the inner psyche and the collective unconscious, and as a result the time of the exterior world became secondary in importance; real life took on the aspect of the dream. And like the dream, memories play an important part in Garro's novel: life becomes a mixture of relived and "unlived" memories, and past, present and future begin to lose their contingency and interdependent causal relationships, as memories of the future replace and negate the validity of the present, mirroring exactly the relationship of the dream world to three-dimensional space and time. As Ruth Simms, translator of *Los recuerdos del porvenir*, observes:

> Before our eyes, other characters are stripped down to their memories, to what they retain that sets them apart, differentiates them from all the others. And the reason for the General's obsessive jealousy of Julia is precisely this: her memories - of other times, of other men - will always stand as barricades he can never penetrate, a part of her innermost being he can never possess. (vii)

The General's jealousy of Julia's memories as opposed to an appreciation of her actual presence demonstrates the importance, almost sacred in nature, of memory in the novel. He does not wish to possess her as object, he wishes to possess her as artifact. Yet these are also characters which have been reduced to memories, and who in fact need memory in order to come alive in much the same way that in the dream world, dreams create the dreamer as well as what is dreamed. As Jorge Luis Borges notes in "New Refutation of Time" in reference to the famous image of Chuang Tzu not knowing whether he was a butterfly dreaming or dreaming himself as a butterfly: "We shall never know if Chuang Tzu saw a garden over which he seemed to be flying, or a moving yellow triangle, which was undoubtedly he himself, but we know that the image was subjective, although it was supplied by memory" (184). These images are also very much in line with the pre-Columbian Aztec and Maya quality of "life is but a dream."

Memory is also the protagonist of Garro's novel - the collective memories of the city pool together so that the tale may be told, not as a cohesive present, but as a cohesive past, but it is important to keep in mind in this context that memory inherently is not linear. According to Jamake Highwater in *The Primal Mind: Vision and Reality in Indian America*,

> The intellect spatializes - and only in the dreamtime of primal peoples and poets and dreamers can we fully grasp the ineffable that lingers just beyond the reach of intelligence.... A new visionary literature has gradually come into existence. This radical alteration in Western viewpoint has not simply affected the subject matter of writing but has, more essentially, produced an entirely new technique for dealing with time, space, and character. (101)

Kathleen Komar, in *Pattern and Chaos*, points out that the "new" literature of the 20th century depicts the changes in the modern psyche which we are now in this century only beginning to document, a literature which is mimetic or representational in terms of an inner or interior verisimilitude:

> The modern artist then is faced with redefining the essential structural principles of his aesthetic work in conformity with the new scientific, philosophical, and psychological discoveries. This leads to a reconsideration of the concepts of time, space, and causality in modern art. (10)

For the ancients, mimetic representation involved the copying of a paradigm - perfect nature, from one external medium to another. We see this in the epic in the way man is subjected to nature (*The Odyssey*), the way in which nature is used strategically in a narrative (*El Cid*), and in the way that nature is mimetically represented in the narratives as an exteriorized reality. For the moderns, interior reality is the paradigm, and the images the artist tries to copy are drawn from dreams and inwardly oriented consciousness. Thus the fragmented and fractured nature of time which is represented can only be interpreted by obtaining a sense of the other, of the fragmented self which must be objectified by the reader in order to complete or "read" the codified fragmentation. Further, according to Komar:

> Coupled with the exploration of internal or subjective time is an exploration of internal or subjective space. There begins to appear in both painting and literature a new kind of psychic, as opposed to physical, space which, like time, flows continuously rather than being separated into discrete particles. These two new concepts of internal time and psychic space are linked to a new concept of consciousness itself which also becomes fluid so that the present state of consciousness of an individual contains simultaneously many levels of past experience. (11)

In this case, the novel itself is narrated through the collective, or layered, viewpoint of all of the inhabitants of the city, which is to say, their memories, and the story of Ixtepec, like epic narratives, is a sort of collective memory or past which extends outward in time in order to carry on the tradition and preserve the history of one moment in time, which is the timeless time of the indigenous peoples merged with the clock time of imperialist settlers, time, in other words which, like all modern time and methods of measurement, has been spatialized.

Just so, at the turn of the 21st century, the same kind of literary phenomenon can be seen in terms of the phenomenology of interior time, or the construction of an interior "thickness" or experienced "psychic" time, and the postmodern conception of demythologizing history. This postcolonial understanding of time comes about as a result of the rebirth of the epic synthesis of myth and history in the novel, and as historical texts are deconstructed, we see happening first in a literary sense what can only be described as a philosophical and modal shift in axiomatic time; the dream takes on the aspect of real life. The epic synthesis is reborn through the eroding of objectivity in historical narratives, and through the inclusion of the self in all postmodern narratives, the self is reborn as other, outside of the known, and isolated part of a tradition which Octavio Paz refers to as rejecting itself. The fusion of ancient literary values with medieval constructs causes an anthropomorphic shift as we move toward the 21st century, and art ceases to be representational and becomes other as well, just as the character types become other through having their individuality reduced to their archetypes. The epic synthesis in part comes about because of the focus on the future as coming before the past in Garro's novel, in turn bringing about a return to the colonial, effectively suppressing the revolutionary in art. The modernist literature of the 20th century went about breaking down perceptual biases that were causing the novel-centered universe to demand the tyranny of clock time, and replaced this tyranny with associative, rather than causal, thinking. Although the novel is a very young, perhaps the youngest, form of prose fiction, it dominates the field of literary study although the history of prose predates the novel by some five thousand years.[1] T.S. Eliot in *Burnt Norton* touches upon the paradoxes and contradictions inherent in this freedom from the tyranny of clock time:

> Time present and time past/ Are both perhaps present in time future. / And time future contained in time past./ If all time is eternally present/ All time is unredeemable / What might have been is an abstraction / Remaining a perpetual possibility / Only in a world of speculation. / What might have been and what has been / Point to one end, which is always present. (1295)

The fact that the future is contained in the past leads to the question of whether the opposite is also true - that the past is contained in the future, and unfolds back in time, into the eternal present, so that the hurling forward in time toward annihilation or death of the self can only be made meaningful by simultaneous reflection on the past and projection into the future through memory.

The novel which is emerging in the second half of the 20th century leads us to expect a new aesthetic in the 21st century, causing the structure of the novel to be at once based upon cyclical and circular time within a linear structure, yet time unravels as it approaches the future, since the remembering of future events interferes with and causes the present at the same time, unraveling the past as a preface to a new phenomenology of time. Garro goes beyond magical realism well before Marquéz in *Cien años de soledad* toward a new aesthetic, that of dystopic and dualistic magical realism which reflects the postmodern pessimism inherited from Schopenhauer's world as idea. The realistic or mundane treatment of everyday reality does not convert into the miraculous as it does in García Márquez or the marvelous real as it does in Carpentier, but rather it becomes a highly stylized and codified means of expressing the insane or absurd, where relief comes only through death or through time standing still, as it does for Felipe and Julia, so that they might escape to another world. The structure of the novel is circular, yet does not call up the cyclical time of the ancients, but rather the crushing and oppressive weight of the mundane reality of clock time (which is a mode of time constructed to artificially mimic the seasons in that it constantly circles), which according to the custom of the Moncada household, is stopped every night in order to free the family from the tyranny of logical sequence. Memories then take over, but not memories of an idealized childhood, but rather memories which are free from the constraints of serial and "experienced" reality. The meta-framework of "nonlinearity" as the "absence of stability"[2] epitomizes A.R. Ammons' poem called "Guide" in which Ammons characterizes the investigator who pushes the limits, who would know the unknowable:

> You cannot come to unity and remain material: / in that perception is no perceiver: / when you arrive / you have gone too far: / at the Source you are in the mouth of Death. (23)

In the same way, one cannot know nonlinear time: even as the Moncadas begin to experience this time, they are converted into memories of themselves, and kept alive only through memory.

The circular nexus of Garro's novel invokes the kind of mythical time we find in the epic, however, Garro's circularity is not representative of a divine order of the eternal return, nor is it used to glorify and extol virtues of battle, but rather represents the pure chaos of postwar devastation, of postwar "space," as it were, postmodern space. This is the time of the anti-epic, featuring anti-epic heroes, who in destroying traditional verisimilitude create what Todorov has called *antiverisimilitude*, or simply the creation of a superior verisimilitude which is more authentic, either to genre (in the most naive understanding of the term) or to the traditions of the norms consistent with that reality. In fact, the narrator of *Los recuerdos del porvenir* is a stone, reminiscent of Juan Rulfo's earlier, postcolonial, postmodern and anti-epic fictionalized history of the Mexican Revolution and the Cristero Wars in which the protagonist, Pedro Páramo, is transformed into "un montón de piedras." This is also a symbol of what he was in life - a tradition, or perhaps *leitmotif*, which Garro picks up again in *Los recuerdos del porvenir*, this time using the stone as a symbol not of unfeeling heartlessness, and the exploiter or betrayer of the people, but as a symbol of memories of sensate and emotional experience, as a sympathetic witness to the testimonial of the exploited. For the stone - which we are told that Isabel has been transformed into - which ends the story completes the circle and returns the reader to the beginning in which the amorphous city begins the narration as somehow itself and the stone which it sits upon,

> así yo, melancólico, vengo a encontrarme en su imagen cubierta por el polvo, rodeada por las hierbas, encerrada en sí misma y condenada a la memoria y a su variado espejo. (9)

While trying to avoid the postulation of a monolithic definition in a period of criticism in which plurality dominates, I apply the term postcolonial as defined by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin in *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, "to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day," since the struggle depicted in Garro's novel is also a story about indigenous assimilation and European hegemony, symbolized by the ongoing saga of the attempt of the General and his men to homogenize, control and subdue Ixtepec, forcing the inhabitants of the city to preserve their own traditions in an interiorized world, and incidentally causing the erosion of external and communally recognized rituals and rites (2). It is also an attempt to preserve the history of the Mexican Revolution and the ensuing Cristero rebellion from an epic standpoint, in which Garro effects a recombination of the epic synthesis of myth and history in order to go beyond mere realism and present a more authentic or "simultaneous" representation or antiverisimilitude than would be possible through the traditional realism of historical narratives.

The combination of associative time and human archetype causes the action of the story to stand still in Garro's novel, as the characters seem to be living out their lives at the height of the romantic mirror turned lamp, or what might be termed interiorized reality. They appear to have rich inner lives entirely in spite of themselves and the outward appearance of dullness or boredom - and in spite of the rigid order which has been imposed upon the town by the patriarchal General Rosas, and the seeming pointlessness of their obviously postcolonial, confined existences in space - while having little relation with exterior reality or the objective world, as a recurring *motif* of interior freedom versus political oppression.

Octavio Paz has stated that linear time begins with the birth of Christ, which coincides with earlier historians' attempts to record current events as opposed to the cantor's traditional retelling of idealized and distant events, which are usually distanced in time from the teller by a significant amount of time, usually several hundred years. This is because early historians such as Herodotus and Thucydides began to chronicle unrepeatable events, what could never happen again, so that the birth and death of Christ was solidified in time as a hero (like the epic hero, superior in kind) who could die only once for the sins of ordinary human beings, and thus represents an event which breaks out of the cyclical mode and which could not be repeated, and in the context of this linear fixation and a technology which reflects this fixation, it is no accident that our entire system of referencing time in the Occident is based upon the birth of Christ.

Of course, Garro is calling upon the authority of another tradition through invoking the work of the master of associative thought and memory, Marcel Proust, but here it is the memory of things which have not yet happened which cause the characters to be paradoxically enslaved by memory. She also relies upon the readers' knowledge of the conventions of modernity in order to play upon the enormous power structures vested in the work of Proust, and like the cantor, invokes the authority of literary tradition through analogue in calling upon the master, or the muse. In *Los recuerdos del porvenir*, the city, which is also thenarrator, presents to the reader the character most like Swann, Martín Moncada, who remembers best those things which have not happened:

> Para él los días no contaban de la misma manera que contaban para los demás. Nunca se decía: 'el lunes haré tal cosa' porque entre ese lunes y él, había una multitud de recuerdos no vividos que lo separaba de la necesidad de hacer 'tal cosa ese lunes'. Luchaba entre varias memorias y la memoria de lo sucedido era la única irreal para él. De niño pasaba largas horas recordando lo que no había visto ni oído nunca. (19)

And as the madelaine in *Swann's Way* floods the narrator with memories which are "outside of time," the smell of burning pine brings memories so vivid to Martín that he cannot distinguish them from his tropical reality: he sees the pine forests surrounding him, and his senses take him through the torrential connections of associative memory, invoked by smell, sight, or sound:

> Lo sorprendía mucho más la presencia de una buganvilia en el patio de su casa que el

> oir que existian unos paises cubiertos por la nieve. Él recordaba la nieve como una forma del silencio.... --¿En qué piensa, Martin? --le preguntó su madre, sorprendida ante su actitud concentrada. --Me acuerdo de la nieve --contestó él desde la memoria de sus cinco años. (19)

The city/narrator describes him as confusing his lived and unlived memories with the future so that he carries always within him a combination of undifferentiated images from both:

> A medida que creció, su memoria reflejó sombras y colores del pasado no vivido que se confundieron con imágenes y actos del futuro,- y Martin Moncada vivió siempre entre esas dos luces que en él se volvieron una sola. (19)

Martin Moncada's purposeful stopping of the clock reawakens in the characters (and the readers) the sense of an ideal or mythic time, or an original time in which traditional power structures are completely altered, yet recall a paradisiacal or biblical time which reinforces the authority of patriarchy and male-dominated, imperial tradition. Yet Moncada is hardly an epic hero, since he is rendered impotent in the dominant culture by the fact that he spends his days remembering things which have not happened: he is ineffective in the present, forgetful of the past, and in turn he converts the future into past memories, making it null and void in the real world. Clock time is, of course, an imperial construct of a patriarchal and colonizing culture, which does not allow for circular time, or time which mirrors the repetition of the seasons. Moncada is clearly rebelling against the constraints of the dominant culture when he stops the clock, and by inviting the chaos of time which is governed by past memories both "lived" and "unlived," effectively trapping the future in the past, he is opening the door to insanity and insurrection and to the time of his indigenous past. In fact, Felix, whose indigenous heritage makes him the keeper of time as Martin Moncada's servant, and without whom Martin is helpless ("Felix era su memoria de todos los dias" [21]), also has the power to stop time:

> Después de la cena, cuando Félix detenia los relojes, corria con libertad a su memoria no vivida. El calendario también lo encarcelaba en un tiempo anecdótico y lo privaba del otro tiempo que vivia dentro de él. (20)

All of Garro's characters (or character types) in this novel live their lives "outside of time," invoking the epic amalgam of myth, history and fiction, yet it is the epic circularity which frees them from the suffocating restrictions of clock time:

> Sin el tictac, la habitación y sus ocupantes entraron en un tiempo nuevo y melancólico donde los gestos y las voces se movian en el pasado. Doña Ana, su marido, los jóvenes y Félix se convirtieron en recuerdos de ellos mismos, sin futuro, perdidos en una luz amarilla e individual que los separaba de la realidad para volverlos sólo personajes de la memoria. Así los veo ahora, cada uno inclinado sobre su círculo de luz, atareados en el olvido, fuera de ellos mismos y de la pesadumbre que por las noches caia sobre mi cuando las casa cerraban sus persianas. (18-19)

The characters are caricatured and dehumanized by their own forgetfulness as they are converted into mere memories of themselves wandering around in the past, and with no future since the future is trapped in the past as seen from the title: *Los recuerdos del porvenir*."

Juan Cariño, the character in the novel who is represented as legitimately insane (and who therefore should have the least connection to an exterior and objective time which is quantifiable, countable and rationally measured), is by contrast the single rational voice anchored in attention to decorum and manners within a frenzy of political violence, ritual hangings and firing squad executions. He demonstrates his bravery in standing up to the General and his men as the completely mad "Mr. President." Juan Cariño is a study in microcosm of the structure of the novel, the politics of the subordination of the church to state, symbolized by the insanity of Juan Cariño, who is the bridge between the official world and underground reality, and even as he protects the supporter and arm of the patriarchy, the church (or the priest), he represents a continuation of the revolution, and more importantly the revolutionary spirit, in pitting the two traditional strongholds of power in Mexico against one another: the army and the church. He also realizes the magic power of words and their political power:

> que las palabras eran peligrosas porque existían por ellas mismas y la defensa de los diccionarios evitaba catástrofes inimaginables. Las palabras debían permanecer secretas. Si los hombres conocían su existencia, llevados por su maldad las dirían y harían saltar al mundo. Ya eran demasiadas las que conocían los ignorantes y se valían de ellas para provocar sufrimientos. Su misión secreta era pasearse por mis calles y levantar las palabras malignas pronunciadas en el día.... Le hubiera sido muy útil una red para cazar mariposas, pero era tan visible que hubiera despertado sospechas. (59)

In this sense, he is the original juglar, the original keeper of words, secret words which have a mythical, religious and political import, and the magical nature of these secret words open up the gates of time, giving Juan Cariño back the power of his epic ancestry.

Garro circumvents the problem of the authority of the traditional in epic texts in making the city the narrator (since the city creates its own tradition of authority in perfect omniscience), and also circumvents the perceptual bias on the basis of gender since the city is a neuter and perhaps, neutral teller. Describing itself as pure memory, the city tells the reader of its heroic past, and the manner in which it is recreated, and through which it coincidentally recreates itself, through memory: "Estoy y estuve en muchos ojos. Yo sólo soy memoria y la memoria que de mí se tenga" (9). Yet in defining itself as memory, there is a tacit acknowledgment that it is memory which creates identity, or the arrangement of memory which this city clearly is able to do in recounting its past (and the past of all of its inhabitants), as a single cohesive entity made up of many points of view, and it anthropomorphically seems to be in a dissociated or out-of-body state as it begins its narrative.[3] Yet by representing the voice of the "city" as the collective past or memory of a particular place (which the city retains though it has been moved from its previous founding site), we have the simultaneous presentation of the collective and separate narrative threads of all the inhabitants of Ixtepec, which like memory, carries on simultaneously multiple and discrete lines of thought (and plot) which all must be followed sequentially in order to understand the collective whole. Thus the epic synthesis of myth and history find modern expression in Garro's novel, and the histor, in this case, the dissociated city, begins the tale in which the end is contained in the beginning; the truly miraculous transformation of Isabel into a stone as penance for her love of the brutish General, the military patriarch who preserves the opposite of order - the ritual killings of the indigenous peoples of Ixtepec, which the inhabitants don't seem to mind until the colonizing (urban) majority is victimized as well. As the city points out in its collective voice:

> Pasaron unos días y la figura de Ignacio tal como la veo ahora, colgada de la rama alta de un árbol, rompiendo la luz de la mañana como un rayo de sol estrella la luz adentro de un espejo, se separó de nosotros poco a poco.

> No volvimos a mentarlo. Después de todo, sólo era un indio menos. De sus cuatro amigos ni siquiera recordábamos los nombres. Sabíamos que dentro de poco otros indios anónimos ocuparían sus lugares en las ramas. (91)

The failure of the Moncadas to smuggle the priest to safety is, in fact, seen as the coincidental outcome of the betrayal by the maid, who turns the information (from overheard conversations) over to the military not because she is of Indian heritage and wants to take revenge for her people, but because she merely confides in her boyfriend, one of General Rosas' men, a relationship which conveys to her personal, not political, status.

Although the reader realizes at once that *Los recuerdos del porvenir* is not going to be a traditional tale, it is clear that the inhabitants of Ixtepec are weighted down with the burden of prosaic everyday goings-on, and the violence, anarchy and grief imposed by the paternal "General" on the city is placed in relief to the ferocity of the boredom of every morning, afternoon, and evening which is exactly equal to the one which precedes, the days mirroring the equanimity of the seasons, hammering ouf the myth of the eternal return into everyday mundane reality and quelling the absurdity of daily life with the miraculousness, or escape, of death. Indeed the detailed world of poverty of Martín Moncada is juxtaposed against the eternal:

> No entendía la opacidad de un mundo en cuyo cielo el único sol es el dinero. "Tengo vocación de pobre", decía como excusa para su ruina progresiva. Los días del hombre le parecían de una brevedad insoportable para dedicarlos al esfuerzo del dinero. Se sentía asfixiado por los "cuerpos opacos" como llamaba al círculo que formaba la sociedad de Ixtepec: se desintegraban en intereses sin importancia, olvidaban su condición de mortales, su error provenía del miedo. Él sabía que el porvenir era un retroceder veloz hacia la muerte y la muerte el estado perfecto, el momento precioso en que el hombre recupera plenamente su otra memoria. Por eso olvidaba la memoria de "el lunes haré tal cosa" y miraba a los eficaces con asombro. Pero "los inmortales" parecían satisfechos en su error y a veces pensaba que sólo él retrocedía a aquel encuentro asombroso. (33)

It is not clear when Felipe Hurtado and the lovely Julia escape from the city that they are escaping to life - yet time stands still for the lovers, freeing them forever from the enslavement of clock time, and paradoxically from the need to escape from the present through memory. As Ruth Simms, translator of *Los recuerdos del porvenir* observes,

> Sporadically, attention is focused on the inner world of the personages, on what they retain in the depths of the soul, as a means of character delineation. For the protagonists, memories are a refuge, an almost mystical experience, by which they defeat mutability and escape from the calamitous times in which they live, from the violence and cruelty that surround them. The memories from the past, mingled in the present with intimations of the future, thus become the only reality and, time, losing its validity, is refuted. (vi)

As we look back at the stasis and circular time of the novel ("Allí no corre el tiempo: el aire quedó inmóvil después de tantas lágrimas" [10]), we see that it is pattern-biased, that is, we need to see pattern in order to make sense of the information presented in the novel, and that this patterning consists in linear presentation as opposed to an arrangement of events based upon associative or seemingly random pattern. The genesis of the novel is a causality that is answerable to ordinary events; yet these are not ordinary events which happen in Garro's novel, the future appears to be causing the past, and while the memory of the city seems to run backwards into the past, it is actually running backwards into the future, as it does in the title, *Los recuerdos del porvenir*. The time perspective of the city or collective consciousness of Ixtepec does not use the "now" or moment point of the present as its point of reference - it uses the future as its point of reference and keeps turning endlessly upon itself, just as the end is contained in the beginning. It begins with the future which unfolds into the past - Isabel's transformation into a stone is a future event which the city reflects upon as it reflects upon itself, and it is no accident that Isabel is lost in both time and space while alive: "Y la Isabel suspendida podía desprenderse en cualquier instante, cruzar los espacios como un aerolito y caer en un tiempo desconocido" (29). The city is also paradoxically forever trapped in its present - a present insufferable because of the politics of its larger context, the state - and, as the city observes, it is trapped in the racism of its own inhabitants against themselves, even though there is a homogeneity in the race of its people: "mi gente es morena de piel" (10). We see also that there is a separation among the colonized and colonizers:

> Félix, sentado en su escabel, los escuchaba impávido. "Para nosotros, los indios, es el tiempo infinito de callar", y guardó sus palabras. Nicolás lo miró y se movió inquieto en su silla. Le avergonzaban las palabras de los amigos de su casa.
>
> --¡No hablen así! ¡Todos somos medio indios!
>
> --Yo no tenga nada de india! --exclamó sofocada la viuda. (26)

"Están ahí por pobres" (14) comments Dorotea when she walks by the "Indians" who have been murdered and are left to hang from the trees as an example of what happens to the insurgents, yet they are outside of time: "Los indios colgados obedecían a un orden perfecto y estaban ya dentro del tiempo que ella nunca alcanzaría" (14). But perhaps the city has become a stone, or at least, takes on the identity of a stone, because it embodies the hardness and indifference to so much human suffering. There is the image of the "espejo variado" and the "espejo roto" in which General Rosas breaks the mirror, which is both the mirror of history and the mirror of time: "como si fuera una imagen reflejada en un espejo roto" (57), and that the "reflejos alargaban el tiempo" (138). We are told in fact, that "El tiempo era la sombra de Francisco Rosas" (32). The general breaks this mirror of mimesis through breaking the representational and the representation of the will, which is characterized by what John McGowan, in his article "Postmodernism," has termed "the determination of postmodernism's champions to pull art back into the maelstrom of daily life" (585).

In sum, Garro's novel is a mixture of the mundane and the insignificant, the historical and general as opposed to the specificity of traditional history and reflects the postmodern incredulity toward meta-narratives. The insignificant facts of everyday life are described as events which rob time of its true nature and, more importantly, its emotive power, nostalgia:

> --¡La ilusión! --repitió melancólico el dueño de la casa. Y la noche oscura y solitaria cayó sobre ellos llenándolos de tristeza. Nostálgicos, buscaron algo impreciso, algo a lo que no lograban darle forma y que necesitaban para cruzar los innumerables días que se extendían ante ellos como un enorme paisaje de periódicos viejos, en cuyas hojas se mezclan con grosería los crímenes, las bodas, los anuncios, todo revuelto, sin relieve, como hechos vaciados de sentido,

> fuera del tiempo, sin memoria. (72)

If the postmodernist author works within cultural givens trying to manipulate them, one of the cultural givens in Garro's novel is the unbearable political situation which causes them to continually attempt an escape from the present, a manipulation of time from an experiential point of view. The approach toward an absolute in the novel is memory, but again it is a memory which is dismantled by remembering the future: time in the novel moves as in the epic, and not surprisingly, as in a dream. In fact time doesn't pass, it stands still, but within the stasis of circularity; as the city observes of Ixtepec: "Allí no corre el tiempo: el aire quedó inmóbil después de tantas lágrimas" (10). The representation of the mundane becomes a symbol of political oppression and the suppression of memory finally becomes annihilation. The role of dream time and memory or the unconscious are underground forces representing the subjugation of the pre-Columbian peoples to the Spanish, and are rigidly controlled by Martín Moncada, while the consolidation of national power is embodied in the regimented General Rosas (the war of the roses) against the Cristeros. The stopping of the clock paradoxically frees memory, and we see the power of words in the preservation of memory, and in understanding that words constitute freedom and must therefore be captured and reduced to their prosaic value, negating their abstract representational value and mysterious nature; memory combines with time so that the future seems to be causing the past, and the past is represented as being as open-ended as the future. The power of the past and the pre-Columbian civilizations are subjugated and represent a tremendous threat to General Rosas, who reigns over the city through terror and disorder, and arbitrary acts of violence. The epic of conquest is transformed into the epic of those who refuse to be subjugated by accepting the "official memory" of the colonizers. He stops the circular time of the epic:

> En su tiempo inmóvil los árboles no cambiaban de hojas, las estrellas estaban fijas, los verbos ir o venir eran el mismo, Francisco Rosas detenía la corriente amorosa que hace y deshace las palabras y los hechos y nos guardaba en su infierno circular. (262)

The power of the epic stasis and circular dynamic lies in its inherent contradictions since linear time cannot encompass nor suppress it. And the power of the epic people, kept alive through the tradition of memory, cannot be assimilated by the colonizing process nor its representations, the seemingly ordered and arbitrary General Rosas. The postmodern "space", however, of Garro's novel has come about because of the assimilation of pre-Columbian elements into the tradition of the modernists (American and European "modernism"), the surreal, and the underlying drive of memory in the preservation of ancient cultures. Epic emerges, once again, in the attempt to "reconcile powerful empirical and fictional impulses" (Scholes & Kellogg 15) in Garro's presentation of indigenous values in modern fiction, in a return to what epic has always been: the epic synthesis of myth and history, in which there is no differentiation, a synthesis which in the modern period redefines the true nature of time, and perhaps, most importantly, the very nature of truth and verisimilitude.

Notes

1. For a critical argument against the study of

narrative literature from a "hopelessly novel-centered" perspective, see Scholes & Kellogg, pp. 3-8.

2. Conversation with Prof. Robert Fisher, Idaho State University, regarding mathematical bases for simultaneity as an absence of stability or simple proportion; September 1996.

3. Conversation with Prof. Judith Hutten, Idaho State University, regarding the city's first narrative passage as descriptive of a dissociated state similar to an "out-of-body" experience; February 1996.

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SELECTA

Volume 19

1998

Pacific Northwest Council for Languages

SELECTA

Volume 19

1998

Edited by
Craig W. Nickisch
Idaho State University

Journal of the

NCFL

Pacific Northwest Council for Languages

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ISSN 0277-0598

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SELECTA has benefited from the expertise of many editorial consultants. The Editor extends his sincere appreciation to the following colleagues, as well as to a number of others, for their assistance:

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Mark Cory
Karen Eberle-McCarthy
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André Chénier and the Question of Religion

James Mills
Southern Utah University

Current critical commentary on the religious thought of André Chénier (1762-1794), French poet of the revolutionary era, is replete with ambiguity and uncertainty. While some scholars perceive the poet to be an atheist with Christian affinities, others view him as a Christian with pagan leanings.

Jacques Gausseron, for example, describes Chénier as an atheist whose rationalism is void of religious faith, who has proscribed Christian sentiment from his poetry in behalf of Greco-Roman mythology, and whose personal faith lies in a free-thinking humanity. Yet, he concludes ambiguously that while the poet appears to be completely indifferent to the religious heritage of France at the moment of his death, "[p]eut-être Chénier, s'il eût vécu, serait ... revenu à la foi de son enfance. Peut-être ... " (62).

The *académicien* Charles Maurras, who wishes to make a believer of the poet, suggests that when Chénier appeals to the "'grand Dieu des armées,'" it is an invocation to deity "'[qui] n'a plus rien d'athée'" (75). Yet, he is ultimately compelled to admit that Chénier also vehemently opposed the religious excesses of the "irrationnel fidéiste" (75).

Without attempting to force the poet into a Procrustean bed, this article examines the evolution of his religious stance with the intent of determining its maturing nature at the time of the poet's execution on July 25, 1794.

Raised a Roman Catholic by his uncle and aunt in Carcassonne, the maturing Chénier soon fell under the spell of the *Encyclopédistes* and the scientific bent of the Enlightenment. His approach became one of maintaining a reasonable balance, for he opposed equally scientific excesses as well as religious fanaticism. In his "Epître sur la superstition" (circa 1785), he freely condemned the abuses of purported *libres penseurs*:

> Un jeune orgueilleux et docte reputé,
> Tout plein de quelque auteur au hasard feuilleté,
> Etonne un cercle entier de sa haute sagesse.
> Il se joue avec grâce aux depens de la messe;
> Il plaisante , le pape .... C'est que son jugement
> n'est rien que sa mémoire. S'il croit même le vrai,
> c'est qu'il est né pour croire. Ce n'est point que le vrai saisisse son esprit; .... et le pauvre hébété
> N'est incrédule enfin que par crédulité. (561-562)[1]

He similarly rejected what he saw as the superstitions of Christianity. For example, in a work of the same period, "Histoire du Christianisme," he applied an empirical approach to an examination of the doctrine of the resurrection (Walter 720-732). In an appeal to reason, he established nine steps which must be followed in order to determine the veracity or falsehood of a religious claim. They are as follow: 1) It must not contradict the natural order of the universe. 2) It must be reported to those inquiring by contemporary witnesses who actually saw the event. 3) There must have been numerous witnesses. 4) They must be reliable witnesses. 5) They must be truthful and disinterested witnesses. 6) If the event happened long ago and only written testimonies are available, then they must have been written by contemporaries of the event, their writings must be honest, and they must have seen what one would have them say they saw. 7) One must closely examine the testimonies to see whether or not they adhere to reason. 8) The least contradiction weakens the testimonies. And 9) the event must have been observed in a variety of locations (720-721).

Chenier concluded that Socrates was more believable than Jesus of Nazareth because the Greeks were closer to nature and not contaminated by absurdities such as those later found in Christianity. While he was sympathetic to Christ as a man who suffered much, Chenier rejected the accounts of angels, demons, miracles, and other fabulous stories surrounding Christ's life and death.

He also reached the conclusion that those who claimed to be believers had duped themselves into accepting so-called dogma simply because they had become tired of searching and felt compelled to embrace something in order to satisfy their need to believe. He bluntly derided the gullibility of those who, after embracing such beliefs, became fanatics who condemned others for their ideas:

> Peut-on voir, sans gémir, un si grand nombre d'hommes se resoudre à marcher à quatre pattes? Enfin ils sont nés pour croire ... - Monsieur, où fait-on le miracle? - Monsieur, c'est là ... - et ils courent, la bouche beante, tout effarés, et croient voir tout ce qu'on leur dit ... - Eh, maitre sot, avant d'aller voir des miracles ....- Mais, Monsieur, la sagesse, la verité ... - Mon ami, la sagesse et la vérité n'ont rien de commun avec la crédulité ignorante .... La sagesse et la vérité restent seules, n'attrapent point le peuple, n'ouvrent point une école de thaumaturgie, travaillent en silence, ignorent la langue des enthousiastes, pensent beaucoup, parlent peu, étudient la nature, n'écoutent que le bon sens, la raison, rient des miracles, méprisent ceux qui les font, et plaignent ceux qui les croient. (731-732)

Nevertheless, Chenier did not reject all religious ideas, for reason suggested to him that if certain similar traditions were to be found in different societies under different forms, even if mixed with fables, they must have a common verifiable origin. Therefore, it appears to have been the subsequent abuse of myth which he condemned, and not its original form. Perhaps that is why he could, in good conscience, borrow from Old Testament prophets such as Isaiah, Job, Jeremiah, and Moses.[2] He was similarly able to accept the possibility that the stories of the biblical migrations of people from the north and the accounts of the flood were true.

While rejecting the fabulous as absurd, Chénier nevertheless continued to defend the right of honest men and women to believe whatever *sottise* they wished. This is evident when he condemned the government and defended the priests who refused to bow to political pressure when the *Constitution Civile du Clergé* became law in 1790 (263-364). Henry C. Freeman has alluded to the poet's boldness by suggesting that it was in spite of the atheism of his day that Chenier supported religious liberty (19).

In 1792, Chénier's name appeared on a list of those proscribed by the government, freedom of the press came to an end, and the king was arrested. It was during this period that he abandoned his journalistic letters and articles for the poetic forms of the ode and the *iambe*, which he used as weapons with which to continue his attacks against the Jacobins.

Jean Fabre has suggested that during this final turbulent stage of the poet's life, "une fureur sacrée l'anime" (*André Chénier* 223), and described it as a time of "une rêverie profonde" ("La Poésie" 102). Both Barbey d'Aurevilly and Maurras bring attention to the religious undercurrent of the iambic poetry

(43; 74-75), while Richard Smernoff sees in its religious tone an evocation of the brutal invective of Old Testament prophets (140). Emile Faguest concludes that the elementary rhythm of the *iambes* is particularly reminiscent of Isaiah verbally flaying wayward nations (301), while Francis Scarfe summarizes this period as one of "spiritual and intellectual uneasiness" (101).

Cornélis Kramer gives further credence to the presence of a religious undercurrent when he speaks of "une inquiétude toute moderne et même chrétienne," present in the *iambes* (1). He draws parallels between Chénier and Pascal by pointing out that both were physically sick yet passionately sought happiness, both claimed to defend truth, and both fought alone against adversaries, Pascal having attacked the Jesuits and Chénier the Jacobins. Finally, both sought solace in ancient myth, Pascal in Christianity, and Chénier in a mythological world that becomes increasingly Christianized.

It is the presence of imagery indebted to the Greeks mixed with discernible traces of Christian myth which creates the ambivalence of the *iambes*. In "Quand au mouton bêlant," for instance, the primary images are of sheep going to the slaughter, a lonely poet deserted by his friends, a man betrayed, and a gruesome vision of his death (192).

One could interpret these images to represent the crew of Odysseus benumbed by the lotus and indifferent to their fate, their ultimate deaths, and Odysseus alone, abandoned by the gods and betrayed by his former friends who seek the hand of Penelope, his wife, in his absence.

However, another perspective could invoke Christian myth with the poet's role paralleling that of Jesus of Nazareth, who was also betrayed, abandoned by his closest friends, and the victim of a gruesome death. In fact, when Chénier discusses the manner of his own forthcoming death by describing himself and his *codétenus* as "pendus aux crocs sanglants" (192), it recalls Jesus prophesying of his imminent death and its ultimate fulfillment on the cross (Mark 10). In a similar manner, Chénier's Socratic wish that his friends live in peace parallels the biblical promise, "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you" (John 14). Furthermore, the poet's indignation as he castigates the Jacobins and defends *Vertu* matches the passionate anger of Jesus chasing the moneychangers out of the temple and his chastening of the clerical leaders. One could conclude that the Jacobins are the modern Pharisees and Collot d'Herbois their Caiaphas.

In "La Fête de l'être suprême," the most metaphysical of the *iambes*, Chénier bares his naked soul to the heavens in search of a God who remains silent. While his iambic deity is a one-eyed cyclopean monster, the tone of the poem reveals deep despair and anguish as the poet cries out to God. In these lines Maurras finds the soul of a believer (75):

> Quoi! Dieu tout-puissant, tu souffres que de pareils personnages [ses ennemis] te louent et t'avouent; tu endures la dérision avec laquelle ils te bravent, et croient que tu existes quand ils vivent! ... Quoi! Tu ne fais point éclater la foudre, lorsque des hommes entassés sont écrasés sous leur prison par l'explosion du canon! ... Et tu ne tonnes pas et les cris de tant d'infortunés ne montent point jusqu'à toi! et tu laisses un pauvre diable de poète se charger de la vengeance et tonner seul sur ces scélérats .... (569-570)

In his last poem, "Comme un dernier rayon," the messenger of death seeks out the poet like a modern Judas. Chénier's words are a plea for life and a prayer of hope. Yet, unlike the stoical wish for peace earlier recorded, he now thirsts for revenge as he threatens his enemies with the whip of the Three Furies "déjà levé sur ces pervers" (195). His wrath has become the antithesis of Christian charity; instead, it approximates the anger of the Hebrew prophets. At last he opts to die with dignity in behalf of humanity. His resurrection will be found in the publication of his work and his sanctification justified by his romantic and Parnassian disciples of the next century.

In the final analysis, he has become Pascal's "roseau pensant," bending before adversity yet maintaining his dignity. His youthful faith had long since given way to a cynicism which was tempered by reason, for he sought only that which was true to the natural order of the universe. A wavering stoicism, the Christian need for expiation, and the Old testament hunger for vengeance dominate his final spiritual *Weltanschauung*. Quoting Isidore of Pelusium, a saint of the early church, he ultimately summed up his religion: "Si donc nous voulons qu'on nous croie, nous n'avons qu'à bien vivre" (737).[3] The rest he leaves to each person's conscience.

Notes

1. Quotations from Chénier are from Gérard Walter, ed., *Oeuvres complètes d'André Chénier* (Paris: Gallimard, 1958).

2. For additional information on Biblical comparisons see Walter, 253, 430, 431, 440, and Paul Dimoff, *La Vie et l'oeuvre d'André Chénier jusqu'à la révolution française, 1762-1790*, 2 vols. (1936; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970) 1, pp. 390-391.

3. Isidore of Pelusium (370-c. 450 A.D.), an Egyptian priest at Alexandria, has left a collection of approximately 2000 letteers in which he preaches morality. See Walter, 1023, "Isidore de Peluse."

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Consumption / Communion / Communication: The Eucharist as Text in Two Stories by Rachilde

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Permeated with Schopenhauerian anti-feminism, *fin-de-siècle* French fiction often continued to present women as objects of male oral impulses while seeming to assign them the aggressive roles in relationships of power. As male heroes like Huysmans' Des Esseintes (*A Rebours*) became increasingly feminized, they fantasized of being the plaything of robust viragoes like the acrobat Miss Urania. Corresponding to the proliferation of epicene aesthetes such as Louis Rogès in Rachilde's *L'heure sexuelle* was the emergence of the gynander, the predatory female who devoured her passive and unresisting male lover. Traditional figurations of male desires for oral domination, which had begun with infantile representations of women as food and subsequently as providers, nurturers, and cooks, were overturned as men became the prey. However, a close examination of *fin-de-siècle* writings discloses their fundamental conservatism, as the text, which is gendered as female, remains that which is appropriated and ultimately consumed by male interpreters.

Among all of her decadent peers, Rachilde was the most acutely aware of this tendency and was also perhaps the most creatively subversive in challenging conventional literary definitions of gender. Born in 1860, Rachilde, *née* Marguerite Eymery, emerged as a prolific writer whose works appeared well into the present century. Author of the sulfurous *La Marquise de Sade*, Rachilde was heralded in 1889 by Maurice Barrès, who proclaimed: "Ce qui est tout à fait délicat dans la perversité de ce livre, c'est qu'il a été écrit par une jeune fille de vingt ans" (5-6). In time Rachilde was to assume a prominent position in the gallery of infamous Decadents, becoming a friend to the flamboyant homosexual Jean Lorrain. Later a candidate for the affections of the sexually overbearing Catulle Mendès, Rachilde finally became the wife of Alfred Vallette, Editor of the *Mercure de France*. Yet while Rachilde took pains to cultivate an image of her eccentricity as a writer, she at the same time embraced the public role of supportive wife and obliging hostess.

In her writings Rachilde's heroines are often constituted as prey before they themselves become the predators. Her frequent portrayals of huntresses, blood drinkers, lamias, and lionesses show women rebelling against their status as the object of others' hunger and assuming the aggressive role in relationships based on consumption. If the female body is objectified as food by those who covet it, the initial impulse of the author is to make her characters the eaters who are afforded the prerogative to feed and speak themselves. Unless they can enjoy an autonomous orality, Rachilde's heroines succumb to others' brutalizing love and allow their voice to be stilled by insatiably hungry mouths.

Maggie Kilgour writes that women "are traditionally associated with food" (243), giving birth to those whose aim is to devour their producer. Man's separative impulse is to fence off women as their property, yet it is thwarted by the amorphousness and fluidity of their bodies. In effecting "a confusing collapsing of opposites," these bodies make the eater crave to be engulfed by the mother, and desire to be swallowed in an intra-uterine oblivion and so fulfill the totalizing goal of infantile orality.

The irreconcilable binarism of feeders and their sustenance is manifested in Rachilde by the gender role reversals which have so frequently been analyzed by the critics of her works. She therefore has been taxed with advancing the male stereotype that underscores the ravening carnivoracity of woman and that pictures her, as Bram Dijkstra says, as "an instrument of degeneration, ... a werewolf ... who could only live ... under the auspices of the moon" (340). Yet as the atavistic fury attributed to her heroines suggests their contestation of man's established oral dominance, it also seems to lock the writer in a stale, conflictual discourse that offers two alternatives: either eating or being eaten.

In a figure that expresses the possibility of a synthesis of food and its consumers, the words and matter that they swallow, Rachilde examines in two stories the ritual of communion as both a paradigm of an ideal exchange between members of the warring sexes and as a model for the readers' interaction with the text. In this way, the act of reading would become "a new form of communion," since "not only do the readers share the text among them[selves], but, as it informs them individually and unites them as a group," it also is transformed by them by the fact of its consumption (Kilgour 16). Yet consistent with the cynical tenor of her work, Rachilde seems to ridicule the female text as Host, showing how pervasive and ineradicable was the view of mutilated literature made whole by male interpreters. Ultimately, the satirical self-evidence of these works serves to cancel and foreclose the readers' hermeneutic practice, by frustrating their wish to give a meaning to a text which defines itself as a closed and independent female body.

In Rachilde's "La Derniere Tentation," she depicts a peaceful, evening table at which three provincial clerics discuss the vicissitudes of their calling. Over a splendid, fire-lit dinner of chicken and stuffed cucumber, their conversation rambles from the gangrene of socialism to a priory wrongly situated in the records of the land registry. The pleasure of interiority is suggested by the setting, as the shrieking of the cold North wind makes the diners feel more cozy. Like their philosophy, which incorporates the foreignness of change and converts it to the laziness of gratifying habit, the selfishness the men display makes postprandial discussion a digestive aid that likens words to food as oral objects. The only reference to an outside comes when the curé d'Amblars asks about the status of his hunting dog about to give birth to a litter.

Suddenly a gust of wind irrupts into the dining room, blowing out the flame that lights the eaters' florid faces, and scattering the ash that had lain sleeping in the fireplace. Amidst a cloud of smoke there appears a striking figure, a person of indeterminate age, at once gentle and imposing. He identifies himself as a colleague's new replacement, succeeding the curé de Voreuse, who had recently taken his own life. The xenophobic gluttony of the company at supper (their compulsion to assimilate the unfamiliar as themselves) is repeated by the suicide of their fellow monomaniac and by their tendency to spit out any news they find distasteful: "je ne vous connais pas!" the eldest priest exclaims in horror. "Vous n'êtes pas le curé de Voreuse, vous êtes jeune, vous!" (14).

Of course, the function of the visitor is to introduce upheaval and to change the comfortable liturgy of soporific dinners. Backlit by the swirling flash of embers in the hearth, the man emits an atmosphere "toute bleue, d'un bleu de punch" (13). He tries to mitigate the gall of novelty and turmoil by stressing continuity over endings and disruption. Privileging facetiously the perpetuation of his office, he plays down the importance of the difference of its occupant. Thus, the cure de Voreuse is just the curé de Voreuse: "je crois bien ... l'autre, le premier moi, est mort," he reassures them (14).

Yet with grandiloquent portentousness he makes a radical proposal which, in the context of the narrative, seems both trivial and sensible. Stressing the homology of symbols and their referents, the sacramental transformation "de la matière de l'Esprit" (17), he calls for the reincorporation and reshaping of the Host as a trope that is transubstantiated into a body that gives life. He contends that no Church doctrine had prescribed the Host be round, but that the voraciousness of habit, which turns reform into itself, had stipulated that Christ's body be taken in uncritically.

Conditioned by routine, the other prelates are nonplused, aghast at the suggestion "que l'hostie soit OVALE" (18).[1] The stranger grounds his argument in a regressive teleology, engulfing ends in their beginnings, resurrection in incubation, as he identifies the contour of the crucifix and egg, and links Christ's distended body to its enclosure in itself. Formalizing the link between the sepulcher and belly, he shows interment and decay as germination and rebirth. Thus, the body of the Passion is refigured as the Easter egg, and swallowers are swallowed in the haven of their origins. The priest maintains that oval Hosts fit better in small mouths, accommodating the women and the children at the altar, who are fused as the communicants eating sacrificial bodies, as ova that mature into devourers of their mothers.

Exalted by the restorative effects of his own discourse, the man no longer minimizes the disruptiveness of change, but cites it as the selling point for the plan that he proposes: "Il y aura l'attirance du nouveau, celle de l'inquiétude," he says (19). But before the uncomprehending priests can take in his ideas, their proponent, wrapped in cloak and hat, disappears into the night.

Having left her story open with the ambiguity of its purpose, with its solemnity of tone and futility of content, Rachilde brings her narrative to a gnashing, dental closure, with the appearance of a servant who enters, haggard and drenched in rain, and announces that the hunting dog "a mangé ses petits" (20). The dark face of the God who feeds his body to his children is shown as that of Kronos, who devours his own offspring, and whose cannibalistic overturning of the value of communion is ironically suggested by the end of Rachilde's story.

Reverting to the eucharistic species of the egg (eating the progenitor so that one goes back to the start) is what motivates the stranger's suggested changing of the sacrament and the derisive, dismal act with which the narrative concludes. The idea of return is "demonized as regression ...: one returns to the father by being eaten by him; one reenters the garden by becoming a vegetable" (Kilgour 11). Reminiscent of the figure that legend says consumed his young, the clerical symposium of empty speech and fine cuisine degenerates into the horror of a bloody saturnalia.

Regressed into the egg, which is the symbol of Christ's body, the female Host is succeeded in a later tale, "La Dent," by woman's reappearance as an incomplete consumer. Gone is the idea of a synthesis of opposites: Christ's hypostatic union as a human and as God, the Host as bread and body, as both its *substance* and its *accidents* (Kilgour 14). Woman is not pictured as a satisfying banquet, returning those she nourishes to plenitude and purity, but as the mutilated figure derived from popular psychology. As her dental insufficiency is an impediment to eating, it devalues her as an unappetizing treat for male consumers.

The pistachio on which the unnamed woman breaks her tooth is, by its shape and texture, similar to the body part it cracks. Thus, the inaugural experience of diminishment and shrinkage proleptically informs the later dream of autophagia, in which the woman has the feeling "qu'elle mangeait sa propre chair" (177). In the critical appraisal that she makes of her reflection, she only can relay her husband's disapproving scrutiny, making vision the prerogative of those who look upon her defects and who reconfirm her status as a partial visual object. The yellowish bicuspid that is laid out in her jewel case becomes the empty space that figures woman as an absence. Yet as a body part whose loss is like an unknown's infant's birth, it induces an impression of melancholy vacancy and prompts her to administer "des soins presque maternels (175).

The story is a model of Kilgour's hierarchical anatomy, "based on a privileging of spirit and interiority over body and exteriority, in which eating is at the bottom, sex in the middle, and talking at the top" (16-17). First, the heroine's aggressive bite is imputed to the nut, so that her body, metonymized as tooth, is chewed up by her food. Next, the conjugal relationship with her husband is endangered, since infantile orality - the wish to swallow all the world - is displaced as the compromise of genital possession and then is aggravated by the fact that there is less left to possess. Her crumbling body's bread no longer satisfies its eater because of what she sees as "cet inexorable départ miette à miette" (175). Last, a hole is opened in the victim's language envelope, as words meant to contain the ideas they once fit are breached and cause a leakage of uncensored confidences: "elle ne saura plus garder certains mots ... qui jailliront de sa bouche" (172). Absconding with the literal that it replces with the figurative, metaphor impoverishes the objective world it sublimates and violates the integrity of its physical component. And so the idiom expressing the husband's anger at a neighbor: "Je lui garde une dent à cet idiot de la Silve!" as he exclaims (172), is seen as an attack by his wife, who swoons and falls unconscious.

The woman's only hope is for religious consolation, acceptance by a God for whom self-abnegating piety is more important than the incremental depletion of her body. Her taking of the sacrament becomes an eroticized commingling of Jesus and the worshipper in the "land of mystic union." Consumption/ consummation would bring oblivious beatitude, as "les baisers se rendent sans qu'il soit question du nombre des dents" (177). When the communicant converts the flesh of Christ into herself, she is similarly absorbed into his disembodied sanctity. An act of "reciprocal incorporation," her partaking of the eucharist should allow the "boundary between inside and outside, eater and eaten ... to disappear" (Kilgour 15).

Yet instead of being elevated to an identity with God, being dissolved in holy sameness, she is reminded of her difference. Shattered flotsam carried on a torrent of saliva, the Christ within the sacrament is caught in the interstice, beached upon the jagged reef of incomplete dentition: "Il ... se laisse retenir par un coin du côté de la petite brèche!"[2] Deglutition reinflicts the pain of crucifixion, as the body of the Savior is fragmented and drowned, yet only washes down the throat "apres avoir constate" (178).

The host no longer represents a feminine totality, in the egg as uterus and tomb, as nourishment and shelter. Instead, its meaning becomes that of its Latin derivation: *hostia*, or the victim of aggressive manducation, and *hostis*, the enemy who remarks on women's flaws.[3] Thus, the heroine resigns herself to a fateful fragmentation, prefigurative of death in the coming wrinkles and gray hairs. So having undercut the promise of the rejuvenating sacrament, having emphasized the link between incorporation and pathology, "La Dent" ends, like the other tale, with an image of enclosure, as the broken tooth is buried in its "miniscule cercueil" (178). Again the parent text devours the interpretations it gives birth to, as the story's jaws clamp down on any independent reading. The tautlogical completeness of Rachilde's self-containing tales makes inevitable their interment in a hermeneutic cemetery.

Any analytic act done on integral female fictions only breaks and reassembles them as the audience's property, so that an intact work is ground up and made whole inside its readers. J. Hillis Miller describes possession of a work as a ceremony involving both communion and cannibalism. Literature is bread that is destroyed while it gives nourishment, since it is "broken, divided, passed around, consumed by the critics" (Miller 225). Norman Holland also comments on the orality of reading, whereby bibliophiles "devour" books and a "certain novel may be a treat" (75). The contaminative association of body, text, and sustenance as tropes for women torn on analytic male incisors is so explicitly presented in Rachilde's little, trenchant satires that the effect is to prevent their appropriation by an audience. So patent and transparent is the significance of these stories that the irony of the author fills the spaces of the intertext. Having showed the Church's institutional intolerance of change, the first tale, which concludes with a mother eating her own pups, is immediately followed by an unrelated text entitled "Le Petit Gofter du Chien" and in parentheses "Anarchie."

The Last Temptation mentioned in the initial story's title alludes to Christ's request to be relieved of corporeity and not to be the sacrificial lamb his followers would share. He equates his flesh and bread, his blood and wine at the Last Supper, and later in Gethsemane, as the synoptic Gospels tell, he asks to be unburdened of a fate described as food: "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me" (Matthew 26:39). But while his divinity is reaffirmed in the acceptance of his humanness, in his consent to be dismembered by the world he redeems, it is Rachilde's tales' insistence on their self-possessive fullness, as narratives that read themselves, that denies them to consumers.

With its preemption of the impulse to resolve its ambiguity, Rachilde's work defines itself as ground already fenced, what Kilgour calls a *hortus conclusus* (244) whose deed is uncontested. While the open-ended work invites the audience to communion, in feeding readers text that they incorporate as meaning, the evidence of Rachilde's tales precludes interpretation and blocks participation with their ironic self-containment. Like Saturn, they consume the same reactions that they sire and kill the nascent reading reembodied in the narrative.

Unlike Rachilde's pointed books that picture viragoes wielding rapiers, daggers that explode balloons of masculine complacency, these narratives are qualified by their sealed, resistant closure and by a clarity deflecting the hermeneutic thrust. As the dog's mouth shuts and dirt is thrown on the gravesite of a tooth, as frightened clerics sign themselves in an apotropaic gesture, the narratives are closed off by the plainness of their message. Since Rachilde weds the politics of decadence and feminism, she turns a discourse of retribution into a literature of exclusion. In her ironic literalizing of the figure of the eucharist, she makes the plenitude of writing that which leaves her readers hungry. Inviolable flesh, Rachilde's two tales become a paradigm of the unapproachable morbidity of the self-sufficient text.

Notes

1. Rachilde may be drawing on both the occult tradition and the early Christian iconography that associate the oval and the fish. Herbert Whone writes that the "fish was a eucharistic symbol in early reproductions of the Last Supper and the elliptical aureole surrounding Christ in Majesty and later in the Middle Ages, the Virgin, ... was called the *vesica piscis*, 'the bladder of the fish.' This is again a reference to the Piscean Age and to the redemption of man in the maternal 'sea' by the compassion of Christ" (81). Manly P. Hall also comments on the *vesica piscis*, "or oval nimbus," in which "the Madonna who gives birth to the Man Child signifies the priority of the mother aspect of the Divinity," and so "represents the glorification of the Creative Power as exemplified in motherhood" (89, illustration facing).

2. "La Dent" illustrates its heroine's incorporation of men's gaze. "Thus the defect-noting male from whom no secret can be guarded, who cannot be merged into adorable reflections, may still be taken in through eyes and mouth, but cannot be digested" (Ziegler 128).

3. As consumption of bread in Rachilde's stories suggests women's disintegration, it also sustains her own writing, enabling her to benefit from the yeastlike function of bread which, as Helena Michie writes, is "to harness the power of rising and self-replication ... to generate language" (134).

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——SELECTA——

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Männergedanken? Anna Seghers' *Transit* and the Portrayal of Gender

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Among feminists Anna Seghers' *oeuvre* has been regarded as rather uninteresting, since she seems to perpetuate, even endorse the patriarchal *status quo*. She has been criticized for the minor roles she assigns to her female characters and because, as Elisabeth Endres states, "she identified very frequently with the usual identification figure: the man. ... [W]oman arrives at equality by letting man speak, as if he were a part of her" (17). This dependence of female protagonists on central male heroes results, according to critics such as Erika Haas and Cettina Rapisarda, in the absence of female development. Taking Marie, the heroine in Seghers' *Die Toten bleiben jung* (1949) as an example, Rapisarda concludes that complete independence for a woman "is not depicted, her development is only described in its beginnings and it never reaches a point at which the social primacy of the male figures would be called into question" (170).

This subordinate role runs counter to the expectation one has of a politically active woman writer dedicated to the fight against social injustice. Yet according to Eva Kaufmann, referring to Seghers' works written in the 1950s and 1960s, it is the very nature of this battle against injustice, war, totalitarianism, and exploitation in Seghers' works that explains her lack of critical attention to the inequality between men and women: "The interests of women in her work are totally subordinated to more general historical problems: overcoming fascism and the consequences of the war, and the building up of a more just social order" (178). Seghers' heroines reside in the periphery of a male-dominated world and are frequently characterized by political naiveté and a need for direction which they do not *have*, but rather must determine by means of a male compass. Thus Seghers' portrayal of women is seen as the epitome of the "Ausgegrenztheit der Frauen in der patriarchalischen Gesellschaft" (Venske, *Verschwinden*, 14). Seghers' own attitude as a woman writer is seen to be indicative of this disregard since she, in her position as a woman writer in a male literary world, could have drawn attention to the imbalanced representation of women writers, yet never did. Christiane Zehl Romero asserts:

> Seghers considered it irrelevant whether art was produced by men or women, and she occupied her prominent position in the almost exclusively male world of communist literature without thinking too much of it. (162)

Yet several recent studies have shown that, especially in her short narratives, Seghers gives evidence of a genuine concern for the position of women in society. She does so by creating female protagonists who are far removed from being dependent or excluded, but rather show a remarkable ability to subvert the patriarchal systems that marginalize them. They accomplish this not by being outspoken advocates of change, but rather because they present an alternative to patriarchy, albeit indirectly. Swaffar and Wilkinson assert:

> As subjugated, voiceless subjects within a variety of male-dominated systems, Seghers' women illustrate a subversive-subaltern identity, the capacity to respond to and represent an alternative social order, even within a socialist state .... In the societies Seghers depicts, women recognize they can only lose power by *exerting it* publicly. By drawing censure and attention to themselves, they risk destroying their

> personal base from which to exert indirect influence - their only alternative. Their strength and capacity to grow is a strictly private option: it will not be granted, designated, or otherwise affirmed publicly (468).

Peter Beicken, whose study *Eintritt in die Geschichte: Anna Seghers' Frauen als Avantgarde* Swaffar and Wilkinson did not consult, follows a similar line of argumentation. To Beicken, Seghers' female protagonists are quite able to denounce the patriarchal power structures subversively - thereby also denouncing the predominant stereotypical views on women in socialist circles in the late twenties and thirties - and to render examples of an alternative structure which gives a new perspective on the future. In Beicken's view, this transition is an historical necessity initiated by women and very much in accordance with Seghers' dialectical understanding of historical processes:

> Aber unter der Oberfläche parteilicher Angepaßtheit einerseits und geschichtlichen Minimalspielraums andererseits zeigen die Frauengestalten Anna Seghers' einen eminent subversiven Charakter im Hinblick auf die patriarchalische Vorherrschaft. Ihnen kommt eine Entlarvungsfunktion zu, die kaum als rebellierender Gestus gegen die Männerwelt durchstoßen konnte. Ihre Waffen sind deshalb umso gefährlicher, weil sie weitere Niederlagen ausschließen: Statt Kampf um Vorherrschaft zeigt sich in den Frauen der Seghers ihre eigentliche Stärke als Überlegenheit dem bankrotten System patriarchalischer Macht gegenüber. Das Überlebte hat sein Recht zu existieren eingebüßt. Es wird von der Geschichte liquidiert werden (90).

At first sight, this observation of women's denunciatory role does not seem to hold true in the case of Seghers' 1944 novel *Transit*, first because the women portrayed "exhibit virtually no agency" (Swaffar 464). Second, the first-person narrator is a man who is firmly rooted in a patriarchal society, which presents some important questions that will be addressed in this study. After all, does not Seghers' choice of a male voice and a first-person narrative - centralizing the male view - decenter, if not marginalize, the female experience?

However, no critic has yet investigated Seghers' careful construction of the male narrator: her reasons for doing so, the way in which she does it, the effectiveness of her male conceptualization, and the impact of the male perspective on the development and the conclusion of the story. Yet the narrative in this novel draws attention to itself because the author avoids the expected, i.e. the creation of a female character retelling a story with important biographical traces. This study proposes explanations for Seghers' choice of a male first-person narrator and analyzes the components of the male construct that is thought necessary for the character to be perceived as "male." Furthermore, it argues that the gender barrier is broken down several times, and weighs the importance of this for undermining the established patriarchally defined gender roles that Seghers largely seems to subscribe to (especially, as will be explained in this study, in her loyalty to and involvement with the *Bund Proletarisch-Revolutionärer Schriftsteller* and the anti-fascist *Volksfront*. The analysis shows that Seghers' novel, contrary to many interpretations, is a prefeminist statement that can be read as covert criticism of patriarchal structures and as a first attempt to abandon binary thinking.

Woman Writer - Male "Ich"

Readers of Seghers' novel are likely to assume that, because the author of the book is a woman, the "Ich" in the story naturally has to be female. In doing so, they are conditioned to assume congruence between the author's and the main character's gender. Susan Sniader Lanser explains: "Where a distinction between the (implied) author and a public, heterodiegetic narrator is not textually marked, readers are invited to equate the narrator with the author and the narratee with themselves (or their historical equivalents)" (16).

It must be said, though, that the narrative structure in *Transit* - intentionally - contributes to this gender confusion. Only after eleven pages into the story does the reader get the first - grammatical - hint: "Ich aber dachte, wie schwer es mich drückte, daß ich soviel Zeit hatte, ja, schwer ist es, den Krieg als Fremder in einem fremden Volk zu erleben" (16). It takes the narrator another fifteen pages to peripherally mention his gender: "An Mexiko ging mich nichts an, nichts war mir an diesem Land vertraut. Ich hatte nie etwas über das Land gelesen, da ich auch als Knabe nur ungern las" (30). An additional factor causing the confusion is the character's namelessness; whereas the gender is clarified, the name of the character, and along with that the ability to establish an identity, at first remains unknown: "Mein eigener Name blieb aus dem Spiel" (32).

Besides the monologic novel *Transit*, one can find a number of narratives in Seghers' *oeuvre* where the main character is an "Ich," among which are *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen*, *Die Toten der Insel Djal*, and *Der letzte Weg des Koloman Wallisch*. Yet there is one important difference between the respective characters: only in *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen* is the main character a woman, more specifically named Netty, Anna Seghers' actual name. This obviously alludes to the autobiographical nature of the story.

The phenomenon of women writers choosing a male perspective in their works is of course not new. It goes back to the time when women had to hide behind male authorship to find acceptance and room for publication. Regula Venske notes:

> Auch wenn Autorinnen sich heute nicht mehr im Schutz der Anonymität oder der Maske vorgetäuschter männlicher Verfasserschaft verstecken müssen, so ist doch das Phänomen, daß Texte von Frauen männliche Erzählpositionen aufweisen - in der Wahl eines männlichen Erzählers z.B. - bis in die jüngste Gegenwart zu beobachten (Mannsbilder 26).

Anna Seghers shares this narrative position with other authors such as Ingeborg Bachmann or Christa Reinig, though, according to Erika Haas, Seghers is said to have a particularly "male gaze" (134), her main preoccupation being the exploration of the male experience. This view is also represented by Peter von Matt: "Welche Männerbeschreiberin! Wie schlüpft sie in die maskulinen Naturen, in Leiber und Seelen, wie redet sie von ihnen und aus ihnen, als wäre eine solche Erkundung ein Lebensauftrag!" (23). These observations in themselves are important, yet neither Haas nor von Matt explore Seghers' rationale for investigating the masculine nature and choosing a male perspective.

One reason for this choice, one may argue, could be that, because Seghers wanted to be taken seriously, she subscribed to male values, assumed a man's point of view, in essence adopted an *écriture masculine*. Interestingly enough, this strategy, if that is the word, proved very successful, which is illustrated by Anna Seghers' place as the only woman author on a "list of [one hundred] books of world literature one ought to read" published in the German weekly newspaper *Die Zeit* in 1979. It should not come as a surprise that the six members of the jury which put together the list all were men.

Furthermore, Seghers' own experiences may very well have contributed to the dominating position of men in her *oeuvre*. For young Netty to grow up in a Jewish family, it seems plausible, albeit speculative, to assert that the patriarchal structure in the family, church, and community was the norm for her, a norm which molded her and made her realize that men had more privileges, more possibilities. Also, in Laszlo Radványi she found a dedicated husband and an influential role-model, about whom her close friend and actress Steffie Spira commented: “Anna war in allen Liebes- und Lebensfragen von ihm abhängig” (Brandes 17). Seghers admired Radványi for his intellect and deductive logic.

What must be considered a crucial factor is that in 1928 Seghers joined the German Communist Party (KPD) and a year later the *Bund Proletarisch-Revolutionärer Schriftsteller* (BPRS) in which she assumed a leading role. Although by its very program the BPRS strove towards the abolishment of oppressive forces in society, this did not imply a growing awareness of male domination over women; in fact, it was man who would free himself of his oppressor, with woman by his side. Thus the political program of the BPRS ironically turned out to be reactionary with regard to the position of women in society. This conservative attitude was also reflected in the association's aesthetic program that was indebted to Georg Lukács' normative traditionalistic and anti-avantgarde concept of literature.[1] Aesthetically, the “bürgerliche Klassik,” and with it the rendition of the unemancipated female, found its continuation in leftist revolutionary circles which resulted in the perpetuation of a restricted female sphere. As Michael Rohrwasser points out in his analysis of novels by revolutionary socialist writers of the twenties and thirties, communism was considered by many a masculine endeavor (93): not only were women dispensable in the communist cause, they were a *hindrance*. In studying novels by authors such as Hans Marchwitza and Willi Bredel, Rohrwasser observes:

> Die Schilderung der Frau als Hemmschuh politischer Aktivitäten, gewann hier eine neue Dimension. Wer politisch arbeiten wollte, mußte sich des weiblichen Einflusses entledigen und zu männlichen Werten Zuflucht nehmen .... (96)

It is clear that Anna Seghers, in her attempts to contribute to a proletarian literature, was affected by this reactionary climate in which the emancipation of women stagnated. Also, Seghers' later activism during her exile years within the *Volksfront* - in whose antifascist cause she strongly believed but which largely subscribed to a similar reactionary aesthetics - allowed her only a narrow margin to maneuver in her depictions of male-female interaction and may have translated into an initial male basis for her work.

Let us return to two works in Seghers' literary *oeuvre* which bear resemblance to her own life. Both *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen* and her novel *Transit* incorporate and reconstruct actual experiences; both works are highly autobiographical. Whereas *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen* is a personal tale about Seghers' school friends who died during the war, in *Transit* Seghers chooses a male character to tell the story, in more than one way *her* story. In the fictional space of the novel, the monologic protagonist is a man who is wandering aimlessly in Marseilles, hoping to be granted a transit visa which will allow him to leave France for the United

States and ultimately Mexico. One cannot help but wonder what Seghers' rationale was for constructing such an androcentric work, but also one must ask if she is able to penetrate deeply enough into the male psyche to be convincing. Convincing according to whose standards? What does it take for a male first-person narrator to be perceived as "male"?

The text itself provides a key to understanding the androcentricity of the work, as it becomes clear during a conversation between the male character and his landlady that it would be virtually impossible for a woman, *because* of her gender, to accomplish what he is able to do. A female character would have shared the same fate as the woman next door in his hotel, i.e. internment in a women's camp by the French:

> … die Polizei sei wiedergekommen, sie hatten die Zimmernachbarin mitgenommen. – Warum? – Weil sie durch die Verhaftung ihres Mannes bei der letzten Razzia ohne männlichen Schutz in der Stadt lebt. Und alle Frauen, die ohne eigene Männer und ohne genügende Ausweise hier in Marseille entdeckt werden, die sperrt man in dem neuen Frauenlager, dem Bompard (74).

In other words, the construction of the male gender becomes a narrative device without which the very telling of the story would not be possible. The narrative reflects reality in Marseilles, in that only a man can act independently, whereas a woman is reduced to being a vulnerable, helpless creature in need of protection. Seghers clearly shows how society forces women into inactivity, yet rather than openly rebel against this required passivity, she herself adapts to the societal circumstances in choosing a male perspective. Her outcry against gender-based inequality remains tacit.

A further explanation of the male-centeredness in the novel is of a biographical nature. Though the main plot in *Transit* is largely fictitious, the novel shows many similarities with Seghers' own accounts of her experiences as an exile in Marseilles. The atmosphere created in the novel is one of utmost boredom due to the endless waiting for visas, transits, and *sauf-conduits* at police offices and embassies. In Seghers' *Ein Brief* it becomes clear that she herself had to go through a very similar tedious process to be able to leave France. In fact, she mentions specifically the resemblance of her own experiences to the ones depicted in *Transit*:

> Es stellte sich heraus, daß es zunachst kein direktes Schiff nach Mexiko gab. Unsere Visen liefen ab. Wir suchten einen Zwischenaufenthalt, um von dort auf einem Umweg nach Mexiko zu fahren. (In meinem Roman "Transit" steht viel uber die todliche Burokratie in jener Zeit.)" (253)

However, although *Transit* shows autobiographical elements, to consider it an autobiographical novel would be a gross oversimplification. There are many differences between Seghers' own experiences and the storyline in the novel. It is plausible that, to avoid an autobiographical reading of her work, Seghers chose a male rather than a female perspective which could be misunderstood as being hers. This explanation would be in agreement with Lanser's suggestion that "given the precarious position of women in patriarchal societies, woman novelists may have avoided personal voice when they feared their work would be taken for autobiography" (19). Lanser further maintains that "the use of personal voice also risks reinforcing the convenient ideology of women's writing as 'self-expression,' the product of 'intuition' rather than of art" (20). This risk Seghers circumvents by employing a male voice, thus making the reader reflect on the fictional space of the novel rather than on the extent to which the novel expresses her own feelings.

The consciously created gender discrepancy between author and main character in this first-person narrative causes a theoretical problem, in that it seems to contradict the literary theory Seghers establishes in her correspondence with Georg Lukács in the early and mid-thirties. In her letters, Seghers frequently emphasizes the active role of the author who processes an experience he or she has had, whereby the artistic work brings about a new immediacy to the experience. As Dorothee Schmitz-Köster explains, Seghers develops a three-step dialectic model of artistic production: "Ausgehend von einem unmittelbaren Grunderlebnis erfolge eine bewußte Verarbeitung durch den Künstler, die dann auf einer dritten Stufe zu einer "Wiedergewinnung einer reicheren, vielfältigeren Unmittelbarkeit führe" (37). Seghers seems to call for the author's subjective presence in the text. The text is an artistic reconstruction of an immediately experienced event or emotion; the text does not describe, but rather *is* the event or emotion. It could be that Seghers' pronounced need to be present in the text refers to her presence as author, as initiator rather than as a gendered body, i.e. her thoughts and experiences need to be conveyed, be it through a male or a female voice. Yet in *Transit*, the reader's sudden awareness that the main character in fact is a man causes a defamiliarization, in that the established image of the storyteller as a female - for the establishment of which the reader is allowed ample time - is suddenly destroyed. The image of a male figure has to be re-created. Thus, the shock effect runs counter to the prescribed immediacy and the author's presence in the text.

The fact that the main character does not use his name and that his profile remains vague contributes to the notion that he lacks, or rather that he has lost, his identity. In a number of studies, he is indeed considered nameless.[3] Yet, as the chief official of the Mexican consulate mentions, his name appears to be "Seidler" as shown in his passport. By sheer coincidence, this chancellor confuses him with the author Weidel, whose belongings he has taken with the intention of leaving them at the consulate. The chancellor advises him:

> Veranlassen Sie dieselben Freunde, die für das Visum vorstellig wurden, bei meiner Regierung zu bürgen für die Identität Ihres Paßnamens Seidler mit dem Schriftstellernamen Weidel. (58)

This adoption of a new name is treated very carefully in the novel, since Seidler is able to derive a new identity from the deceased author's name. It is important to note that as a young and unknown author, Seghers herself chose a pseudonym to write under: her real name was Netty Reiling, a name which interestingly enough shows a certain phonetic resemblance to both the author's and the main character's name: Weidel and Seidler respectively. Although the male perspective detaches Seghers from the main character in the novel, she may have tried to find other, more covert, means to establish the immediacy and resence of the author in the text, as she asserts in her correspondence with Lukács.

Constructing the Male

The fact that Seghers decides to employ a male perspective in her novel implies that this male character has to comply with society's preconceived ideas about gender roles. A structuralist approach to defining this male identity would look at it as a binary opposition to female: male negatively defined as being not-female. Joyce Carol Oates maintains that "of course the serious artistic voice is one of individual style, and it is sexless." Yet Seghers' ideas regarding gender roles and behavior seem highly traditional and based on established gender paradigms, which, one must conclude, limits the individuality of her artistic voice. Erika Haas asserts that throughout Seghers' work it is the man who is in charge; her *oeuvre* displays patriarchal societal structures without, according to Haas, calling them into question. Also, in the interaction between man and woman, "[ist] die Frau ... dem Mann zugeordnet; der Mann ist der dominante Bezugspunkt einer gemeinsamen Existenz" (42). Walter Benjamin considers Seghers' strong opposition to the Nazi regime to be a masculine side to her personality:

> Die Erzählerin hat der Niederlage, die die Revolution in Deutschland erlitten hat, in die Augen zu sehen gewagt - eine männliche Fähigkeit, notwendiger, als sie verbreitet ist. Diese Haltung kennzeichnet ihr Werk auch sonst. (535)

By labeling Seghers' commendable attitude as "masculine," Benjamin basically denies women certain qualities, i.e. the very qualities that in his view make Seghers stand out. He implies that these virtues cannot be inherent to women, but rather have to be attributed to them. What qualities, then, does Seghers herself assign to a male character for him to be convincing in his actions? (And in doing so, is she successful?)

The story *Der sogenannte Rendel,* written in 1940 but not published until 1993, sheds light on Seghers' understanding of masculine and feminine attributes. In this story, which takes place during the crisis years in the late Weimar Republic and is based on a true event, a young woman, Katharina Rendel, takes on her deceased husband's identity in order to keep his job and be able to feed herself and her two children. She is so successful in adopting a masculine appearance and speech, that it does not remain a necessary mask, but rather becomes a new nature which replaces her 'useless' femininity. Moreover, her new masculinity seems superior to her husband's. Qualities the narrator attributes to her as a man bear witness to a newly acquired strength, directness, and persistence:

> Im Zickzackgewitter der Lichtbuchstaben strich sie die letzten Reste von Farbe ab, als gingen Fetzen des alten, unbrauchbaren Katharinengesichts mit herunter, kam ein neues Gesicht heraus, hart, straff und zweckvoll, kaum mehr das Gesicht einer Frau, eher wie es der tote Mann einstmals gehabt hatte, oder besser, wie es der Tote hätte haben sollen (98).

Soon, her thoughts become "schon nahezu Männergedanken" (101) and her speech tailored to a man's speech, i.e. to the point, stripped of redundancies: "nach Männerart ungeschwätzig, ... angepaßt in das Einmalige und Notwendige" (102). The definition of "masculine" speech in this story seems to derive from its very negation of stereotypical references to a presumed "women's language," which Cheris Kramarae sums up: polite, emotional, enthusiastic, gossipy, talkative, uncertain (10). Furthermore, only as a man can Katharina be active and support her family; in the factory where her husband worked, only men can be employed. Her role as a woman in a patriarchal society is restricted to being a wife, mother, and housekeeper, a role seldom altered in Seghers' works. Consequently, the need for action calls for a rejection of womanliness and the adoption of a masculine nature.

With this understanding of Seghers' binary opposites 'masculine' and 'feminine,' let us go back to the main character in *Transit* to study this masculine construct. The societal structure as described in *Transit* is similar to the one in *Der sogenannte Rendel*, i.e., patriarchal, male-dominated. The main figure in *Transit* may at times be unconvincing due to the many literary references he makes, despite repeatedly mentioning, even bragging about, his illiteracy. More likely to convince, however, is the representation of him as a man who comfortably employs a patriarchal voice and observes his surroundings from a male point of view. This becomes especially apparent in interactions with his female friends Nadine and Claudine. He looks at women as subordinate to men, beautiful, pleasing objects over which a man can have possession. When he meets Nadine, his honesty commands him to inform her that he is poor, in other words, unable to buy her friendship:

> Sie war groß gewachsen. sie ging sehr aufrecht. stolz trug sie den klugen, schmalen blonden Kopf. sie war auch immer sehr schön gekleidet in ihrem dunkelblauen Mantel. Ich sagte ihr gleich, daß ich arm sei. (65)

He considers her an adorable object which, once he has claimed ownership, he can show off as a trophy. Even the jealousy he depicts between "his" Nadine and his friend's wife bears witness to his stereotypically male perception:

> Binnet und ich hatten immer viel Spaß an unseren Frauen, von denen die eine so hell war wie die andere dunkel. Die Frauen aber waren eifersüchtig und konnten sich nicht leiden. (66).

It is not surprising that he is annoyed by the fact that Nadine does not comply with his idea of a woman, i.e. a vulnerable creature whose emotions hold sway over her intellect: "Es war mir zuwider, daß ihr nie, nie, selbst in meinen Armen nie eine Gebärde entschlüpfte, von der ihr Verstand nichts wußte" (69).

The main character is not alone in his perpetuation of female stereotypes. His views are reflected in utterances of his friends, or rather, the way in which he reports conversations he has had with friends. For instance, when he buys his friend Heinz a large package of cake, Heinz replies: "Ich bin ja doch kein Mädchen" (79). Here, it is as if he violates rules of accepted behavior between men, and therefore Heinz immediately makes him aware that he has crossed the line, thus reestablishing the comradery between them.

The main character's attitude towards women borders at times on becoming a caricature, especially because he, who can only be characterized by passiveness and indecision, uses war images and depicts scenes in which the male must conquer the female who becomes the "loot" in the battle of the sexes. This perception finds its culmination in his description of Marie, the wife of the deceased writer Weidler, whose identity he has taken, when she is staying in his hotel room: "Da lag sie in einer Ecke des Zimmers, als sei sie mir zugefallen als Beute in irgendeinem Kriegszug. Ich glaube, ich schämte mich damals sogar, daß sie mir allzu leicht zugefallen war, durch Würfel, nicht durch Zweikampf" (178). Now that Marie is at his mercy, it is his duty to protect her: "Jedenfalls würde die Frau bei mir Frieden finden. Ich würde darauf achtgeben, daß sie nie mehr einem Burschen wie mir als Beute in die Hände fiel" (180). He, as a male, positions himself above women, a fact which, as he believes, is dictated by a natural hierarchy. He commemorates the days when men could buy a woman to protect her from a ruthless society; man treasures the female object which he has acquired monetarily, and feels obligated to provide it shelter.

Paradigmatic of this reactionary, extremist view is the main character's description of a girl in the street who has encountered hardship:

> Wahrscheinlich war eben ihre letzte törichte Hoffnung gescheitert. ... Da war es ja in alten Zeiten besser gewesen, man hatte ein solches Mädchen kaufen können, der Herr hatte schlecht sein können, aber auch gütig, er hätte sie für sein Haus benutzt, zum Warten der Kinder, zum Hühnerfüttern, so häßlich oder verkommen sie war, es wäre ihr doch ein wenig Hoffnung geblieben (247-48).

The man uses, or rather has the right to use, the woman; she bears him children and in return finds shelter in his home. It is striking that the girl's hope is obviously foolish and idle, and that the typical woman who would need a man's protection is doubtlessly insignificant and needy. Superiority of man over woman could not be advocated more blatantly, which nourishes the suspicion that, in the exaggeration of macho tendencies, Seghers actually criticizes these attitudes - which in fact were widespread even among Seghers' contemporaries in the BPRS - and shows their absurdity. Can the male image, as rendered through the many exaggerated accounts, be sustained?

Undercutting the male imago

However entangled the male character is in his patriarchal way of thinking, he at the same time shows surprising sides to his personality that disrupt the very image he is trying to project. This man, who looks at women as objects, has a genuine sensitivity for the suffering of women and children, a fact which calls the masculine construct of his personality into question and which requires a reconsideration of his perspective. On several occasions, his tone of voice alters from being distant, observing, and reporting, to being compassionate and heartfelt, as illustrated in the following incident:

> Als ich mir einen Schlafplatz suchte im Bahnhof von Toulouse, kletterte ich über eine liegende Frau, die zwischen Koffern, Bundeln und zusammengelegten Gewehren einen verschrumpften Kind die Brust gab. Wie war die Welt in diesem Jahr gealtert. Alt sah der Säugling aus, grau war das Haar der stillenden Mutter, und die Gesichter der beiden kleinen Bruder, die über die Schulter der Frau sahen, waren frech, alt und traurig (36).

Images of motherhood and women in labor appear several times throughout the story to the extent that the male character assumes the woman's position for a moment and wonders what problems she may have to cope with that are foreign to his own worries: he realizes that while he was fleeing from the Nazis, some female refugees were giving birth to children, fearing not only for their own lives, but for their children's as well; he reflects on the dilemma some pregnant women may have about whether to conceal their pregnancy when applying for a visa at the American consulate or use it as an argument to strengthen their application.

These reflections render his ability to cross the gender-defined boundaries he so carefully constructed, which implies that his character cannot be reduced to a one-sided, coherently "masculine," set of paradigms. Yet at the same time one could argue that the inclusion of both "male" and "female" characteristics in his personality threatens the believability of his character, a character which is already fraught with several serious inconsistencies. One important inconsistency is the discrepancy between images he conveys of himself - images that range from being superior and independent to being vulnerable

- and his reliance on shelter that others can provide him. This dependence on others he describes with a revealing metaphor: "Also hing ich an der Familie Binnet wie ein Kind, das seine eigene Mutter verloren hat und sich an den Rock einer anderen Frau hängt, die seine Mutter zwar nie sein kann, aber doch etwas Gute abgibt" (40). The juxtaposition of the male character's patronizing protection of his female friends with his self-description as a helpless boy holding on to his substitute mother's skirt shows the extent to which his personality is not defined by his masculinity, but rather by the intertwining of conventional gender paradigms. The most striking example of the abandonment of male-defined thinking is the moment when the narrator himself notices a change in his own perception of Claudine:

> Claudine stützte den Kopf auf den Küchentisch. Ein dünner Streifen zartesten Rosas, die Innenfläche der Hand, lief ihr Kinn entlang. Ich hatte sie immer nur mit den Augen wahrgenommen wie eine Blume oder eine Muschel, jetzt erst, durch den gemeinsamen Kummer, verwandelte sie sich in eine gewöhnliche Frau, die über Tag auf Arbeit war, für Mann und Kind sorgte, sich abplagte (85).

In his own analysis his observation of woman as an aesthetically pleasing object - a flower or a shell - is transformed into the perception of her as a human being with whom he feels connected through shared experiences. Seghers renders an example of true irony: Only through the dehumanizing and alienating experience of [illegible] is the main character able to mature, to abandon his hierarchical thinking, and to perceive human distress as a condition that resides in an androgynous realm in which gender specificities have lost their validity.

Conclusion

In Anna Seghers' novel *Transit* the narrative calls attention to itself because of the incongruence between the gender of the author and the monologic first-person narrator in the story. By electing a male perspective to avoid a reading of the novel as self-expression, Seghers employs a strategy many woman authors used to prevent the categorization of their work as autobiography. A further explanation for her choice of an androcentric perspective is its sheer necessity as a narrative device to enable the telling of the story: the patriarchal society of Marseilles in the 1940s does not allow women to act independently. This necessity is translated in *Transit* into the construction of a male character who can enter the male-dominated world. The gender-based distinction between author and narrator also enables Seghers to distance herself from the many autobiographical traces in the story whose immediacy to her own experiences would have made a closer congruence between author and first-person narrator very difficult.

The male character is carefully constructed according to a stereotypical set of ideas about masculinity which defines it as the very negation of femininity, a definition broadly endorsed also by Seghers' fellow members of the BPRS. In the attempt to comply with this male paradigm, the narrator epitomizes the imago of a male in his sense of superiority over women and his regard of women as objects. Yet this image, carefully crafted in its intentional exaggeration, requires a re-evaluation due to a number of instances in which the male character abandons his male role and shows a disposition which he in his own binary thinking would doubtlessly consider "feminine". This could be interpreted as a serious flaw in the narrative, as everything is otherwise done to make the male character believable in his maleness. Yet its very inconsistency adds to the character complexity and undermines the one-sided constellation of the male.

What comes to the fore is human suffering in its universality, naked, rid of gender boundaries. Is Seghers' novel an exploration into the possibilities of writing beyond the gender paradigms? The moments in *Transit*, when gender-defined behavior gives way to the expression of human needs hint at Anna Seghers' belief in the equality of men and women, which she conveys already in *Frauen und Kinder in der Emigration* (1986). This early essay describes men and women sharing responsibilities and reaching a togetherness across gender as equals, with each contributing in his or her personal way. Shared hardship triggers and enables this strong sense of solidarity, as it evokes the main character's humanizing experience in *Transit*. Most importantly, despite the pejorative attitude towards the role of women that many contemporary socialist writers shared, it becomes clear that for Seghers women throughout the centuries have had a "hidden" potential which will ultimately emerge when their community needs it. For Seghers, that time has arrived:

> Mag die Frau in den meisten Fällen einfach "dem Mann folgen" - hinter dem Einfachen verbirgt sich wie immer eine stille, beträchtliche Leistung. ... Wirtschaftlich oder politisch - sobald die Last untragbar, sobald das Leben unlebbar, sobald der Entschluß zur Emigration unweigerlich ist, tritt die Frau ganz auf den Plan. ... Die Frau, die die Grenze passiert hat, die eines Abends am Gare de l'Est ankommt, die ist hellwach, nicht bloß aus Gespanntheit, aus Erschöpfung - hellwach in ihr ist die Kraft, die vielleicht ihr Leben lang, vielleicht Jahrhunderte verschüttet war, weil niemand ihrer bedurfte (128-130).

Notes

1. In a course I recently taught on German exile literature, I assigned the sixteen students attending, ten women and six men, to read the first two chapters of *Transit*. As it turned out during our first discussion, nobody had paid attention to the fact that the main character in the narrative, which is told in the first-person, is a *man* telling his life story to an anonymous person in a cafe in Marseilles.

2. For a thorough study on the importance of Lukacs' aesthetic concept for the literary program of the BPRS, see Roggausch, pp. 60ff.

3. Compare Hans-Albert Walter, who calls the main character "Niemand," p. 52.

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Nietzsche's Women: Disjoined and Conjoined Selves and Others among Friends

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Here is a conundrum for Nietzschean scholasticism: "what gendered bits of self can dance on the head of a pin? And how central is gender to the dance?" Nietzsche's friendships with women can help illuminate his panorama of pronouncements "on women." They instantiate his approaches to 1) selfhood as the disruption of subjectivity, and to 2) self-creation in the project of building cultural greatness. Nietzsche opens much ground for gender redefinition. However, his gender relations challenge patriarchal structures less effectively than does his gender-neutral assault on the unitary self.[1]

Nietzsche's concept of self is varyingly dispersed and conjoined, and laden with notions of gender. I agree with Rosalyn Diprose that the "self" in Nietzsche is both creat*ed* and creat*or*.[2] It is also a constant flux, of which any stablized representation must be a distortion, if not a fiction. This liquid "self" is determined largely by physical and social forces, but also self-creating internally through will-to-power and aesthetics.

Diprose' analysis regarding "pathos of distance and "actio in distans," offers a basis for excavating Nietzsche's approaches to the *gendered* self.[3] Distance between "self" and "other" is necessary for a productive interaction. Self thrives when it grows not through coercive external imperatives, but by *exchanging formative impulses* with others. Distance is required, first to survey the options for change, and for the needs of the will to be met without destroying the other through appropriation. The slavish self requires that others conform to its self-definition, which effectively annihilates otherness. Thus, if you and I are identical, one of us is superfluous. But, the masterly self gives and takes freely from others, while respecting their differences. Nietzsche inscribes this principle of healthy self-creation in text, but largely neglects it with women in family and romance. In friendships, however, he approached this goal more nearly.

Diprose correctly describes Nietzsche's self as an "embodied social artifact," constituted partly by *ethos*, *i.e.*, "social concepts that *discourage* difference, creativity, and change" [emphasis mine] and partly by *pathos*, i.e., the will-to-power fueling the process of self-creation.[4] The pathos of will-to-power grows from his notion of "*physis*"; it is "Kräfte" and "Kraftzentren" that make up *physis*, and that constitute the dynamics of action. "Leib ... ganz und gar" vs. "Gesellschaftsbau vieler Seelen" is not a contradiction, but Nietzsche's way of dispensing with metaphysics without abandoning the idea of human spirit. Nietzsche inscribes self not as subject/object, but as dispersal, conjunction and organization of energy concentrations in flux.[5]

The term distance, however, implies two beings separated by space. A *true flux* of self-generating and interrelating subject/objects could better have been portrayed as continual interpermeation of conjoining and dispersing forces, only momentarily identifiable as a "selves" or "others," including but not dominated by gendered oppositions. Nietzsche's use of "*distancing appropriating*" models for issues of gender retains much that isolates "the feminine" in static categories. Nietzsche's inscription of the agon of self-engendering aesthetics as *essentially gendered* is the key to his failure to provide a model for woman's embodiment in a space of her own, not defined for her by men. Both models - distancing/appropriating of genders and conjunction/dispersion of selves - are evidenced in his relations with women friends. In what ways, then, did Nietzsche raise "women" to a historically denied level of authority, and in what ways did he bolster conventional gender categories that entrap women in concepts denying them a real existence?

Nietzsche's typology of women contains four major categories. The first two appear described by Diprose under the "pathos of distance." Type-one woman is unfathomable, but conventionalized truth, the embodiment of mystery, artistry, all-embracing instinctual knowledge, mothering, etc.. "Man" creates this role for "woman," and she embraces it, submitting to his need to create *his* own self as unchanging and complete: Wenn ein Mann inmitten seines Lärmes steht, inmitten seiner Brandung ... von Würfen und Entwürfen: da sieht er auch wohl stille zauberhafte Wesen ... - es sind die Frauen (KSA 3, 424-425). Unfortunately, the mystery is *reactive*, a subservience to the man's script, a betrayal of the woman's will, truth and creativity, a sham "depth."

The second type of woman is the other side of the same coin. "Unfathomable truth" pressed into service of a foreign "self" shows itself as flat and fraudulent, a series of masks, poses, and surfaces, an aesthetic creation (KSA 6, 117, Nr. 116-117, Nrs. 8-10). In both cases, "the feminine," eternal or not, plays roles promoting a search for *man's* self, but not *woman's*. *Both* types isolate and suffocate *both* genders in misperceptions of each others' needs.

The third and fourth types offer a more creative role for gender. In the third, women and men, categorically configured either "feminine" or "masculine," create themselves through mutually constructive interpermeable exchange. As spirit, this is like Janet Lungstrum's mutually creative "sexual dialectic."[6] As body, it is like Baubo, the crone, who lives as illusion - conscious and willing - on the surface, thriving, as Kofman would have it, in a creativity of sexual opposition.[7] Type four presents mutually creative selves, with gender a *significant* but not *categorical* aspect of their being. These two types are better described by conjunction/dispersion than "pathos of distance," and manifest more in Nietzsche's friendships with women than in his family or romance.

The mysterious-unfathomable-truth woman and the mask-pose-surface woman, are aspects of the same phenomenon. As truth, unrepresentable; as person, unable to embody themselves. The contrast between Nietzsche's relations with Lou v. Salomé, Malwida von Meysenbug, and his sister Elisabeth illustrates their complementarity.

Salomé, was heralded by Paul Reé and Meysenbug as the epitome of intellectual but sensual woman -- brilliant, free-thinking, and non-conformist. Nietzsche's reactions to Lou are consistent with his image of the mysterious, unfathomable woman. He hailed their first meeting as the conjunction of beings from distant stars. Meeting Lou became literally a "peak" experience on Sacro Monte" where, according to Salomé's coy report, she and Nietzsche *may* have kissed.[8] Nietzsche thanked her for Sacro Monte as "den entzückendsten Traum meines Lebens danke ich Ihnen." In Tautenburg for nearly three weeks they talked and walked day and night.

When she expressed concern for his health, he replied: ""Ich habe es ja so selten und ich genieße es wie ein Kind.' Denselben Abend sagte er aber: 'ich darf nicht lange in Ihrer Nähe leben'."[9] After the breakup, he wrote to his sister of his adulation for Lou, his belief she provided needed supplementation of his self for his work, and his reproach for Elisabeth's shallowness in interfering.[10] He charged she had robbed him of "die letzten M(enschen) ...mit welchen ich ohne Tartüfferie sprechen konnte."[11] "Tartüfferie," in his view, was the hallmark of Elisabeth's character. In his anger, he expressed more candidly than before his contempt for her superficiality. But his letters to her were usually patronizing. He also courteously, but shamelessly exploited her services in providing the likes of clean laundry, sausages, and household help.

Meysenbug was a "type one" woman in her role as surrogate, idealized mother. He explicitly requested of her: Mutterliebe, ohne das physische Band von Mutter und Kind,"[12] which she gave consistently, despite many differences, throughout their friendship of over sixteen years. For six months in Sorrento, Malwida provided Nietzsche, Albert Brenner and Paul Reé a "Familie der freien Wahl," for mutual conversation, walks, meals and convalescent care.[13] In gratitude, Nietzsche lionized her as "Freundin, Mutter, Arzt," confiding to Overbeck: "Malvida Meysenbug ist lauter mütterliche Güte gegen mich; sie wünscht mir, was ich mir selber am meisten wünsche, und versteht auch Wege und Griffe dazu," (KSB 6, 379). He shared opinions he knew she rejected, because he trusted her unconditional love. But he kept sending her his books, his critiques of her idealism, of Salomé and of his family, and manifold intimate confessions.[14] Despite a cruel challenge to their friendship in October 1888, his last letter relents: "so ist ihr doch viel verziehen, weil sie mich viel geliebt hat."(KSB 8, 458, 575). Here she is idealized love, deep truth, though lacking (self)understanding, approached and avoided.

Types one and two are endless depth and absolute shallowness. His desire for Salome as a wife, lover, student, disciple, and truth-seeker, characterize her as an unattainable ideal, and a threat to be held distant. Meysenbug is a motherly ideal, but also held distant. His sister, the second type, is defender of masks, roles, and moral codes neither truly held nor understood, insensible even to her own misrepresentations and superficiality. Nietzsche presents all as "what woman can do for me." Chiding ascetics for endangering their health, he prescribes "woman" as nourishment for the body (perhaps like sausage): "... daß ein Mann von Zeit zu Zeit ein Weib nöthig hat, wie er von Zeit zu Zeit eine rechtschaffene Mahlzeit nöthig hat."(KSA 11, 257). Idealized woman is nourishment for the spirit, that "little something about the body", as brought in by a caterer, but soon absorbed into a (male) self.

Two years after the Lou affair, Nietzsche welcomed the friendship of Resa von Schirnhofer, and Meta von Salis - both friends of Meysenbug, both feminists, and women doctoral students, among the first in Europe. With Schirnhofer and Salis, and some aspects of Salomé and Meysenbug, one finds represented Nietzsche's third "type" of woman. They are aware of their gendered roles' superficiality, and focus on creating themselves in free exchange with others. Here Nietzsche pursues friendships with women free from isolating distance and threatening collapse of identities, preserving a balance of distance and closeness for creativity.

Curt Paul Janz has noted that the Schirnhofer-Nietzsche outing on Mont Boron mimics the Nietzsche-Salomé outing on Sacro Monte.[15] Schirnhofer reports, Nietzsche was also was in an exuberant mood, full of amusing whimsy, regaling her with witty "Knittelvers," and "lustige Einfälle." At a mountain tavern, Nietzsche introduced her to Vermouth di Torino, as he had first tasted Cognac with Lou at Sacro Monte. Like Nietzsche and Lou in Tautenburg, they explored common philosophical and cultural interests, e.g., Schirnhofer's doctoral dissertation, a comparison between Schelling and Spinoza, Père Didon, Goncourt, Saint-Simon, Emerson, Stifter, Bizet, Sallust, etc.[16] To Meysenbug he described Boron, with obvious allusion to Sacro Monte: "es war ein Besuch zur rechten Zeit, der heiter und nützlich ablief, zumal keine störende eingebildete Gans zugegen war (Pardon! ich meinte meine Schwester)," (KSB 6, 500). The ensuing visits with Schirnhofer (July 1884, August 1884, and May 87) were high-spirited and friendly, but stopped short of romance.

At Mont Boron, Nietzsche recreated the constructive exchange of Sacro Monte, minus the idealization and emotional tumult. Salomé described the inspired Nietzsche: "Wenn er sich einmal gab, wie er war, im Bann eines ihn erregenden Gesprächs zu Zweien, dann konnte in seine Augen ein ergreifendes Leuchten kommen und schwinden."[17] Similarly, Resa reported his sharing the idea of *eternal recurrence*: *"Unbeweglich...saß Nietzsche da,...versunken in seiner ureigensten Welt .... Jedes Wort wäre nur Störung gewesen."*[18] Nietzsche tearfully sought solace for the loss of Richard Wagner's friendship from both Resa and Lou, tears both report as totally lacking in "Tartüfferi." When Schirnhofer left Sils: "[er] sagte zu mir mit Tränen im Auge: 'Ich hoffte, Sie wurden langer hier bleiben. Wann werde ich wieder Ihr erfrischendes Lachen hören?'"[19]

Meta von Salis, also a "type three" woman, was the daughter of a leading aristocratic Swiss family, the first Swiss woman to obtain a Dr. Phil., a lifelong feminist, a key figure in the founding of the Nietzsche archive and a defender of Nietzsche's cultural philosophy, despite deeply-held differences. Their friendship exemplifies people practicing *Fernstenliebe*. A proponent of friendship as the "Idealform der menschlichen Beziehung," she accompanied Nietzsche on numerous talk-walks during their visits in Sils and Zürich.[20] She openly scorned the gossip of women acquaintances who suggested the two might marry,and continued exchange with Nietzsche on topics of mutual interest, such as Plato, Spinoza, La Rochefoucauld, Kant, Wagner, Darwin, Spencer, Renan, Daudet, Schiller, Goethe, Stendhal, Napoleon, Dostoevsky, and Stifter, and themes of love, death, politics and "women." To Nietzsche's query, why she sought a doctorate, she answered that she wished to set an example of an independent, capable woman:

> *...daß ich ... im Interesse der Frauenfrage ... nicht von der Universität abgehen mochte, ohne ihn erworben zu haben .... Das kleine Hauflein selbstandiger und selbsthatiger Frauen, das ausserhalb der zahllosen Vereine steht und uber sie hinwegsieht und denkt, wird die Cultur fordern helfen und nicht das Heerdengluck.*[21]

When Salis finished her doctorate in 1887, he not only congratulated her, but deemed it worthy to report to Overbeck, and his family. In conveying his mother's congratulations, he distinguished between his sincere joy at her intellectual achievements, versus his mother's mere concern for titles and social approbation. He also made a point to inform her of women "die sich irgendwie auszeichneten."[22] He supported her individual development, but not her feminist activism. She supported his philosophy and person, but not his prejudice.

Salis and Nietzsche shared a commitment to higher civilization, envisioning the means as individualistic self-overcoming. She urged feminists to adopt these principles. She suggests reforming social roles to encourage personal growth, and that Nietzsche would welcome it. Salis asks rightly, "so wenig ich Nietzsche die harten Worte über mein Geschlecht verdenke - warum läßt man außer Acht was er ...über das Männliche sagt? es [sic] ist nicht milder." Their friendship was based partly on each admiring the other as a "new" kind of nobility, partly on shared interests, but also on commitment to friendship as an exchange among individuals eager for mutual nourishing.[23]

There is playfulness in these interactions. As Nietzsche wrote to Irene Seydlitz: "Erste Bedingung des ewig-Weiblichen nach meiner facon: lachen-können, im Kopfe lauter dummes Zeug," (KSB 7, 188-9). Laughter is also Zarathustra's remedy to the "Geist der Schwere" for everyone, especially those who aspire to self overcoming: "so lernt doch über euch hinweglachen!...vergesst mir auch das gute Lachen nicht...Lachen sprach ich heilig, ihr höheren Menschen!" (KSA 4, 367-368).

Nietzsche claimed friendship between man and woman was possible only with the help of "eine kleine physische Antipathie," (KSA 2, 267, Nr. 390). Zarathustra intones "wer begriff es ganz, wie fremd sich Mann und Weib sind!" (KSA 4, 237). Again in *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*: "Mann und Weib ... die Nothwendigkeit einer ewig-feindseligen Spannung," (KSA 5, 175). Gender difference plays a defining role in his relationships with Meysenbug, Schirnhofer and Salis, the latter two as *deliberately-not-lovers*, the former as self-chosen mother. But here Nietzsche also eschewed possessive love: "[der] Drang nach Eigenthum ..., den unbedingten Alleinbesitz der von ihm ersehnten Person," in favor of "einem gemeinsamen höheren Durste nach einem über ihnen stehenden Ideale ... Freundschaft," (KSA 3,387). The third type of woman offers opportunities for growth within restricted roles.

Salis used Nietzsche as the model for a character in her novel. There she accurately reflects his "gender war" as "die unbarmherzige Verurteilung der Gefühle, die er ablehnte, 'nicht weil er sie nicht hatte, sondern im Gegenteil, weil er sie hatte und ihre Gefahr kannte.'"[24] He *wanted* contact between the sexes to be *constructive*. The question remains, do constructive differences necessarily fall within gender constraints?

The fourth category, invested with gender, but not fundamentally defined by it, promotes free creative exchange, a conjunction and disjunction of self-bits. Gender opposition might be classed with manifold oppositions, e.g., introvert/extrovert, visual/auditory, mathematical/intuitional, aggressive/passive, or apollonian/dionysian, assuming the latter as gender-flexible.

Some aspects of Nietzsche's friendships suggest self-creation along lines other than gender. Apart from fits of pique, Nietzsche continued to praise Salomé for her work. At Tautenburg and Mont Boron, he displayed, and fostered health, not sickness. His non-romantic friendships with Schirnhofer and Salis created a site for mutually rewarding and constructive interchange, fostering their respective goals. In Sorrento in 1877, he sought to share with Meysenbug his critique of Wagner and women in *Menschliches Allzu Menschliches*. His disappointment at her inability to respond in a truly interactive manner, rather than with dismissive but indulgent affection, may have contributed to his early departure.[25] With Schirnhofer and Salis, their disagreements were reported as sincere, genuinely interactive and deeply thoughtful; *not* strategically provocative, as were his written attacks on women. His critiques of "the masculine," as Salis observed, suggest a wish to reconfigure roles of any sort that hinder self-creation. Gender difference in this sense would provide one of many oppositional fields that nourish mutual growth of friends.

The conjunction and dispersion of "forces" that constitute self also inhabit a world of multiple oppositions. Things do exist, says Nietzsche, despite the inadequacy of our perceptions or representations of them: "...die Dinge [haben] eine Beschaffenheit an sich, ganz abgesehen von der Interpretation und Subjektivität,"(KSA 12,353). All being occurs as a flux of degrees, determinations and relations of *forces*: "Alles Geschehen, alle Bewegung, alles Werden als ein Feststelleln von Grad- und Kraftverhältnissen, als ein Kampf," (KSA 12, 385). Being takes its form as: "'Contraktions-energie' in allen Kraftcentren des Universums,"(KSA 9, 560-61). This is not in conflict with our "Thierexistenz" but an extension and function of it. Nietzsche never abandoned the body: "Den Verächtern des Leibes will ich ein Wort sagen .... Was ist es, das Achten und Verachten und Werth und Willen schuf?" (KSA 4, 40; KSA 9, 541). The self consists of body and the forces that nourish it. Sexual opposition, admittedly powerful, is only one of many such forces within a "self": "Im Menschen ist Stoff, Bruchstück, Überfluss, Lehm, Koth, Unsinn, Chaos...." (KSA 5, 161). Or again: "Der Mensch als eine Vielheit von 'Willen zur Macht': jeder mit einer Vielheit von Ausdrucksmitteln und Formen," (KSA 12, 25). Within a "self," creative oppositions manifest in vast variety.

Would Nietzsche have advocated deposing the opposition "Mann-Weib" from its dominant position in types one through three? That probably depends on whether he could overcome his fixation on gender. His contacts with women were often dominated by that fixation, especially by alienating distance and shallowness. In friendships with women, however, he showed aptitude for an opening onto the conjunction/dispersion view of self, where gender would be a relative, not an absolute determinant, and less potentially restrictive of healthy self-creation.

Notes

1 . Colli, G. and M. M., Eds. *Nietzsche, Sämtliche Werke*. Berlin/München: Walter de Gruyter/DTV, 1980. Hereafter: KSA vol. page, section. KSA 5, 170, JGB #23 1; short quotations cited as text. Nietzsche himself warns: "über Mann und Weib kann ein Denker nicht umlernen,- nur zu Ende entdecken, was darüber bei ihm feststeht ... es [wird] mir vielleicht ... gestattet sein, über das "Weib an sich" einige Wahrheiten herauszusagen: gesetzt, dass man von vornherein weiss, wie sehr es eben nur *meine* Wahrheiten sind."

2. Diprose, R. "Nietzsche and the Pathos of Distanz." *Nietzsche, Feminism and Political Theory*. ed. P. Patton. London and NY, Routledge, 1993, pp. 1-26, esp. 3-5. Cf. KSA 6, 16 1, Nr. 225: "in Menschen ist Geschöpf und Schöpfer vereint."

3. Diprose (1993), pp. 18-19: "Action at a distance is defined philosophically (in the language of Newtonian physics) as the idea that one body can affect another without any intervening link between them. The bodies are separated by empty space yet when one moves so does the other."

4. Diprose (1993), pp. 2, 4, 10.

5. Nietzsche. F.. transl. Kauftnann. W. *The Will to Power.* NY: Vintage/Random House. 1967. pp. 332-334. Nrs. 618-625; cf. KSA 4. 258; KSA 1. 337; KSA 5. 161; KSA 12. 549. 10 [158]. KSA 13. 54. 11 [113]. KSA 12. 259.

6. Lungstrum. J. "Nietzsche Writing Women/ Women Writing Nietzsche: The Sexual Dialectic of Palingenesis." *Nietzsche and the Feminine.* P. J. Burgard. ed. Charlottesville and London. UP of Virginia. 1994. pp. 135-157.

7. Kofman. S. "Baubo: Theological Perversion and Fetishism." *Nietzsche's New Seas.* T. B. a. M. A. G. Strong. Chicago: U of Chicago P. 1988. p. 197.

8. Pfeiffer. E. Ed. *Friedrich Nietzsche. Paul Ree. Lou von Salome. Dokumente ihrer Begegnmg.* Frankfurt/M.. Insel. 1970. pp. 108. 109. 424. cf. 42.

9. Pfeiffer (1970). p. 183.

10. Colli. G. and M. M. *Friedrich Nietzsche. Samtliche Briefe. Studienausgabe.* Berlin. deGruyter/ DTV. Hereafter short quotes cited as text: KSB. vol. page. section. if needed. KSB 6. 467-468: "Erst seit diesem Verkehre war ich reif zu meinem Z(arathustra). Ich habe diesen Verkehr deinetwegen abkürzen müssen ... L(ou) ist das begabteste. nachdenkendste Geschöpf. das man sich denken kann. natürlich hat sie auch bedenkliche Eigenschaften ... das Schöne an bedenklichen Eigenschaften ist. daß sie zu denken geben .... Natürlich nur fiir Denker."

11. KSB 6. 499-502; KSB 7. 24-25; KSA 6. 511.

12. Meysenbug. M. v. *Memoiren einer Idealistin Und ihr Nachtrag: Der Lebensabend einer Idealistin.* 2. Bd. neue Ausgabe. Berlin. Schuster und Loeffler. 1918. *Lebensabend.* pp. 236-237; cf. KSB 5. 148-150. Meysenbug was twenty-eight years his senior. a Wagner- and Schopenhauer devotee. and committed to a secularized 'idealisim' including women's emancipation. social equalization. and a Schopenhauerian ideal of art as liberator of the spirit. Cf. KSA 8. 389 (22 [62]).

13. KSA 8. 389 (22 [62]); to Reé: KSB 5. 233. 7; to Overbeck KSB 6. 379; to Meysenbug KSB 6. 490.

14. KSB 6. 454; KSB 7. 19-31; KGB III. 98.

15. Janz. C.P. *FriedrichNietzsche.* Biographie. II. Miinchen. Hanser. 1978. p. 281. Schirnhofer visited Nietzsche in Nizza. near Boron. from 3-13 April 1884.

16. Lohberger. H. "Friedrich Nietzsche und Resa von Schirnhofer." *Zeitschrift fiir philosophische Forschung* 22. 1968. pp. 248-260 and 441-458. esp. 253-255. (Contains: Schirnhofer "Vom Menschen Nietzsche.") Cf. KSB 6. 515; KSB 6. 561.

17. Pfeiffer (1970). pp. 107. 179. 423.

18. When he gave her a copy of *Also sprach Zarathustra.* he signed it "freundlich zugethan." Schirnhofer. R.. "Vom Menschen Nietzsche." Lohberger. H. (1968). pp. 259-260.

19. Lohberger/Schirnhofer (1968). pp. 256. 445; Pfeiffer. E.. p. 425.

20. Janz (1978). II. 30; cf. Salis. 17. Their first meeting was 14-17 July 1884. in Zürich. the second 28 April to 6 May 1886. also in Zürich; the next meetings were in Sils 7-9 September 1886 and in the summer of 1887; the last was from the end of July to 17 August 1888 in Sils.

21. Salis-Marschlins. Meta von. *Philosoph und Edelmensch. Ein Beitrag zur Charakeristik Friedrich Nietzsches.* Leipzig: C.G. Naumann. 1897. pp. 19-20. 44-56.

22. KSB 8. 139. 166-167; Salis. 46. 48.

23. Salis. pp. 20-22. 74-75; cf. KSA 2. 640. Nr. 197. For an analysis of Nietzsche's downplaying of sexuality and the feminine. see: Oliver. K. *Nietzsche and the Feminine.* ed. P.J. Burgard. Charlottesville and London: U of Virgina P. 1994. pp. 53-67.

24. Schleicher. B. *Meta von Salis-Marschlins. Das Leben einer Kämpferin.* Erlenbach/Zürich/ Leipzig: Rotapfel. 1932. p. 156.

25. Meysenbug (1918. neue Ausgabe). pp. 250-251; cf. KSB 5. 233 (to Reé). KSB 6. 490 (to Meysenbug).

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——SELECTA——

Public Radio in the New German States: Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk

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The appearance of private radio and television stations in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1980s was an event of major significance in the media world. Private stations began to compete with the established ARD and other state-sponsored entities, bringing a good deal of disruption to what had been a very stable media milieu. Before that phenomenon had quite taken its course, German reunification brought to the Eastern States a truly dynamic radio and television spectrum.

To attempt here to describe the entire radio and TV scene which has evolved in the New German States since 1990 would be much too large a topic, but there is merit in looking at the development of Central German Radio (Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk, or MDR) as a microcosm of state-sponsored media developments in the East, and, to a limited extent, as a precursor of possible future changes in West German ARD institutions.

Formed in the aftermath of the emotional and politically charged events of German reunification, the Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk faced unique and potentially rewarding challenges. That was not a new situation, for MDR traces its tradition across nearly ¾ of our troubled century.

Origins and Background

Originally founded by a group of Leipzig merchants, the Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk AG set up a radio station (a transmitter may be a better term) which began sending on 1 March 1924, from the Leipzig Spring Trade Fair. It was Germany's second broadcast station, and was established "trotz der entgegenstehenden bedeutenden Schwierigkeiten," both economic and political. Soon the station could boast that 100,000 listeners heard it's "Hallo, hallo, hier ist Leipzig" opener, at 10 a.m. daily, followed by the Leipzig market situation, a stockmarket report, and a review of the news. The afternoon was given to orchestra concerts, and the evening to lectures intended for - as they called it - "geistige Erbauung."[1]

In 1933 the MDR was closed, and the station integrated into the National Socialists' *Reichsrundfunk* system, ending the first democratic chapter of the radio station. A significant number of the MDR staff left; many chose emigration.

On 4 June 1946 the MDR was resurrected in Leipzig, with affiliates in Dresden, Weimar, and later Halle. It fell prey to another dictatorship, when in 1952 the GDR closed MDR and integrated its infrastructure and personnel into the state's centralized system of *Bezirkssender*. All programming had to be re-sent, unaltered, as furnished by Berlin. The addition of two hours of local broadcasting daily, begun in 1964, had little effect on the *Bezirkssender*.

In East Germany radio journalists who did not conform fully to the communist party (SED) policies were relegated to the hinterlands, and the Prussians in Berlin certainly considered Leipzig to be a hinterland.[2] Such a policy had its ironic twist, for the resulting personnel constellation at MDR had a most beneficial, if unintended, effect in the autumn of 1989. During the Monday demonstrations the *Bezirkssender* Leipzig called for peaceful demonstrations, and had a supportive role in the success of those demonstrations.

After the *Wende* of 1989 much of the SED's infrastructure in the still-GDR came under sharp revision. In this atmosphere any planned reforms to the radio services were quickly overtaken by events. After re-establishment of German states and then national reunification in 1990, plans were made for the establishment of two multi-state networks in the new German states. Agreement could not be reached in the northern states of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Brandenburg. But in the south (Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt & Thuringen) there was better cooperation - all three governors belonged to the same political party (the CDU). On 30 May 1991 those three state governors inked an agreement forming the MDR as a tri-state member of Germany's Association of Public Broadcasting (ARD).

The ARD

In the legal sense, Germany's ARD is a public utility, governed by a board of directors composed of members representing society's various sectors - the two churches, the unions, the manufacturers' association, and so on. The ARD itself is composed of eleven member-station corporations, generally set up at the state level, as well as the national "Deutsche Welle" and the "Deutschlandfunk," which transmit to international audiences. It's member-station corporations (Americans may think of them as networks) furnish various programs to the ARD, and broadcast a certain amount of the ARD's fare.

Funding and Income

Germany assesses a tax on owners of radio and TV receivers, which amounts at present to about DM 29,- monthly (it varies somewhat from state to state). About DM 20 go to the state corporation (i.e., here the MDR) and the remainder to the ARD central administration.

In its early stages, MDR received just over half the financing a similar institution in the West might expect. Nonetheless MDR takes in more than a billion Marks annually, something over half of that from radio and TV taxes, with additional income from advertising, a smaller amount from sponsorships, and a little from the sales of programs on CD, and similar products. Just over 75% of expenditures go to operating costs, under a quarter is spent on personnel.

The Physical Plant

Those familiar with the former GDR are well aware that housing an establishment as extensive as the MDR presents major difficulties in terms of land acquisition and ownership questions. MDR headquarters in Leipzig are located in the abandoned stockyards! Guests to MDR are oriented in the old auction-block, where the corporation's restaurant is also located; happily, the renovations left no unpleasant clues to the building's history.

As stipulated in the German-German Treaty, a new television and administration center is being built there in Leipzig, and a new radio center for the supraregional programs will be located in Halle. New state broadcasting centers for Sachsen, Sachsen-Anhalt and Thüringen are under construction in Dresden, Magdeburg and Erfurt. The cost of these establishments will amount to about a billion DM.

Orienting the New MDR

Thus the MDR, built literally "from the ground up," became the largest of the public radio facilities in the new German states, and the fourth-largest in Germany. Its media journalists had only about six months to prepare, while the physical plant and technological infrastructure were themselves being put in place, and the institution's policies for reporting, editing and scheduling had to be formulated simultaneously. The challenges for the staff were enormous, but despite the formidable difficulties, the new MDR began broadcasting with the onset of the new year, 1 January 1992.

The MDR's Listeners

MDR found itself serving a population which had developed much different social norms, cultural traditions and political experiences than those extant in West Germany, to which the East Germans had attached themselves politically.

After reunification, the East Germans felt deep and basic shifts in their social surroundings. Lifelong expectations and habits were suddenly turned on their heads, and past experience had validity only in new light.

Thus the development of the institution's philosophy was perhaps the most critical item on the new agenda. It is, to my mind, quite amazing that the West German directors proved so sensitive to East German concerns.

The director addresses such matters in his opening address on the initial day of broadcasting:

> The MDR is a child of German reunification, without which we would not exist. As a result we feel ourselves committed to German unity, and we intend to do our best to see that after political union, that we grow together in the social, cultural and intellectual spheres, as well. Or said with more pathos: that after the unity of the states, we may become one people in our hearts and minds, as well.[4]

Personnel

Compared with ARD members from the old, that is to say West German states, MDR is a trim and lean operation, with an authorized strength of 2,000 personnel - although that staffing level is something of which Germany's private stations can only dream. MDR management has been cautious in hiring, and at the time of this writing only about 1,900 of their 2,000 positions have been filled. All of the interns and 90% of the employees come from the former GDR, the great majority of whom were taken over from the old GDR station. Applicants from the eastern states are given hiring preference. 42% of the staff are women.

The directorship and most of the significant management positions, not surprisingly, are held by West Germans. The director, Dr. Udo Reiter, came from Bavarian Radio, the supervisor of radio programming, Dr. Theodor Mornewegs, came from Hessian State Radio, and six of the seven other top-level managers came from the West. One should not be surprised at the preponderance of westerners, for few East Germans had much of an idea of just how a democratic society might function, or of how one might exercise one's profession in such a society. Recall that opportunities for individual initiative had been stifled for decades under the East German dictatorship. Journalists were not alone in this predicament; it extended to virtually all professions, including university professors, the police, and many, many more.

MDR Organization and Offerings

The "R" (for radio) in MDR is perhaps misleading, for MDR is responsible for one full-time television offering, in addition to its radio services. It is supervised by the director (the *Intendant*) and, as the ARD itself, MDR has an advisory board of 43 members, chosen from relevant societal groups, including the state governments, political parties, churches and religious groups, the unions and the employers' organizations. MDR maintains foreign studios or offices in Bonn, Berlin, New Delhi, Prague, Jerusalem and Washington, DC.

MDR offers seven radio programs, all of which broadcast 24 hours a day. They are:

#1. MDR-LIFE is a radio program with the motto: "All day with music," and it claims 1.6 million listeners, making it the most popular music program in Germany's new states. Besides the most current titles on the popularity charts, it offers "oldies" from the pop and rock scenes, and a two-hour "Life Stop and go," which offers opportunities for listener comments, requests, and so on, in a loosely organized pop atmosphere. MDR-LIFE can be heard from 14 transmitters in the FM band and via satellite.

#2. MDR-KULTUR is a radio program which depends on, as it claims, a less and less common ability - the skill of listening. It offers a wide spectrum of serious music, concerts of international renown, operettas, jazz, and folk music, often performed by the MDR symphony, the MDR chorus, or the MDR children's chorus. In the morning and evening and on weekends there are special programs for young listeners. Additionally, MDR-KULTUR offers cultural and informative specials with well-known critics and subject-area authorities, covering regional, national and international cultural events. Authors may be heard in discussions, readings and other features, and the radio-play is still alive and well on MDR-KULTUR, which can be received in the FM band from 17 transmitting sites, and on satellite as well.

#3. MDR-INFO gives international news headlines every quarter-hour. Its reports, interviews and special features offer the listener background and detailed accounts. Of course, the weather report is given, as are stock market reports, sports, and even traffic - for avoiding a *Stau* is rapidly becoming important in the new German states, too. MDR INFO was the first, and at the time of writing still the only ARD-affiliate to offer this type of 24-hour news service in Germany. From its studios in Leipzig and four additional transmitter sites it can be heard in the AM (medium wave) band.

#4. MDR-SPUTNIK, "youth radio," brings rock music to former East Germany. According to one observer MDR-SPUTNIK is "an exemplary bridge between yesterday and tomorrow in re-united Germany."[5] In addition to music popular with the younger set, Sputnik offers cultural and social programming, as well as comedy and criminal serials, put together by a youthful staff from their studios in Halle. Sputnik is available - true to its name - via satellite, and on cable as well.

#5, #6 and #7. The three remaining stations are regional in nature, and are even called *Heimatsender* - there is one for each state. Sachsen has eight transmitting sites, with studios in Dresden. Sachsen-Anhalt has six transmitting sites with studios in Magdeburg, and Thuringen eight transmitters, broadcasting from studios in Weimar. All are heard on FM. These stations' motto is "close by and right at home," and emphasis is given to state and communal politics, regional artists, writers and musicians, and ethnic minorities, and one may hear about gardening, participate on a call-in show, hear your horoscope, and even find out where the police radar is set up.

MDR-TV

MDR's complete television programming can be received via satellite or cable over the entire Federal Republic. The look of MDR-TV is not greatly different from the other ARD offerings, and in fact MDR-TV furnishes about ten percent of the programming seen on ARD stations nation-wide, as well as some of the television programs available on 3Sat, as well as materials for the German-French cultural network ARTE.

But here there is one significant difference - which might be overlooked by those not familiar with German TV habits. In the West, the evening news comes on at 8:00 p.m. It is almost a sacred hour; one does not call or otherwise disturb others, who are certainly watching the evening news. But MDR-TV is different; its news (*MDR aktuell*) comes on at 7:30 p.m., because the news in the GDR came on at that time. East Germans were used to seeing news then, and sensitive to their habits, the MDR management continued to offer news at the same time.

The Philosophy

Clearly, MDR is unique, not only in terms of structures, but moreso in the institution's orientation. While commercial stations in Germany attempt to maximize their income by packaging programming to attract advertising (at least that is what ARD spokesmen would claim), MDR is serious about its implied mission of assisting with German unification.

Representing a free and social market society took on a reality of its own when in a very short time East Germany was transformed from a centrally-planned economy to one of a social market. MDR has, in its program content as well as structure, attempted to recognize the validity of much of the culture brought to table by the East German population.

The challenges in this regard are no less complex than those of an economic or environmental nature. Instructing (the word is harsh, but reasonably accurate) the East Germans in matters of democracy, freedom, and respect for human dignity as practiced in a liberal democratic nation lies everywhere beneath MDR's editorial overlay.

Dr. Reiter defined the task of the new institution:

> The integration of the old and new states ... will require the cooperation of those in politics, the economy, education and society, churches and cultural institutions. The media have a key role in this process - they must inform, enlighten, clarify contexts, and educate. And we must be aware of the social climate, opposing social depression and demonstrating a healthy optimism, all the while holding erect our hopes for a better life.[6]

Like every other media entity, MDR struggles with the problem of viewer/listener ratings, and one hears complaints that clean-cut, professional radio journalism has difficulty holding its own against effect-oriented theatrics, where reason and accuracy so often fall victim to sensationalism. In many cases what purports to be an informational offering proves to be hearsay or worse, absolute fiction, and discussions degenerate into a journalistic gladiator fight.[7]

So far MDR's journalistic orientation - an effort to provide factual, utilitarian material which can serve the education of the citizen in a democracy - seems to be holding its own. Media analyses show that the *Heimatsender* in the three states are the most popular of any in Germany, and MDR-TV is watched by a greater percentage of its viewing audience than is the case elsewhere in the ARD system.

In the other direction, i.e., to the west, MDR sees itself as one voice of the East German population, faced with the challenge of representing the problems and requirements, but also the cultural treasures and the beauty of the East to West Germans. That, too, is a reunification task.

In Conclusion

This article has discussed, albeit briefly, not only the historical background, but moreso the current events of the MDR's re-establishment, and its orientation to a positive attitude in meeting the political and social challenges of German reunification. Clearly, MDR has created meaningful and effective radio and television programming for a changing population in a changing land. With its fresh orientation and unique processes, MDR offers a fascinating case study for media communicating across boundaries, in the integration of two very diverse political and social societies.

Notes

1. Reiter, "Hier Sender Leipzig." This and all later translations by the author.

2. Old animosities, such as those between Prussia and Saxony, take a very long time to dissipate, and were still evident in the "workers' and peasants' paradise" of communist East Germany. During the fall of 1989 someone, probably a Saxon, painted "EDV" on the signs posted at the city limits of East Berlin. The abbreviation did not stand for computer use (elektronische Datenverarbeitung), as one might expect, but rather cynically for "Ende der Versorgung" ("Food and clothing are not distributed beyond this point.").

3. See Nickisch, "*Heldenstadt der DDR*," for an extensive treatment of the demonstrations themselves.

4. Reiter, "Rede des Intendanten."

5. Karola Sommerey, supervisor of radio service for the MDR, quoted in UNI.

6. Reiter, "Hier Sender Leipzig."

7. See Marvin Kalb's piece in the Los Angeles Times of 10 June 1998 "lamenting" this very situation.

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Unintended Consequences: RIAS and the Cold War

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In the winter of 1945-46, the once-great city of Berlin was beginning its long climb back from the ruins of war. Under terms of the Yalta Agreement, Germany had been divided among the three victorious Allies with an area assigned to the French taken from the American Zone of Occupation in western Germany.[1] Similarly, Berlin was divided into four sectors, one for each of the occupying powers. Despite the general suspicion and mistrust among the occupiers, some semblance of normal life resumed in Berlin.

Radio in Berlin

Among the assets of the Third Reich seized by the Red Army was Radio Berlin with its studios in the British sector and its powerful transmitter at Tegel in the French sector.[2] The Soviet forces quickly put the radio station back into service, even using former Nazi staff members, to present the Soviet message to the people of Berlin and in the Soviet Zone of Occupation. Its broadcasts were effusive in praise of Soviet efforts to reconstruct its occupation zone and equally mendacious in their reports of problems in the reconstruction in the western zones.[3] Because there were no other radio facilities in Berlin, the Western Allies hoped to secure time on Radio Berlin - as little as an hour a day for each Western power - for broadcasting information and instructions to residents of their sectors.

Following protracted negotiations, it became apparent that the Soviets would not grant the Allies any access to Radio Berlin; as a result, the United States decided to create its own broadcast presence in Berlin. In his 1961 doctoral dissertation, Donald R. Browne suggests that "it is interesting to speculate on the supposition that, but for the Russian intransigence in the early days of the occupation of Berlin, there would never have been a RIAS."[4]

In creating its own broadcast service in Berlin, the American Military Government set on course a radio operation that would do much more than intended, i.e., simply announcing information from the military authorities to the German residents of Berlin. The unintended consequences were that the radio station would become a leading source of culture, education, political enlightenment for those in West Berlin and a political instrument in dealing with the Communists - both Soviet and German - in what was to become the German Democratic Republic (GDR). It was a major irritant to the government of the GDR as well. In the 1950s an East German poster campaign to vilify RIAS perhaps identified part of what was to bring its government to an end: "Wer RIAS hort, den Frieden stoert" (Whoever listens to RIAS is against peace).[5] In East Germany, at least, some of those who had listened to RIAS helped destroy the peace and security of the Communist government in the summer and fall of 1989.

Finally giving up in its attempt to gain time on Radio Berlin, the American Military Government resorted to a method of broadcasting familiar to the German public, *Drahtfunk*, or wired radio, which had been used by the Nazi regime. On November 21, 1945, the American Military Government issued orders authorizing re-opening of the system and hiring the necessary personnel to operate the station. Testing was to begin in mid-December.[6] The system was first known as DIAS - *Drahtfunk* In the American Sector - and utilized the telephone system, or that portion of it in the American Sector that still worked, for its wire. It began operation on February 7, 1946, at five o'clock in the evening; following the announcement of the service, the first program to be heard was American jazz.[7] The staff consisted of four Americans as supervisors and about 80 Germans as the operational staff.

The facilities were in the telephone exchange building in the American Sector, but the Military Government gave the station little help in the way of equipment.[8] The lack of attention on the part of the military government may have been something of a blessing since it allowed the staff to solve problems and gain experience in making do with little direct supervision; it also allowed the broadcasts to be made in German. This creativity would be useful in developing ways of providing information for residents of East Berlin and the GDR in the future.

While DIAS was a start, it was not what was needed. The system had too many technical problems, including too few civilian telephones, which provided access to the signal, and poor signal quality. A major problem was in the telephone cables, which had been contaminated by water seepage resulting from the heavy Allied bombing of Berlin during the war.[9] Over the next few months the DIAS staff improved its signal and increased its hours of programming. Still, it was not enough; broadcast radio, not wired radio, was the answer. By the fall of 1946, after slightly more than five months of wired service, the technical staff at DIAS had located and acquired a low-power radio transmitter and on September 5, 1946, began broadcasting even though the 800-watt transmitter could not provide coverage for all of Berlin.[10] DIAS, soon to be called RIAS - Rundfunk [Radio] In the American Sector - signed on the air with the usual announcement of intent at three o'clock in the afternoon; its first musical selections were *Melodien von Jerome Kern*.[11] One can only speculate whether it was irony or intention in the choice of music - songs by a Jewish-American composer being performed in Hitler's capital.

Unintended Consequences: Music

Because American military regulation forbade the employment of former Nazis who had worked for Dr. Goebbel's Radio Berlin, the RIAS staff was less skilled in preparing and broadcasting radio programs.[12] Still, the station developed an ambitious program for growth and service. First, in keeping with the German love of music, RIAS created a number of music groups; just two days after it began broadcasting, the RIAS Symphony Orchestra gave its first concert.[13] Once again, Germans could hear the music of Jewish composers - Mendelssohn, Offenbach, Mahler and Hindemith - who had been banned during the Nazi years.[14] Over the course of its existence, RIAS created choral groups, chamber ensembles, a youth orchestra and dance bands. The music groups issued an impressive number of recordings that are still sought by collectors of classical recordings. The dance bands RIAS created were among the most popular musical groups in Western Europe in the 1950s and '60s. Among the popular music performers on RIAS broadcasts who were familiar to Americans were Marlene Dietrich, Werner Muller, Horst Jankowski and Caterina Valente. The creation of these music groups, along with RIAS-sponsored public concerts, provided a much-needed lift in the morale of Berliners who were soon to be isolated by the Soviet-imposed Berlin Blockade.

RIAS' musical programming provided employment[14] for a large number of musicians who might otherwise have lingered without work or turned to the Soviet-backed East Germans who were spending money, ostensibly to preserve the German cultural heritage. Perhaps a more important unintended consequence of the late-night musical offerings on RIAS resulted from playing American jazz and rock 'n' roll - two forms of music noted for their freedom. The appeal of these kinds of music to young Germans in the east kept alive a notion of free expression and was a welcome alternative to the controlled offerings of stations in the GDR.

Although RIAS received thousands of letters each month, no attempt was made to sample listeners' preferences until 1951. In July of that year, the Office of the U.S. High Commissioner undertook a survey of listeners.

> This was difficult to implement, since the people conducting the survey had to interview their "subjects" when the latter crossed into West Germany or West Berlin on business .... The subjects were not refugees - they were returning to their homes - and, therefore, many of them were reluctant to be interviewed. Out of the approximately five hundred who were interviewed, these findings were noted: 81 per cent of the sample listened, mainly to RIAS, and 68 per cent of the sample named RIAS "best-liked" station, chiefly because of its truthfulness .... Most interesting programs on RIAS were news, 42 per cent; ... music, 22 per cent .... RIAS was named by 83 per cent as the station most often listened to for news.[16]

Still, it was dangerous for East Germans to listen to RIAS. In September of 1950 a resident of Dresden was sentenced to 18 months in jail for writing to RIAS. Although people and businesses throughout the east had been warned, a radio dealer in the state of Saxony was found guilty of tuning to RIAS; his excuse: people wanted to hear good music.[17]

Unintended Consequences: Education

Like most of the infrastructure in Berlin following the war, the public schools were a shambles. Although radio broadcasts for schools were virtually unknown in Germany, RIAS began *Schulfunk* - broadcasts for school - soon after the operation switched from wired to broadcast service. With the poor state of transportation, particularly in the winter months, in the rural areas around Berlin, *Schulfunk* broadcasts became an important adjunct to the school system.[18] In addition to the school broadcasts, RIAS devised a program to help teach children, and adults who might listen, how democracy worked. The station, in cooperation with the Berlin school system, created *Schulfunkparlament*, a parliament for students much like student government in American schools. Each school elected two students to attend monthly sessions of the parliament, which were broadcasts live over the station. Officials of the Berlin city government attended the meetings and were sometimes put on the spot by the children's questions. By 1951 more than 135 schools were using the *Schulfunk* broadcasts to supplement education for about 400,000 students, although it took some time for German teachers to adapt to the new teaching tool.[19] The school broadcasts helped the badly damaged school system cope with teaching students under the primitive conditions of post-war Berlin when school buildings and the transportation system were in ruins. The broadcasts also helped train teachers in new methods of teaching: the programs presented alternatives to the traditional rote memorization and strict discipline of traditional German education. The children's parliament provided instruction in the process of democratic government for youngsters who would become the voters and defenders of the "Outpost of Democracy" that Berlin was to become as the decades of the Cold War ran their course. The spillover of these programs, like much of the RIAS programming, added its bit to help residents of the eastern zone to cope with the conditions developing there.

As Communist political influence gained ground in the Humboldt University in the Soviet Sector, students began demanding the establishment of a university free of Communist ideology. In February 1948, RIAS began broadcasting *Hochschulfunk* (University of the Air) and in its first broadcast took a stand against political influence in the university. The broadcast also discussed the founding of a free university in West Berlin. These discussions were instrumental in the founding the Free University of Berlin, which gained an international reputation during the Cold War.[20]

Unintended Consequences: News & Politics

Of all the activities RIAS was involved in during its 46 years of service, reporting news and political affairs in both West Berlin and the GDR constitute the station's most widely known activity. And the reputation was well deserved. The approach of municipal elections in Berlin in October 1946, when it was assumed there would be one city government for Berlin, the newly re-invented RIAS was quickly involved in a get-out-the-vote campaign. The station was in the thick of things as it opened its microphones to the political parties contesting the election. Soviet-controlled Radio Berlin, on the other hand, allowed only candidates of the SED, and after some negotiations, candidates of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) on its air.

Following the election, RIAS covered the vote counting at the Berlin City Hall and provided complete and impartial reports of the returns.[21] This was the first step in establishing RIAS' reputation for impartial reporting. A year later, in September of 1948, Communist thugs invaded Berlin City hall during a session of the all-Berlin City Council and brought an end to the government. Berliners got a first hand glimpse of Communist methods as a young RIAS reporter, Jürgen Graf, presented a running description of the melee until his microphone was disconnected and he was beaten.[22] From the beginning, the purpose of RIAS was to inform residents of Berlin. The importance of the broadcast spillover, however, was of great benefit to the American Military Government as it countered Radio Berlin's propaganda. Of even more importance to the German staff of RIAS, their broadcasts could reach, influence and help Germans caught in the East.

Following a meeting with East German youths who were visiting West Berlin in 1950, the U. S. State Department reported that the "one major topic was RIAS itself. Over and over again, one heard how much hope the people of the zone place in RIAS, their only reliable connection with the outside world."[23] To meet these needs, RIAS instituted a number of programs in 1949 that were of importance to residents in the East: these included *Die Insulaner* (The Islanders), a program of satire which remained popular for years; "The Sandman with his Political Tidbit for the Eastern Zone" lampooned political figures in the East, and, in May of 1949, *Sendung fur Mitteldeutschland* (Broadcast for Central Germany). This program was designed to let East German residents know about events in other regions of the GDR, which would not be reported in the heavily controlled press in the East; in the following year this program was being broadcast three times a day. The title was later changed to *Aus der Zone fur die Zone* (From the Zone for the Zone) and was a staple of the RIAS schedule for years. This program regularly identified residents of East Germany who reported to East German security [the Stasi] on the activities of their neighbors. *Collier's* reported that, "some 300 people from the zone made their way into Berlin and to the RIAS studios, to protest the use of their names on the programs, insisting they weren't spies. . . . Investigation showed that of these 300, only 50 had been mentioned on the air."[24]

The RIAS broadcasts, throughout its 46 years, were an irritant for the East German leaders. The SED chairman, Wilhelm Pieck, once railed that "RIAS is nothing more than poison! Time and time again, it undermines our efforts to direct the thinking of the people into correct political lines. It makes us look ridiculous!"[25] The vilification of RIAS was on-going and East German/Soviet jamming of the RIAS signal was intense. By the end of 1953, the East Germans were operating at least four, usually five, jamming operations to prevent RIAS' signal from reaching its intended audience.[26]

Early in 1953 the SED called for voluntary increase in work norms for all East German workers; RIAS, during this period, provided considerable programming in its broadcast series, "Workday in the Zone" and "Berlin Speaks to the Zone," about the effects of the decision to increase norms. During the evening of June 15, 1953, RIAS reported that three isolated demonstrations against the increase had occurred; no other news agencies carried the story. With the work stoppage and march on the 16th, RIAS began carrying reports of the events at 4:30 that afternoon. RIAS reported a visit by a workers delegation to the station on its 6:30 p.m. broadcast and an hour later broadcast the workers' demands. The demands included free, secret elections, lowering the cost of living and the abolition of norms. Acceptance of the demands was not conditional; if the demands were not met by the morning of the 17th, the workers would strike, which they did.

Perhaps the most important single event in RIAS' history, with the world looking on, occurred when workers in East Berlin struck.[27] On June 16, 1953, the East German government ordered a ten percent increase in the already impossible work norms in the construction projects along Stalinallee, the showcase apartment blocks being built in the eastern sector.[28]

The increases came on top of salary cuts and other speed-ups resulting in severe decreases in purchasing power of the East German mark. Workers had had enough and marched on SED (Communist) Party headquarters with a petition demanding revocation of the latest increase of work norms. The party leadership refused the petition. On the following day, the 17th, more workers in the eastern sector joined in the protest; the SED leaders first used the state security agency (Stasi) to quell the protests. When this failed, the Red Army was called in and the demonstrations became far more violent with shootings, injuries and deaths.

Although RIAS was playing a role in a dangerous situation, the station did not involve itself in directing the strike. Basically, it provided a running report of the events and a forum for the workers to air their demands - something they could not do in the controlled media of the Soviet zone. In effect, RIAS' broadcasts of the riots served as something of a command post, passing along information about the locations of the protesters in Berlin, explaining problems and demands, reporting the results of negotiation and, through its information sources in the GDR, as a catalyst for protests in other East German cities. Support for the workers' demands and protests were recorded in more than 270 cities and towns in the East Zone.[29] RIAS avoided direct involvement in the riots, but it was perilously close to it.[30] "Without RIAS, the zone would not have learned about the strike [in Berlin] for days, and the national insurrection might never have taken place."[31]

Although RIAS was perhaps more deeply involved in the events of the 17th of June than many observers would have liked, the events in the East did involve, and even threaten, the safety and well-being of fellow Germans, the emotional connections were far too great for the station to ignore. In the long term, the broadcasts of the events in June, and the programming both before and after the event, firmly established RIAS in the hearts of Berliners and those who lived in the GDR. Listeners in the East knew there was a free source of news and information, no matter how dangerous it might be to listen to the broadcasts.

Still, the events of June 1953, and the much more violent Hungarian Revolution in 1956, revealed to residents of the eastern European Soviet satellite states that the West would not intervene militarily in their internal affairs. This attitude was made even more apparent with the Berlin Crisis of 1961, which resulted in the infamous Berlin Wall, the symbol of political repression for nearly three decades. Surveys taken during the GDR era supported the notion that the East-West division of Germany was a permanent condition. By 1968 only 13 per cent of West Germans thought the two Germanys would ever be reunited; by 1987, just two years before the end of the GDR, only three per cent of those polled thought reunification would occur within the foreseeable future.[32] Chancellor Willi Brandt's policy of *Ostpolitik*, the West's policy of detente with the Soviet Union and, perhaps, the weariness resulting from so many years of Cold War, may have led many - Germans, West Europeans and Americans - to adopt an attitude of cooperation with the GDR because the balance of power seemed to be making the East-West split a permanent feature of the world's political landscape.

Following the Four Powers Agreement of 1972, the confrontational flash point that was Berlin receded. The two halves of the great city went their separate ways in a 'business as usual' manner. Jürgen Graf, editor-in-chief by the end of RIAS, noted:

> The big confrontation was kind of over. For a journalist who was so much involved from 1945 to 1963 after the Kennedy visit, it was in a way boring. It was routine. The questions now debated were of the type whether women over 65 can cross now or in two years.[33]

In some ways RIAS' glory days were over as well; still, the information, news and music continued to have their effect on the minds of those who were behind the Wall. RIAS was, perhaps, a minor player as the Soviet Union under Gorbachev loosened its grip on its satellites. During the summer of 1989, residents of the GDR abandoned homes and jobs to escape through Czechoslovakia and Hungary to the West. By November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall was breached; the East

German government lingered, but its days were numbered, and it disappeared into history.

RIAS, too, disappeared from the air. It was officially dissolved on May 19, 1992, the announcement buried on page 13 of the *New York Times*.[14] The facilities of RIAS continue in operation, the radio is now Deutschland Radio and the RIAS television operation is now part of the Deutsche Welle, Germany's world broadcasting service.

Now known as the RIAS Berlin Kommission, RIAS lives on in the same building in Berlin from which it broadcast for more than forty years. Its mission is to conduct exchange programs for American and German broadcast journalists, support production of radio and television programs on topics of interest to German and American audiences and to award prizes for radio and television programs and news pieces about German-American topics.

Although the GDR and RIAS are gone, their legacies remain. The Berlin Wall has virtually disappeared - only a few of its concrete slabs are in place and one has to hunt to find them - but in the minds of Germans there is still a wall that divides East from West. RIAS is now a warmly held memory, as Deutschland Radio it provides radio service to the Berlin area without the need for subterfuge or care for danger to its listeners. It is now another radio service for a unified Berlin that is transforming itself into a national capital and center of Europe.

NOTES

1. "Tripartite Agreements of the Yalta Conference." In C[yrus] L. Sulzberger, *Such a Place: The Roots and Ashes of Yalta* (New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1982), pp. 51-52.

2. In 1948, during the Berlin Blockade, the landing strip at Tegel in the French sector was needed for an additional airport. The French general in command gave the Russian staff at the Radio Berlin transmitter at Tegel five minutes to evacuate and then blew up the offending transmitter and its antenna. When the deed was done, a livid General Kotikov, demanding to know how on earth Ganeval [the French general] could have done such a thing, got the reply: "Why, with dynamite of course, *mon cher*." In George Clare, *Before the Wall: Berlin Days, 1946-1948* (New York: Dutton, 1989), pp. 240-241.

3. Henrik Bering, *Outpost Berlin: The History of American Military Forces in Berlin* (Carol Stream, IL: editions q, inc., 1995), p. 56.

4. Donalad Roger Browne, "The History and Programming Practices of RIAS: Radio in the American Sector (of Berlin), (Doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1961), p. 31. Extending Browne's speculation on RIAS, it would interesting to speculate on how events in Berlin might have developed - or not have developed (e.g. the June 17, 1953 uprising, the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989) - if the Soviets would have given the Western Allies access to Radio Berlin in 1945.

5. Rainer Hasters, personal communication, 5 November 1998.

6. Herbert Kundler, *RIAS Berlin: Eine Radio-Station in einer geteilen Stadt* (Berlin, Germany: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994), p. 38.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

8. Browne, pp. 38-41.

9. Bering, p.58.

10. Eventually, RIAS was to increase its main transmitter power to 300 kilowatts, use a transmitter at Hof in Bavaria to reach the southwestern part of the GDR, add frequencies in its long-, medium- and short-wave radio services and add a television service. It maintained its wired service and provided a telephone dial-in news service for some time after it turned to broadcasting to disseminate its signals. Both those services were later terminated.

11. Kundler, pp. 45-47.

12. There is extensive discussion of this problem in Browne's dissertation.

13. With the closing of RIAS as a broadcast operation in 1992, the RIAS Symphony Orchestra

became the *Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester* and is still performing in Berlin and on tour. Joshua Kosman, "Berlin Orchestra Makes a Name for Itself," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 6 November 1997, sec. E, p. 3.

14. Bering, p. 57.

15. In Berlin in 1951, there were 290,000 unemployed in a population of about 2,000,000. In "The Atlantic Report on the World Today," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1951, p. 14.

16. Browne, pp. 88-89.

17. *Sachsische Zeitung*, 13 September 1950. In Browne, p. 81.

18. Browne, p. 53.

19. Ernest Leiser, "Voice Behind the Curtain," *Collier's*, 4 February 1950, p. 72.

20. Browne, pp. 59-60.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

22. Leiser, pp. 71-72.

23. *The Department of State Bulletin*, September 19, 1950, p. 449.

24. Leiser, p. 72.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

26. Walter Sullivan, "German Red Drive Aims at U.S. Radio," *New York Times*, 9 November 1953, p. 14.

27. There are numerous reports of the events leading up to and including what were to become known as the Berlin Riots. The reader can search the literature for this in greater detail at leisure.

28. These once-proud examples of Stalinist architecture are now crumbling apartment blocks festooned with falling wall panels and satellite television dishes; it is an eerie contrast. Although Berlin is now politically unified, this part of Berlin harks back to a view of the city as it was during the Cold War. It is an interesting drive along the now-shabby boulevard that was the showcase of the workers' paradise.

29. Bering, p. 134.

30. Browne, pp. 280-295.

31. "Two Day's that Shook the Soviet World," *Reader's Digest*, Nov. 1953, p. 64.

32. Peter H. Merkel, ed., "Reinventing German National Identity," in *The Federal Republic of Germany at Forty-Five: Union without Unity* (New York University Press, 1995), p. 4.

33. Bering, p. 219.

34. David Binder, "U.S. Broadcasting Outpost in Berlin Signs Off after 46 Years," *New York Times*, 20 May 1992, p. 13.

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